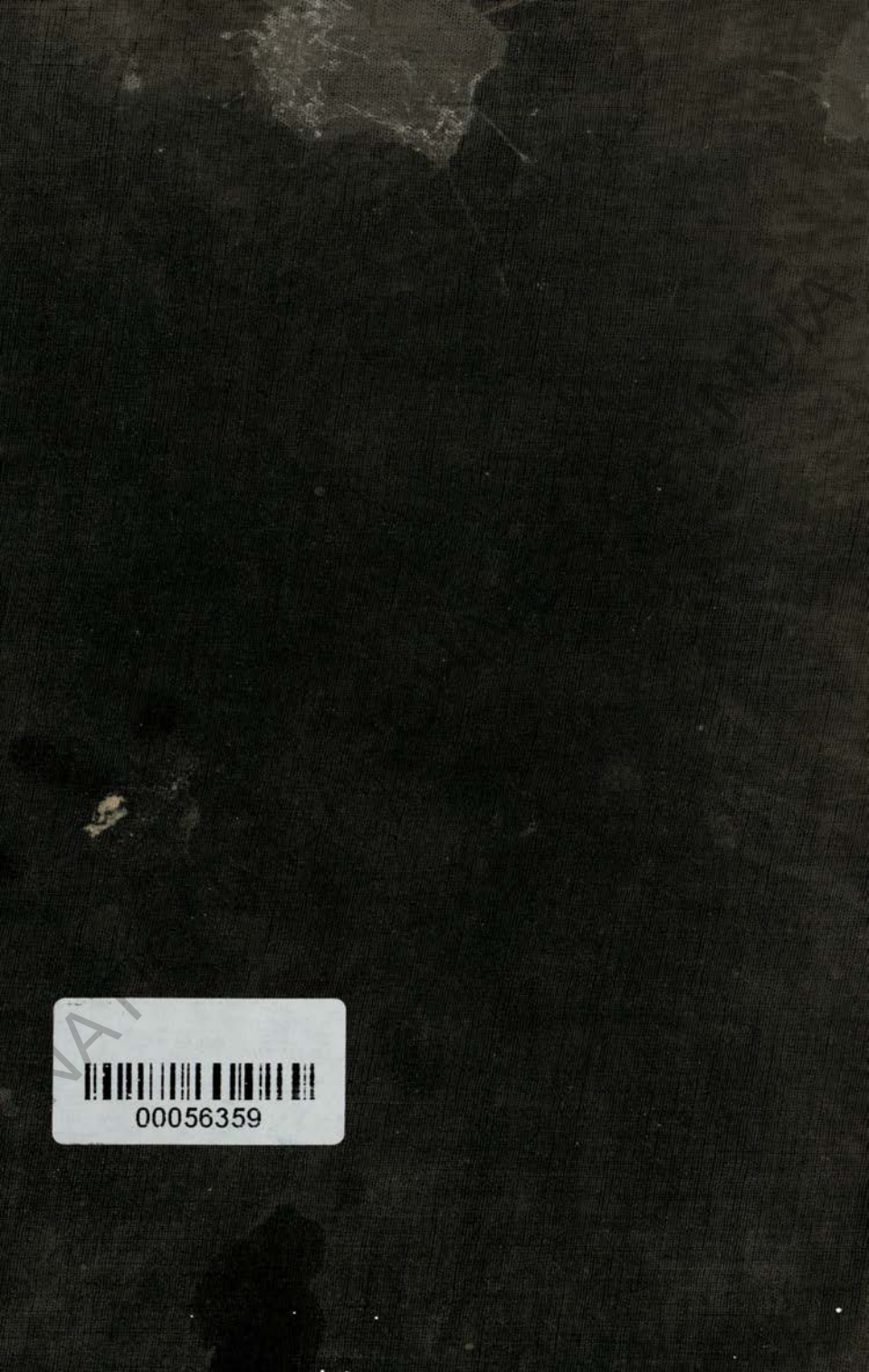
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THE ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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THE ṬABAQĀṬ-I-AKBARĪ

OF

KHWĀJAH NIẒĀMUDDĪN AḤMAD

(A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMĀN INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

VOLUME III

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY

BRAJENDRANATH DE, M.A., I.C.S. (RETIRED),

AND

REVISED, EDITED, AND COMPLETED WITH PREFACE AND INDEX, BY

BAINI PRASHAD, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I., F.R.S.E.

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PREFACE

In the Monthly General Meeting for August 1864 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Dr. W. N. Lees, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, read a memorandum [1] detailing the progress of Persian historical works in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series and the policy decided on in connection with the publication of such works. In discussing the projected publication of the '*Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* or the *Tārīkh i Badāoni*', which had been suggested by Mr. E. B. Cowell in 1862 [2], he referred to the '*Ṭārīkh i Nizâmī* or the *Tabaqāt i Akbari*' as a very important work of reference and added that it is "well worth consideration, however, whether in conjunction with this work, we should not publish in lieu thereof a certain portion of the Tabaqat i Akbari which Abd al Qādir professes only to have abridged and which all later historians have made good use of"; the consideration of this suggestion, however, was deferred to a future meeting. In 1868 he wrote [3], "it is inconceivable to me why so erroneous an estimate seems to have been formed of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī* that it has not attracted more attention. It is the history which joins on to the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhī*, and is admitted by all contemporary and subsequent authors to be the standard history in continuation of those authorities. Unquestionably then the thread of the narrative as given by Nizām ud-dīn Aḥmad should be taken up where the authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhī* have dropped it, giving him the preference to 'Abd al-Ḳādir of Badāon, or any other author, however excellent." Blochmann [4] in 1869 remarked "It is a matter of regret that the printing of the Ṭabaqāt i Nizām i Bakhshī was allowed to be deferred". Unfortunately nothing further happened till the

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[1] *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 464–469 (1864).

[2] See Blochmann, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXVIII, pt. i, pp. 115, 116 (1869).

[3] *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* (*n.s.*) vol. III, p. 453 (1868).

[4] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 115 (1869).

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work was taken up by Mr. Brajendranath De in 1911, and the first fascicles of the text and translation of the first volume were issued in 1913. After this date the work remained in abeyance till the author was induced to take it up again in August 1925, and publication of the text and translation of the first volume ending with the fall of the Afghān Kings of Dehlī was completed in 1927. The second volume of the text, ending with the 38th year of Akbar's reign and accounts of the *Amīrs* of high rank, the *Shaikhs* of Hindūstān, the *Ḥakīms* and the poets of the reign of Akbar, was issued in 1931, while the printing of the English translation was completed in 1936—some 4 years after the death of Mr. De. The text of the third volume was completed by Shams-ul-'Ulama Khān Bahādur Hidāyat Ḥosain from an incomplete manuscript prepared by Mr. De in 1935. The work of editing and completing the third volume of the translation was assigned to me in April 1939; it was hoped that I would have the collaboration of Prof. Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaqq in this work, but this has not been possible. The first half of the volume was published in July and the concluding part is now issued.

It is a matter of regret that a historical work of such importance, which the Society hoped in 1864 to publish at an early date, should have been delayed for almost three quarters of a century, but this was due to a variety of causes among which may be mentioned several large works which were being published by the Society, lack of funds and probably also the issue of a lithograph edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1875.

The subject-matter in the following pages of the preface has been arranged under the following heads:

1. Life of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.
2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, its sources and importance.
3. Life of Mr. Brajendranath De, M.A., I.C.S. (retd.), the editor and translator of the work.
4. Concluding remarks and acknowledgments.

Life of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.

The author is variously styled as Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad or Niẓāmī (*vide* Lowe's

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translation of '*Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*', vol. II, p. 479, 1924). In *Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā* he is called Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, while by Abū-l-Faḍl [1], Mīr Abū Turāb [2], Firishtah, and others the appellation of *Bakhshī* is added after his name.

Unfortunately the information about the life of the author is very limited, and the two accounts in *Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā* [3] and by Elliot [4] seem to be based only on casual references in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Akbarnāma*, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb*. None of the authors give the date or year of the birth of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, and the information in this connection from contemporary sources is rather conflicting. Mrs. Beveridge in her translation of *Bābur-Nāma* [5] states that Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was not born till 20 years after Bābur's death. As Bābur died on Jumādā I, 937 A.H. (December 26, 1530 A.D.) this would mean that the Khwājah was born in 956 or 957 A.H. (1549 or 1550 A.D.). According to Al-Badāonī (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 411, 412) Mīrzā Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad died at the age of forty-five in the 38th year of Akbar's reign of a burning fever on the 23rd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. (7th November, 1594 A.D.), which would mean that he was born some time in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). According to Shaikh Ilāhdād Faiḍī Sirhindī, the author of *Akbar-Nāma* (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875) he died at the age of nearly 48 years on the 22nd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. in the 39th year

[1] *Akbarnāma*, text edition, vol. III, p. 605 (1886) and Beveridge's translation of vol. III, p. 924 (1912–1939). In these notes various volumes of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* are cited as they have been issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It may, however, be noted that the *Ā'īn*, which has been issued in three volumes, really formed the third and final volume of *Akbarnāma* (see Blochmann's Preface to the first volume of the *Ā'īn*, Phillott's edition, p. v, 1939).

[2] Mīr Abū Turāb Valī's *History of Gujarat*, edited by E. Denison Ross, p. 104 (1909).

[3] *Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā* by Samsāmud-Dowla Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, vol. I, pp. 660–664 (1887–1894).

[4] Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, pp. 180–184 (1849) and *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 178–180 (1873).

[5] *Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 704 (1921).

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of Akbar's reign. Al-Badāonī's statement, in view of the fact that he was a close friend of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, and was actively associated with him in the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, appears to be more reliable, and I have little hesitation in accepting it as correct. The year of his birth may, therefore, be taken as 958 A.H. or 1551 A.D.

Unfortunately we have very little information about Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's ancestry beyond the fact that he was the son of Khwājah Muqīm Harawī (of Herat), who was one of Bābur's officials and about the close of his reign was the *Dīwān-i-buyūtāt* [1]. After the death of Bābur, when Gujarāt was conquered by Humāyūn and the province of Aḥmadābād was entrusted to Mīrzā 'Askarī in 1535 A.D., Khwājah Muqīm was appointed his *wazīr*. He accompanied Humāyūn to Āgra when the latter fled after his defeat by Sher Khān Sūr at Chausa in Bihār on 26th June, 1539. Khwājah Muqīm also, according to the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. I, p. i) and *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*, served under Akbar; this is again referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) where in the account of the twelfth year it is stated "the author's father remained in Āgra, performing government work."

We know very little about the earlier years of life or the education of the young Khwājah, but according to Dowson [2] he was one of the pupils of 'Mullā Alī Sher', a learned man, and the father of Faiḍī Sirhindī, the author of *Akbar-Nāma*. There can be little doubt, however, that Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was a well-educated and well-read young man who, "according to the instructions of his worthy father [3], occupied himself with the study of historical works, which brightens the intellect of the

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[1] According to Mrs. Beveridge "a Barrack-officer" (*Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 703, note 2), but Dowson translates *Dīwān-i-buyūtāt* as the *Dīwān* of the household (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178, 1873).

[2] *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 116 (1875).

[3] In this connection also see Mrs. Beveridge's remarks where she conjectures that Khwājah Muqīm lived long enough "to impress the worth of historical writing on his son" and probably "transmitted his recollections to him" (*vide Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 693, 1921).

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studious and inspires the intelligent with awe; and by the study of the accounts of the travellers in the stages of the journey of existence, which is like a progress of the soul rubbed off the rust of his nature." [1] In addition to being a student of history and literature Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry, though except for the few stray verses in the *Ṭabaqāt*, no extensive poetical work by the author is known. A reference, however, to Al-Badāonī [2] shows that various poets such as Amānī, Baqā'ī, Ḥayātī and Ṣarfī were invited to Gujarāt by the Khwājah during the seven years of his stay in that province, and they flourished under his patronage. It was also during this time that he started writing his *Ṭabaqāt*, and had as his associate Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar, who was distinguished as a man of learning and historian [3]. The interest of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact that when the Emperor Akbar ordered the preparation [4] of a history of the Kings of Islām in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) he employed the Khwājah as one of the seven authors for its compilation. According to Elliot (1849, *op. cit.*, p. 179) "the compiler of the Sahīhu-l-Akhbār attributes another work on Indian History under the name of Tārīkh-i-Ī'rich, to the author of the Tabakāt-i-Akberī, but I am not aware that there is any good authority for the statement." I have also not been able to find any other reference beyond a reference in the account of Sarūp Chand's 'Sahīhu-l-Akhbār' in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VIII, p. 314 (1877).

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[1] *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. I, p. iv (1911).

[2] *Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III (1925).

[3] See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, translation of Blochmann, vol. I, Phillott's edition, p. 579 (1939).

[4] *Vide Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 328 (1924). This is the famous *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, the introduction of which was written by Abū-l-Faḍl, but curiously the Emperor commanded its preparation in 990 A.H. even though the history was to deal with the events that had happened "in the seven zones for the last one thousand years." See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, translation of Blochmann, vol. I, revised by Phillott, pages xli and 113 (1939).

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His interest in Sufism and theology is indicated by his association with Ṣūfīs [1], Shaikhs and religious people in general. He may thus be assumed to have had a religious frame of mind, and his writings and the regard in which he was held by such bigoted Muhammadans as Al-Badāonī seem to indicate that he must have been quite orthodox in his views and observances [2]. Miyān Kamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain of Shīrāz [3], a well-known religious leader, wrote to Al-Badāonī after the Khwājah's death as follows: "For a long time I endured great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him (*sic*) who had acquired all perfections, Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord." After his recall from Gujarāt in 1589 A.D., when he came into closer contact with the Emperor Akbar, he became less orthodox—apparently in accordance with the prevailing atmosphere of the Royal Court, and does not appear to have looked askance at the innovations of the Divine Faith (*Dīn Ilāhī*) of the Emperor. Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's ruse in mentioning Shaikh Ḥusain's name when some of the orthodox leaders [4] were summoned to the Imperial Court, also indicates the skilful way in which he managed to keep himself safe from his own religious beliefs being questioned. This view is confirmed by Blochmann (*loc. cit.*, 1869, p. 138) who in commenting on the change in the religious feelings of Al-Badāonī resulting from his past misfortunes and exclusion from Akbar's Court, sums up the situation in the following sentences: "He may have found it necessary to assume a more conciliating attitude towards the 'heretics' of the Court, and the members

[1] *Vide Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III, p. 167 (1925).

[2] See Al-Badāonī in Ranking's translation of vol. I of *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, p. 9, where he is described as "a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed."

[3] *Vide Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III, pp. 186, 187 (1925).

[4] *Vide* Haig's translation of *Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, vol. III, pp. 137, 138, 151; and Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 309.

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of Akbar's 'Divine Faith', who were in office and had partly brought about his pardon. He may have imitated the example of his friend Nizāmuddīn, the historian, who, though a pious Muslim, managed to rise higher and higher in Akbar's favour by keeping his religious views to himself."

In addition to being a scholar he was a good soldier and administrator, as is clear from the meagre records available from such sources as the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma*. There is practically no reference anywhere to any office held by the Khwājah up to about the thirty-fifth year of his life, the 29th year (*vide infra*) of Akbar's reign, though according to the *Dhakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn*[1], he was, at the beginning of his career, Akbar's *Dīwān* of the presence (*Dīwān-i-Ḥuḍūr*), but no mention of this appointment is made in any other work. In the account of the 12th year of the reign (974 A.H., 1567 A.D.) the author states (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) that when the Emperor went to attack 'Alī Qulī Khān the author remained at Āgra with his father, and spread a vague rumour about the heads of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān having been brought to Āgra. From the 12th to the 27th year (1567–1582 A.D.) of the reign there is no mention anywhere of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, but he was apparently closely associated with the Emperor as one of the Court officials, for after crossing the Sind Sāgar, the Emperor sent him with a message to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād (*vide* De, *loc. cit.*, p. 549, but Al-Badāonī says "to the prince Shāh Murād and the *Amīrs*" *vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 302). He traversed seventy-five *karohs* "in one day and night" and after delivering the message to the Shāhzāda, returned with his reply to the Emperor at Peshāwar. He then accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kābul and must have held some important post, for when the Emperor[2] had a list of all pious

[1] *Vide Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*, text vol. I, p. 661, and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178 (1873).

[2] See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 305. A curious inaccuracy to which reference may be made occurs here. Al-Badāonī here states that he had become acquainted with Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad about a year back, *i.e.*, about 989 A.H. or 1581 A.D., but Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 122), apparently misinterpreting the reference to

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people (Lowe translates اهل سعادت as the people of piety), who were accompanying the army or were absent, prepared by the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, he arranged that Al-Badāonī, who was absent, be shown in the return as sick. In the 29th [1] year of Akbar's reign (991 A.H., 1583 A.D.) the government of Gujarāt was transferred from Shihābuddīn to I'tmād Khān who, after the murder of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, had been the virtual king of Gujarāt till its conquest by Akbar in 980 A.H., and Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was appointed the *Bakhshī* [2]. Abū Ṭurāb's

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Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's activities at Āgra in 974 A.H. referred to above and in the *Muntakhab* (text, vol. II, p. 99), states that Al-Badāonī met him at Āgra in 974 "and became his warm friend."

[1] Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad in the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 561, 1936) includes this in the account of the events of the 29th year which begins on page 558 and is followed by Al-Badāonī (Lowe's translation of vol II of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, p. 332) and in *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā* (text edition, vol. I, p. 661). Abū-l-Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (vol. III, text edition, p. 403, English translation, p. 596) states, these appointments took place in the 28th year of the reign. In this connection reference may be made to De (*Ṭabaqāt*, English translation of vol. II, p. 559, note 1) where several discrepancies in the dates between *Akbarnāma* and *Ṭabaqāt* are pointed out; the former places the various events enumerated by De a year advance of the dates given in the latter. Inaccuracies in regard to the reckonings of the years of Akbar's reign on the part of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad are pointed out by Al-Badāonī (*vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, pp. 353, 363), and he explains these as being due to the author having not taken into account "the intercalated days, which every three years makes a difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a whole year, between the solar and lunar years", and his being away from the Imperial Camp in Gujarāt. After the death of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad the dates in the *Ṭabaqāt* were checked and at least one corrected by his son Muḥammad Sharīf. In spite of the above, as Al-Badāonī follows the *Ṭabaqāt*, it seems that the dates as they now stand in the *Ṭabaqāt* are the corrected dates.

According to Denison Ross (*A History of Gujarat*, introduction, p. 5, 1909) the year in which 'I'timād Khan was made governor of Gujarāt' was 992 A.H. (1583 A.D.).

[2] Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's name is included in the list of *Bakhshīs* of Akbar's reign (*vide* Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 596), and apparently at this time no distinction was made between *Bakhshī* and *Mīr Bakhshī*, as what is called *Bakhshī*

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account (*loc. cit.*, pp. 100, 101) of these appointments is rather vague, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* (p. 563) the author refers to his joining I'tmād Khān at Bījāpūr *en route* to Aḥmadābād after his appointment as the *Bakhshī*. The vacillating policy in reference to the affairs in Gujarāt[1] adopted by I'tmād Khān and the disturbances due to the intrigues of Shihābuddīn Aḥmad Khān and Quṭbuddīn Khān led to Aḥmadābād being occupied by Nannū or Muẓaffar Gujarātī, and the rout of the Imperial forces outside the town. The Khwājah sent an account of all that had happened to Akbar, and as a result Mīrzā Khān[2] son of Bairām Khān was sent with a well-equipped army to quell the disturbances in Gujarāt. It is not necessary to deal here with the campaign against Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt, but a review of the period distinctly shows that throughout the campaign and earlier Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad proved a very valuable officer, and whether as a commander, and even as an active fighter, he gave a very good account of himself.

He successfully carried out negotiations with Shihābuddīn, made arrangements for the defence of Aḥmadābād in the

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in the *Ṭabaqāt* is *Mīr Bakhshi* in *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*. Abū-l-Faḍl in his introduction of the *Ā'īn* (*vide* Phillott, *loc. cit.*, p. 5) mentions the *Mīr-bakhshī* as one of the nobles of the State, and Blochmann gives "Paymaster of the court" as its equivalent. For an account of *Bakhshī* see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan* (1932), page 276, from which it appears that this officer "was the head of the Military Department, and looked after recruitment, reviews, and other similar affairs connected with the army." Further distinction had been introduced in reference to the *Mīr* or Chief *Bakhshī*, while separate *Bakhshīs* were attached to each division during military campaigns. According to Sarkar (*Moghul Administration*, p. 24, 1924) there were three subordinate *Bakhshis* at the end of 'Aurangzib's reign'. In view of the above and the active part played by Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad in the military campaigns and the administration of Gujarāt, the equivalents pay-master (De, *op. cit.*) and paymaster-general (Lowe, *loc. cit.*, p. 393) hardly appear to be appropriate. For a detailed discussion of *Bakhshī* and its various grades see Irwine—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37–40 (1903).

[1] See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, pp. 607–611, and *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 563–567.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 567, 571, 572, and Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 613.

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absence of the main force, defeated the forces of Sher Khān at Jūtānah, arranged for the attack on Muẓaffar's forces by Quṭbuddīn Khān from Bahroj and Baroda, attacked Muẓaffar's army from the rear at Sarkhej which resulted in its defeat, and later was mainly responsible for the defeat of Muẓaffar in the hills of Nādot. For his services in the Gujarāt campaign he was honoured with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later he carried out a successful campaign in Sorath and in the Ran of Kach. Mīrzā Khān, who had meanwhile been honoured with the title of *Khān Khānān*, was, at his own request, recalled to the Royal Court, and Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad with Qulīj Khān and Naurang Khān was left in charge of Gujarāt. During the *Khān Khānān's* absence Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad proved a very energetic officer, and successfully carried out a protracted campaign against Muẓaffar and his partisans in the Ran of Kach, and later subjugated the *Kolīs* and *Grāssiyahs* in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar. His skill as a commander and administrator is indicated throughout all these campaigns by the fact of his skillfully arranging the movements of the troops, attacking the enemy before its forces could be consolidated, his ruse for the relief of Ākḥār, launching vigorous rear attacks in various battles, the establishments of *thānas* or military posts and the construction of forts.

This very successful term of office culminated in the Khwājah's being summoned to the Imperial Court in 996 A.H., when A'ẓam Khān was appointed as the Governor of Gujarāt [1]. Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad traversed a distance of some 600 *karohs* in the course of twelve days, and reached Lāhore on the 3rd *Nauroz* of the 35th year of Akbar's reign. According to Al-Badāonī [2], Akbar gave orders that the camel-drivers should appear before him in the *Maḥjar* in the same condition in which they had arrived, and they were a wonderful spectacle. After that he received boundless favours from the Emperor, and gained a great ascendancy over the mind of his royal patron. It was

[1] For details see *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 563–595, where references to other works and several discrepancies in dates and the different accounts are noted.

[2] See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 384.

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about this time that he was appointed in-charge of the provinces of Ajmīr, Gujarāt and Mālwah, apparently of the *Khālṣa* lands [1]. Towards the end of *Sha'bān*, 999 A.H., he was granted the *parganah* of Shamasābād as his *jāgīr* and was allowed five months' leave of absence to arrange matters there. In the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) when Āṣaf Khān *Bakhshī* was appointed to the Kābul campaign, Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was appointed as the *Bakhshī* [2] in his place.

Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr, and apparently was a great favourite of the Emperor at this time. His account of Kashmīr is not very detailed and the history of Akbar terminates with the end of the 38th year of his reign. The author describes it as having been written "in a summary manner by the pen of broken writing" . . . . "but most of the great events have been succinctly narrated". "If life helps (me) and God's favour helps (me), the events of the coming years also, if the dear God so wills, will be noted down, and will be made a part of this worthy book. Otherwise, anyone who may be guided by the grace of God, having engaged himself in writing it down, will attain to great good fortune." [3]

While staying at Lāhore in attendance on the Emperor, Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad laid out or purchased a garden, and it was in this garden that he was buried after his death. At this time he is described by Al-Badāonī as having "entered on affairs with great energy and activity. He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor, and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability, good sense, sincerity, honesty and perseverance." He would probably have risen to much greater heights, but "suddenly at the very acme of his eminence, and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate, and at the age of forty-five he succumbed to a burning fever." [4]

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[1] See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 924.

[2] See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 393. According to Lowe, *Bakhshī* was the paymaster-general.

[3] *Vide Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, p. 652. The last sentence is quoted incorrectly in the life of the author in *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*.

[4] Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 411.

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The events preceding his death are described in greater detail in *Akbarnāma*[1] where it is stated that on 14th *Ṣafar*, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1594 A.D.), at Shāham 'Alī, near Lāhore, he developed high fever while on a hunting expedition with the Emperor. His sons obtained leave to convey him to Lāhore, but he died on the 23rd[2] *Ṣafar* (28th October, 1594 A.D.) on the banks of the river Rāvī.

In the *Akbarnāma* (*loc. cit.*) it is stated that Akbar's "discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged for forgiveness for him at the court of God. Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rāstī*) indulged in grief."

Al-Badāonī's account (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 412) is more detailed and is quoted here to indicate the regard and reverence in which he was held by all:

> "There was scarcely anyone of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret."

The last line of the *Qiṭ'ah* which was composed on this occasion gives the year (1003 A.H.) of his death:

گوهرِ بي بها ز دنيا رفت[3]

(A priceless pearl has left the world.)

TĀRĪKH-I-AKBARĪ: ITS SOURCES AND IMPORTANCE.

Before dealing with the work itself it would be useful to add a note here regarding the various names assigned to it. The author in his introduction[4] designated it the *Ṭabaqāt-i-*

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[1] Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 1005.

[2] Faiḍī Sirhindī in *Akhbar-Nāma*, as noted already, gives 22nd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. as the date of death of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875); this is certainly incorrect.

[3] Text edition of *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh* by Lees, Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Ahmad Ali, vol. II, p. 398 (1865).

[4] See De's translation of vol. I, p. 6 (1911). The date comes to 1001 A.H. (50+900+1+40+10) or 1592 A.D. The author died in 1003 A.H., 1594 A.D., and he was apparently working at it for several years before his death. See Ranking's translation of *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, vol. I, pp. 9,

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Akbar-Shāhī and stated that the word *Niẓāmī*, the name of the author, gives the chronogram of the date of its compilation. In *Rauḍat-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn* by Ṭāhir Muḥammad, the work is called *Tārīk̲h-i-Sulṭān Niẓāmī* [1], but this name has not been adopted by any of the later writers. The work is called the *Tārīk̲h-i-Niẓāmī* by Muḥammad Hāshim K̲hāfī K̲hān in *Muntak̲hab-ul-lubāb* (*vide* text-edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, p. 238, 1869). The same name was also used by 'Abd-ul-Qādir, also known as Al-Badāonī [2], in his *Muntak̲hab-ut-tawārīk̲h*, but he also calls it '*Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīk̲h*' (*vide* Ranking's English translation in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 9, 10, 1898). Firishtah (*Tārīk̲h-i-Firishtah*, Persian text, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 4, 1884) designated it as the *Tārīk̲h-i-Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bak̲hshī*, and Col. Briggs in his translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, Author's Preface, p. xlviii, 1829) calls it '*History of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy*'. Blochmann (*loc. cit.*, p. 115), as noted already, calls it '*Ṭabaqāt i Niẓām i Bakhshī*'. Several manuscripts, however, bear the name *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and under this name the work is cited in various descriptive catalogues of Persian Manuscripts in most well-known European libraries (for details

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10, footnote 2, 1898). In this connection reference may also be made to Al-Badāonī's remarks where in his description of the events of the year 1002 A.H. he says "Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī Shāhī* (*sic*), the date of which, I, this erring author, after much thought found to be *Nizāmī*. Having persuaded the said author to allow me, I wrote a part of the book myself." (Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 403).

[1] *Vide* W. H. Morley, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts*, p. 68 (1864), and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873). For details of the work *Rauḍat-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn* see Beveridge, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (*n.s.*) vol. XIV, pp. 269–277 (1918). Unfortunately the only manuscript of this work in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 42, *vide Ivanoff's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, p. 13, 1924) is incomplete, and I have not, therefore, been able to verify this reference.

[2] For a critical note in reference to *Al-Badāonī* see Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 119, 120 (1869).

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see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's preface to *Tārīk̲h-i-Shāhī*, p. vii, footnote 1, 1939). This name was apparently first adopted by Elliot [1] who remarked that "the name by which it is best known in literary circles is Tabakāt-i-Akberī", and this was also selected for the edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in preference to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī*, to avoid confusion with a work of the same name by K̲hwājah 'Aṭā Beg Qazvīnī written about 1014 A.H., 1605 A.D. According to Ranking (*loc. cit.*) the work is simply known as 'Tabaqāt,' while Lees (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* (*n.s.*) vol. III, p. 455, 1868) erroneously designates it as the '*Ṭārīk̲h-i-Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī*'.

Beveridge [2] in dealing with the sources of *Akbarnāma* stated that the 'Tabaqat-Akbari' and 'Badayuni's abridgment thereof' (*Muntak̲hab-ut-tawārīk̲h*) "were probably written under Akbar's orders or inspired by his action." In the introduction to *Akbarnāma* [3] while referring to Abū-l-Faḍl's love for sources or the *Quellen*, he remarked that "to him we owe not only the *Akbarnāma* but also the Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam, Jauhar the ewer-bearer, Bajazat (Bāyazīd) Biyat and perhaps Niẓāmu-d-dīn's history". Neither of the two views is upheld by a study of the contemporary sources. The work was started and completed by the author at his own initiative and there is no mention anywhere of either Akbar or Abū-l-Faḍl having sponsored or inspired its compilation. He certainly was helped [4] in the work by such friends as Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar [5], 'Abdul Qādir Al-Badāonī [6] and others, but the major part of the work

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[1] Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, vol. I (the only volume ever issued), p. 179 (1849). Also see *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873).

[2] *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (*n.s.*) vol. XIV, p. 469 (1919).

[3] *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation of vol. III, introduction p. xi (1939).

[4] *Maāṯ̲hīr-ul-Umarā*, text edition, vol. I, p. 663.

[5] For an account of this great author, historian and administrator see *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of vol. I, pp. 578–580 (1939).

[6] Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 403.

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was his own composition, based on a study of several historical works and such independent information as he could collect from various sources by research and industry [1]. His history of the Akbar's reign is based on personal observations, on information obtained from firsthand sources and probably to some extent on Abū-l-Faḍl's *opus magnum* the *Akbarnāma* [2].

In the introduction and dedication of the *Ṭabaqāt* Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad explains the genesis of the work as follows:

> "It came to the dull understanding of the author that he should, with the pen of truth and candour, write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style, in its different sections, an account of the Empire of Hindustan from the time of Sabuktigīn which began with the year 367 A.H., when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustan, to the year 1001 A.H., corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the Divine era, which was inaugurated at the epoch-making accession of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God; and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army, which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown; then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place. The details of these events are contained in the great history called the Ākbar-nāmah, which that embodiment of all excellence, the learned in all truths and knowledge, the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection, the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor, the most erudite Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and

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[1] The words in *Maāṯhīr* (*loc. cit.*) are

و چون جز رسی و دقت در تنقیح اخبار و سعی تمام بفراهم آوردن مواد بکار برده *

[2] I have included *Akbarnāma* as one of his sources, as it is mentioned in the introduction, but in view of various discrepancies in the accounts in the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Akbarnāma* it is very doubtful whether he really utilized it to any extent in the compilation of his own History.

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eminence has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times."[1]

The history actually starts from about 377 A.H. corresponding to 986-987 A.D., and not 367 A.H. as stated by the author in the introduction; an account of the earlier years in a few lines merely introduces Amīr Nāṣiruddīn Sabuktigīn and can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a history of those years. According to the author, as will be seen from the quotation above, he deals with the history of India up to the year 1001 A.H. corresponding to the thiry-seventh year of Akbar's reign, and apparently it was this which was responsible for Mr. De describing it on the title-pages of volume I, both of the text and the translation, and of the text edition of volume II, as 'A History of India from the early Musalmān Invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar'. The work, on the other hand, as is clear from a perusal of the author's concluding

[1] De's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. I, p. v. The corresponding passage of the Persian text runs as follows:

بخاطر فاطر رسید - که تاریخی که جامع و مشتمل بر تمامي احوال ممالک هندوستان باشد - بعبارتی واضح از زمان سبکتگین، که سنه سبع و ستین و ثلثمائه - و ابتدا ظهور اسلام در بلاد هندوستان است - تا سنه احدی و الف - موافق سی و هفتم سال الهی - که مبداء آن از جلوس ابد قرین حضرت خلیفهٔ الهي است - طبقه بر طبقه مرقوم خامهٔ صدق و سداد گرداند - و خاتمهٔ هر طبقه را بفتحِ موکب عالی آنحضرت که عنوان رفعت نامه مفاخر ست - اتصال دهد آنگاه مجملی از جمیع فتوحات و واقعات و واردات حضرت خلیفهٔ الهی که این مختصرتر باید بجای خویش عرضه نماید - و تفصیل این اجمال - مفوض به کتاب عالیخطاب اکبرنامه است - که افضل پناه - معارف و حقایق آگاه - جامع کمالات صوري و معنوي - مقرب الحضرت السلطانی - علامي شیخ ابوالفضل که دیباچهٔ مکارم و معالیست - بقلم بدائع رقم نگاشته صحائف ایام ساخته *

It will be seen that جامع و مشتمل بر تمامي احوال has been translated by Mr. De as "comprehensive", خامهٔ صدق و سداد as "with the pen of truth and candour" and بعبارتی واضح as "in a clear style".

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paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign [1], succinctly narrates the events up to the end of the 38th year corresponding to 1002 A.H. (1593-1594 A.D.), and this is confirmed by a reference to the *Akbarnāma* [2]. The consultation with the Khān Khānān regarding the Deccan campaign, which took place after the 8th Dai (or Dī) of the 38th year near the town of Sulṭānpūr (or Shaikhūpūr), is mentioned in the penultimate paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign in the *Ṭabaqāt*. The mistake was corrected on the title-page of the translation of volume II, but to avoid ambiguity it would have been better to add the words 'the end of' before "the thirty-eighth year" or still better to use 'to the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign'.

Excluding the *Akbarnāma* the author cites the following twenty-eight works which he utilized in the compilation of his *Ṭabaqāt*:

1. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī.*
2. *Tārīkh-i-Zain-ul-Akhbār.*
3. *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā.*
4. *Tāj-ul-Maāthir.*
5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī.*
6. *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ.*
7. *Tughluq-Nāmah.*
8. *Tārikh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* by *Ḍiyā Barnī.*
9. *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī.*
10. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī.*
11. *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn.*
12. *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Hindwī* (*Manduī* according to Rieu).
13. *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Khurd Hindwī* (*Manduī* according to Rieu).
14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī.*
15. *Maāthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī.*
16. *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī.*
17. *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhī.*
18. *Tārīkh-i-Bahamanī.*

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[1] *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, p. 652 (1936).

[2] *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation of vol. III, p. 996 (1910–1939).

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19. *Tārīk̲h-i-Nāṣirī* [1].
20. *Tārīk̲h-i-Muẓaffarshāhī.*
21. *Tārīk̲h-i-Mīrzā Ḥaidar.*
22. *Tārīk̲h-i-Kashmīr.*
23. *Tārīk̲h-i-Sind.*
24. *Tārīk̲h-i-Bāburī.*
25. *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī.*
26. *Tārīk̲h-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī.*
27. *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī.*
28. *Wāqi'āt-i-Ḥaḍrat Jannat Āshiyānī Humāyūn Bādshāh.*

Unfortunately some of the works cited in the *Ṭabaqāt* are not traceable, but I give below short bibliographical notes on the authorities referred to in the above list.

1. *Tārik̲h Al-Yamīnī* [2] by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad *bin* 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbī is a history of the first two Ghaznavid sovereigns Subuktigīn and Maḥmūd. It was written about 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.). This work has been translated into Persian, and an English translation of the Persian version by Reynolds was published for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. Full bibliographical details of this work were published by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain in his *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Buhar Library*, vol. II, pp. 260, 261 (1923).

2. *Kitāb Zain-ul-Ak̲hbār* by Abū Sa'īd 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy *bin* aḍ-Ḍaḥḥak *bin* Maḥmūd Gardezī is a very rare historical work. Only two incomplete manuscripts [3] of this work are known, one in the library of King's College, Cambridge (213), and the other in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ouseley,

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[1] Rieu (*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 220, 1879) cites numbers 19 and 20 as a single work under the title '*Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī-u-Muzaffarshāhī*', but in the text the two read as:

تاريخ ناصرى و تاريخ مظفر شاهى *

[2] ترجمهٔ يميني in Firishtah and '*Turjooma Yemuny*' in Briggs (*loc. cit.*, p. xlix).

[3] For details see pages 1–4 of the Preface to Muhammad Nāzim's edition of sections i–xiii of *Kitab Zain 'l-Akhbar* (E. G. Browne, Mem. Ser. I, 1928).

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240); it has further been suggested that the Bodleian manuscript is only a copy of the one at King's College, Cambridge.

Zain-ul-Akhbār is a general history of Persia from the Pishdādiyān dynasty, dealing particularly with the governors and rulers of Khurāsān up to *ca.* 440 A.H. (1048 A.D.). Unfortunately a large portion of the work is lost, but an edition of the first thirteen sections of the text was published by Muḥammad Nāẓim [1].

As is pointed out by Muḥammad Nāẓim, Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī was the first author to utilize this work for his account of the Ghaznavid sovereigns in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and the discovery of this rare work must remain to his credit. Firishtah also includes *Zain-ul-Akhbār* amongst the sources of his *Tārīkh*, but in view of the fact that his account of the period dealt with in the *Zain* was based mainly on the *Ṭabaqāt*, it seems likely that he had only taken this reference from Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's list.

3. *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā* by Muḥammad *bin* Khāwand Shāh *bin* Maḥmūd. Very little information is available about the birth or early life of the author, but he is stated to have died at Herāt in 903 A.H. (1497 A.D.). *Rauḍat* is a work on general history, from the creation of the world to the author's time. For details see *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, Bombay edition, volume II, pp. 198, 339, and Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 87 (1879). A full account of the work and translations of some extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 127–140 (1872).

4. *Tāj-ul-Maāthir* by Ḥasan Niẓāmī of Nishāpūr deals with the history of part of the reign of Mu'izuddīn (assassinated 602 A.H., 1206 A.D.), the entire reign of Quṭbuddīn Aibak

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[1] *Vide* note 3, p. xxii. The editor cites *Elliot's History of India*, 1869, as the first notice of this work. This is incorrect, as Elliot in his *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 83 (1849), had published a detailed note regarding the Ouseley Manuscript No. 240 which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; this was reprinted in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 557, 558 (1872), while the 1869 reference cited by the editor is only a casual notice of the work in vol. II of the same publication (p. 432).

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(602–607 A.H., 1206–1210 A.D.) and the first seven years of the reign of Shamsuddīn Iltutmish (1211–1217 A.D.). A detailed account of the *Tāj* was published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. II, pp. 204–243 (1869), while Ethé in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, vol. I, p. 209 (1901) gives full bibliographic references.

5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by *Minhāj* Sirāj Jūzjānī is a very valuable historical work from the earliest times to 658 A.H. (1259 A.D.). The author in honour of his patron Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh, king of Delhi (644–664 A.H., 1246–1266 A.D.), named it *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. A detailed account of the work was given in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. II, pp. 259–383 (1869) and vol. VIII, pp. i-xxxi (1877), and full bibliographical references are given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 72, 73 (1879).

6. *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* by Amīr Khusrau is a short but very important contemporary history of the reign of 'Alāuddīn dealing with the period 695–711 A.H. (1296–1312 A.D.). The work is very rare [1], only two manuscripts, one in the British Museum (Or. 1638) and the other in King's College Library, Cambridge, are known. A lithograph edition [2] based on the British Museum manuscript was published under the editorship of 'Moinul Haq' in 1927, but, as has been pointed out by Dr. Mīrzā [3], it is "full of mistakes, due either to faulty transcription or to careless editing."

In his excellent study of Amīr Khusrau Dr. Mīrzā (pp. 222–225) has given a detailed list of contents of the historical material of the *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ* and discussed its literary peculiarities; Prof. M. Ḥabīb [4] in his introduction to the text-edition had also dealt with the literary peculiarities and the historical importance of this work.

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[1] For details see Mohammad Wahid Mirza—*The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 225, footnote 1 (*Punjab Univ. Orient. Pub.*, Calcutta, 1935).

[2] *The Khazainul Futuh* edited by Syed Moinul Haq (*Publications of the Sultania Hist. Soc.*, Aligrah, 1927).

[3] M. W. Mirza, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[4] English Introduction by M. Ḥabīb to M. Haq's text edition, pp. 1–15 (*vide* Note 2 *supra*).

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7. *Tughluq-Nāmah* by Amīr Khusrau was quite unknown till recently, as no copies of it are preserved in any of the European or Indian libraries. Al-Badāonī (*Muntakhbu-t-tawārīkh*, Ranking's translation of vol. I, p. 301) remarks that it was the last of Amīr Khusrau's works, and "was written in verse in honour of the Sulṭān and in obedience to his order". Ethé in his *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, p. 405, in the account of *Haft Iqlīm*, notes that the work consisted of 3,000 *baits* (verses). A manuscript entitled *Jahāngīrnāmah* by Ḥayātī Kāshī in the personal library of Maulānā Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Shirwānī of Ḥabībganj was recently identified as the *Tughluq-Nāmah* of Amīr Khusrau by the late Maulvī Rashīd Aḥmad Anṣārī. A detailed introduction, a summary of this work by the editor Saiyid Hāshmī Farīdābādī, an incomplete descriptive note by Maulvī Rashīd Aḥmad in Urdū, and the text was published at Aurangābād, Deccan, in 1352 A.H. (1933 A.D.).

Relying on the statements in *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓunūn* and 'Abd-ul-Qādir Al-Badāonī's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* the *Tughluq-Nāmah* is believed to have been composed in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.), but some part of the work had been lost even in Akbar's time, and in 1019 A.H. (1610 A.D.), Jahāngīr commissioned Ḥayātī Kāshī to supply the missing parts to complete the work. The work, as published, is believed to be what has been preserved of Ḥayātī's revised version, and consists of 2,920 verses. In view of the presence of a ترک (catch-word) on the last page of the manuscript and a statement by Ḥayātī (*vide* verses 168–177) that he intends to complete the work by adding some further verses at the end, it is surmised by the editor that some of the folios at the end are missing. 179 verses in the beginning of the work are definitely identified as Ḥayātī's work, leaving a balance of 2,742 verses [1]

[1] There is apparently a mistake in the number of verses assigned to Amīr Khusrau, as after deducting 179 of Ḥayātī's verses from the total number of 2,920 verses in the work, the number should be 2,741 and not 2,742 as given on p. 2 of the work. In this connection also see the critical account of M. W. Mirza, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–253. He rightly does not include the *abyāt-i-silsilah* or the rubrics in verse in the number of verses, and is of the opinion that only 2,717 verses should be accepted as

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by Amīr Khusrau. The editor in his introduction directs special attention to the historical importance of the work in connection with the following:—the murder of Sulṭān Quṭbuddīn, the last of the Khaljī kings (716 A.H., 1316 A.D.), annihilation of the 'Alāī dynasty; Khusrau Khān's short-lived reign of a few days [1], insurrection of the Tughluq (Ghāzī Malik later Ghiyāṯhuddīn Tughluq I), his correspondence with various *Amīrs*, advance to Delhī and victory over the usurper Khusrau Khān after two big battles, capture of Khusrau Khān and his brother, and finally his execution. This period (1316–1320 A.D.) marks the fall of the Khaljī and the rise of the Tughluq Dynasty. On comparing the accounts in *Tughluq-Nāmah* with that in the *Ṭabaqāt*, it appears almost certain that the author of the latter did not make much use of the former in compiling his account of the period under reference.

8. *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* by Ḍiyā Barnī is a history of the Sulṭāns of Delhī from the accession of Ghiyāṯhuddīn Balban, 662 A.H. (1266 A.D.), to the sixth year of Fīrūzshāh's reign, 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.). It is the most important history of the period and was apparently the authority on which Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad and Firishtah based their works. The work was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1860–1862). A translation of the introduction and of the major part of the work was published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. III, pp. 93–268 (1871).

9. *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī* by the King Fīrūzshāh Tughluq (752–790 A.H., 1351–1388 A.D.) is a record of "the edicts and ordinances of his reign, the abuses and evil practices which he has put down, the buildings, monuments and works of public utility which he has carried out." A translation of the entire work is published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. III, pp. 374–388 (1871).

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being by Khusrau. For a detailed analysis of the work also see Ḥusain's *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938).

[1] The period of Khusrau Khān's reign, who took the name of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrau, was exactly two months, *vide Tughluq-Nāmah*, pp. 18, 19, from the 1st of Jumādā II to 1st Sha'bān, 720 A.H. (9th July to 6th September, 1320 A.D.).

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10. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* by Yaḥya *bin* Aḥmad *bin* 'Abdullah Sirhindī is a history of the Sulṭāns of Delhī from the time of Mu'izuddīn *bin* Sām, the founder of the Ghūrī Dynasty, to 838 A.H., 1434 A.D. It is the most reliable and in fact the only source for the history of the first three kings of the Saiyid Dynasty from 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) to 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.), and the accounts in the *Ṭabaqāt* and Firishtah's History are not only based on it, but in most cases are *verbatim* copies of Yaḥya's account. An account of this work with extracts is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 6–88 (1872) and the entire work was issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1931 under the editorship of M. Hidāyat Ḥosain. An English translation by K. K. Basu was published in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, No. lxiii, in 1932.

11. *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* by 'Iṣāmī (Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Mulk 'Iṣāmī according to Ethé [1]) is a very important historical work in verse, from the time of Subuktigīn of Ghaznī to Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq. The *Futūḥ*, like the *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār*, is a very rare work and only two manuscripts [2] of it are known. Like the *Zain* it was first mentioned in the sources of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, and it appears that the references in Firishtah [3] and Al-Badāonī [4] are only taken from the *Ṭabaqāt*. Briggs [5] was not personally acquainted with the work, but remarked that the *Futūḥ* is an unimportant book of historical romances.

The text [6] of the *Futūḥ*, based on the manuscript in the India Office Library, was issued in 1938 by Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain

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[1] Ethé, H. *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 559, No. 895 (1903).

[2] *Vide* page 1 of the English Preface of the text edition of the '*Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*' edited by A. Mahdi Husain (Agra, 1938).

[3] *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* (Lucknow edition), p. 132 (1884).

[4] *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh*, text edition, vol. I, p. 236 (1868).

Ranking in his translation of this volume, p. 314 (1898), note 9, remarks: "I can find no mention of this work."

[5] Briggs, J. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, p. 406 (1829).

[6] *Vide* Note 2 *supra*.

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of Āgra. In the Urdū and English prefaces of this edition the editor briefly discusses the historical and literary merits of the *Futūḥ*, while a short critical notice is published in his monographic study [1] of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq. Prof. A. S. U'sha of Madras has also published an *'Iṣāmī Nāma* and discussed the merits of 'Iṣāmī's publications, but I have unfortunately not been able to refer to his publications [2]; his views have been adversely criticized by M. Ḥusain and M. Ḥaq [3]. A critical review [4] of the work is also being published in the Urdū monthly *Ma'ārif* by Ṣabāḥuddīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān.

Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn originally consisted of about 12,000 verses, but according to the editor, only 11,524 verses were found in the India Office manuscript; of these, nineteen verses (Nos. 11294–11312) are quite illegible. The work was completed in five months and nine days (10th December, 1349–14th May, 1350 A.D.). For his sources the author does not specify any special works, but states [5] that he based his account on the *Ḥadīth*, various descriptive works, old legends, information gathered from friends and personal observations.

Dr. M. Ḥusain sums up the historical importance of the work as follows [6]:—"It presents in tolerably accurate chronological order events of the political history of India for over three hundred years, and it also throws light on the beginning of the Bahmani rule in the Deccan; on the psychology of the 14th century India; on the principal towns and their respective distances; on the nature of punishments then inflicted; on the Hindu amirs and princes; and on the Hindi words and idioms then in Muslim usage." He further regards the *Futūḥ* as a

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[1] M. Ḥusain, *'The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq'*, pp. 253, 254 and Preface pp. xiv–xvi (London, 1938).

[2] References to Prof. U'sha's contributions are given in M. Ḥusain and M. Haq.

[3] M. Haq, *Muslim Univ. Journ.*, vol. V, No. 2, pp. 30–32 (1938).

[4] *Ma'ārif*, vol. XLIV, Nos. 2–4, pp. 109–127, 201–216, 279–298, in progress (1939).

[5] *Vide* page 579, verses 11437–11443 of the text edition.

[6] *Vide* page 3 of the English Preface to the text edition.

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literary work of exceptional merit, and 'Iṣāmī as the best epic writer of the age.

Ṣabāḥuddīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān in his critical review after comparing 'Iṣāmī's accounts with some contemporary sources, such as the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tārīk̲h-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *Tārīk̲h-i-Mubārakshāhī* and other works, is of the opinion that most of the legends and stories in the *Futūḥ* are not based on any historical facts. The historical data of the *Futūḥ*, on the other hand, are generally correct, and, even though involved and jumbled at times, are valuable in supplying additional information and for clearing up details of several doubtful events. It is, however, not possible to adjudge the extent to which the *Futūḥ* was utilized in the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

12, 13. It has not been possible to identify the two works *Tārīk̲h Maḥmūdshāhī Mandwī* and *Tārīk̲h Maḥmūdshāhī K̲hurd Mandwī*. The works seem to be lost and no accounts of either beyond the references in the *Ṭabaqāt* and Firishtah's History are now available.

14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī*. No work of this title is known, and it has not been possible to identify it with any other History of Gujarāt.

15. *Maāthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī*. This is also an unknown work, but Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 967 (1883), has suggested its possible identity with *Tārīk̲h-i-Maḥmūdshāh* of unknown authorship (manuscript No. Or. 1819, pp. 966, 967), and given full details of its contents.

16. *Tārīk̲h-i-Muḥammadī*. In the absence of the name of the author, and in view of there being several works of this name, it is difficult to be certain regarding the work referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt*, but if one were to hazard a guess, it seems likely that the work cited is no other than the general history, by Muḥammad Bihāmad K̲hānī, from the time of Muḥammad to 842 A.H. (1438 A.D.), with special reference to India, which is described in detail in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 84–86 (1879).

17. *Tārīk̲h-i-Bahādurshāhī*. This work is referred to as a source of reference in various histories, but it has not been possible to trace it. In *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 484 (1875), it is referred to as a work by "*another individual* who

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wrote all the rest of the annals of Sultān Fīroz's reign, as well as those of the Gujarat sovereigns, under the title of *Tarikh-i-Bahādur Shāhi*."

18. *Tārīkh-i-Bahamanī* is another lost work which is only referred to in several historical works, but no copies of which are now available.

19. *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī*. The work referred to is probably the History of Mālwah entitled *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirshāhī* by an unknown author described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 968, MS. No. Or. 1803, and not the famous *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī* by Abū-l-Faḍl Baihaqī which was edited by W. H. Morley and printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1862.

20. *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarshāhī* by an unknown author is apparently a very rare work. The only known manuscript (No. Add. 26, 279) of this history, so far I am able to find from the various sources, is preserved in the British Museum, London. It is described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 287 (1879), as being an account of the siege and capture of Mandū by Muẓaffar Shāh II, king of Gujarāt, in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).

21. *Tārīkh-i-Mīrzā Ḥaidar*. The correct title of the work is *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* it is cited as the *Tārīkh* of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, after the name of its author. This work is of special value in connection with the history of Kashmīr. An English translation with annotations was published by N. Elias and E. D. Ross (1895).

22. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*. The name of the author is not mentioned, but the work referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt* is probably the Persian translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in Sanskrit which was completed by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād and revised by 'Abd-ul-Qādir Al-Badāonī in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.). A full account of the work is given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 296 (1879).

23. *Tārīkh-i-Sind* by Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī is also known as the *Tarīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī*. It deals with the history of Sind from the Muhammedan conquest to its final absorption in the Moghul Empire during Akbar's reign in 1001 A.H. (1592 A.D.). A detailed account of it is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. I, pp. 212–252 (1867), and the work has recently (1938) been printed

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under the editorship of Dr. U. M. Daudpota in the Government Oriental Series of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

24. *Tārīk̲h-i-Bāburī.* No work of this name can be traced and it appears as if the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* had confused one of the Persian translations of *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* under this name (*vide infra*).

25. *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī.* In reference to this work also it is not possible to decide which of the Persian translations of the *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* is referred to by the author of the *Ṭabaqāt.* The translation of Shaik̲h Zain or 'Zainu'd-din of Khwaf' was made during the lifetime of Emperor Bābur (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge's *Bābur-Nāma,* preface p. xl, 1921, and Rieu's *Catalogue,* vol. III, p. 926), a second one by Pāyandah Ḥasan G̲haznavī and Muḥammad Qulī Mug̲hal Hiṣārī was begun in 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.), and completed in 994 A.H., 1586 A.D. (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii, xliv, and Rieu's *Catalogue,* vol. II, p. 799), and finally a third by 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm K̲hān K̲hānān, which "was made at Akbar's orders to help Abū'l-faẓl in the *Akbar-nāma*", and on its completion was presented to Akbar in 998 A.H., 1589 A.D. (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. xliv, and Rieu's *Catalogue,* vol. I, p. 244).

26. *Tārīk̲h-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī.* No work of this name is known, and appears as if *Ibrāhīmshāhī* is a *lapsus calami* on the part of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* for *Ibrāhīmī.* The *Tārīk̲h-i-Ibrāhīmī*[1], also known as *Tārīk̲h-i-Humāyūnī,* by Ibrāhīm *bin* Ḥarīr (probably Jarīr as suggested by Ethé) is "a general history of the world from Adam to A.H. 596 (A.D. 1199)"—see Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office,* p. 33, No. 104 (1903).

27. *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* by Mushtāqī, commonly known as Rizq Ullah, "is a collection of detached narratives and anecdotes relating to the sovereigns of the Lodi, Timuride and Sur dynasties." An account of the work with translations of some extracts

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[1] Not to be confused with *Tārīk̲h-i-Ibrāhīmī* which is another name for Firishtah's History, *vide* Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India,* p. 336 (1849).

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is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 534–557 (1872), while details regarding the almost unique manuscript in the British Museum are given by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. II, pp. 820, 821 (1881).

28. *Wāqi'āt-i-Haḍrat Jannat Āshiyānī Hūmāyūn Bādshāh*. By this title Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad apparently means the *Tuḏḥkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt* by Jauhar Āftābchī, which is a useful source of reference in regard to Humāyūn's reign. Details of this work are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 136–149 (1873).

On comparing the above list with Firishtah's sources it is found that the latter gives a list of 35 main works consulted by him for the compilation of his History, while another twenty are cited in the body of the work. Of the works cited in the *Ṭabaqāt* Firishtah does not mention *Khazāin-i-Futūḥ*, *Tughluq-Namāh*, *Tārīḵh-i-Nāṣirī*, *Tārīḵh-i-Mīrzā Ḥaidar*, *Tārīḵh-i-Bāburī* and *Tārīḵh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*, while I have doubtfully identified Firishtah's *Tārīḵh-i-Jāmī* (or *Ḥājī*) with Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī's *Tārīḵh-i-Muḥammadī* of the *Ṭabaqāt*. In addition there are twenty works which are mentioned in the body of Firishtah's *Tārīḵh* and which are included in a subsidiary list by Briggs. Of these, two, *Futūḥ-i-Salāṭīn* and *Wāqi'āt-ī-Mushtāqī* (? Travels of Abool Nusr Nuskatty—No. 7 of Briggs's list), are also included in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Firishtah's list includes the following additional works [1] which are not mentioned in the list of the authorities in the *Ṭabaqāt*:

1. *Mulḥiqāt-i-Shaiḵh 'Ainuddīn Bījāpurī*.
2. *Bahman-Nāmah of Shaiḵh Āḏharī*.
3. *Tārīḵh-i-Binakītī*.
4. *Tuḥfat-us-Salāṭīn Bahamanī* by *Mullā Dāūd Bīdarī*.
5. *Tārīḵh-Alfī*.
6. *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*.
7. *Tārīḵh-i-Bangālah*.
8. *Fawāid-ul-Fuwād*.

[1] For this comparison I have used the lists as given in Briggs's translation of Firishtah entitled *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, pp. xlix–li (1829). Sources of Firishtah are also discussed by Mohl in *Journal des Savants*, pp. 220–224 (1840).

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9. *Khair-ul-Majālis.*
10. *Nuskhah Quṭbī.*
11. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn.*

The importance of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* lies in the fact that it was the first comprehensive history of India and that it served as the authority on which several later historical works were based.

The opinion of 'Abd-ul-Qādir, Al-Badāonī, the author of the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, has already been referred to. Up to the year of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's death, his history, though embellished with additional facts, is an abridgment of the *Ṭabaqāt*[1] and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*. He corrected some of the dates of the *Ṭabaqāt*, but mainly relied on it for the historical facts.

Several chapters of the *Rauḍat-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn* by Ṭāhir Muḥammad, which was written between 1011 A.H. (1602-1603 A.D.) and 1015 A.H. (1606-1607 A.D.) are, according to Elliot (*op. cit.*, p. 300), copied *verbatim* from the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah pronounced the *Ṭabaqāt* to be defective, but "borrowed from it very freely and has formed his own history of Hindustan and the Deccan entirely on the same plan" (Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 178). This opinion is fully borne out by the running commentary of the *Tārīkh* provided by Mr. De in his very valuable footnotes in the translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, particularly in volume III.

The *Tārīkh-i-Shahī* (or *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i Afāghīna*) was composed soon after the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* (before 1594 A.D.) and before 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) when the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* was written (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 1, 2, 1873). The author Aḥmad Yādgār mentions Niẓāmī's History or the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār* as his authorities and, as M. Ḥidāyat Ḥosain[2] has recently shown, he has copied *verbatim* the account of the reign of Humāyūn from the *Ṭabaqāt*.

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[1] According to *Elliot's Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 221 (1849), Al-Badāonī in his work '*Nijātu-r-Rashīd*' designates his own history "as a mere abridgment of the Tabakāt."

[2] *Vide* M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's text edition of *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, Preface, pp. 6, 7 (1939).

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Maāṯhir-i-Ṛahīmī by Mullā 'Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī was composed in the year 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.). The first volume of this work dealing with the general history of India appears, from its contents and descriptions, on almost identical lines, to be based mainly on the *Ṭabaqāt*. *Maāṯhir's* style and language are superior to those of the *Ṭabaqāt*, but there can be little doubt that the historical part is only a copy of the latter. This view is confirmed by the fact that the detailed account of Akbar's reign in the *Maāṯhir* ends with the 38th year of his reign; the author in this connection adds that as the narrative in the *Ṭabaqāt* ends with this year and as he has not been able to obtain any detailed history of the remaining fourteen years of the reign, he has not been able to include a detailed account of this period.[1]

M. 'Abdul Muqtadir in the Preface[2] to the *Haft-Iqlīm* (completed 1002 A.H., 1593 A.D.) of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī remarked that "for the Indian portion of the history he relies mainly upon the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari".

Muntakẖab-ul-lubāb by Muḥammad Hāshmī, better known by his nickname of Kẖāfī Kẖān, is a very valuable general history of India from the Muhammadan conquest to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, Emperor of Delhī (1719–1748 A.D.). It was published in 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.). The author[3] states that Niẓāmuddīn Harawī, who was one of the *Bakẖshīs* of the Emperor Akbar, wrote a comprehensive history of the twenty-one *Ṣūbas* of the Deccan and included in it the history of Akbar up to the 37th year of his reign. His account of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan in general is not reliable, and with reference to the accounts of the Sulṭāns of this region the author has not come across any other historical work, except that of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah, which can be fully relied upon. As Niẓāmuddīn had, however, been in the service of the Emperor Akbar throughout his life, his

[1] See M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's text edition of *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, vol. I, p. 933 (1924).

[2] *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of *Haft Iqlīm* by E. D. Ross and M. 'Abdul Muqtadir, p. vi (1918).

[3] *Vide* Kabiruddin Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir's text edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 237–243 (1869).

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narrative of the reign of this King can be fully relied upon, and he bases his account of the *Panj hazārī* and *Chahār hazārī Amīrs* and of some of the religious great men and poets on the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Akbar-Nāma of Shaikh Ilāhdād Faiḍī Sirhindī is, according to Dowson [1], except for the account of the services rendered by his patron Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī and "some scraps of poetry and some wonderful stories", only a compilation from the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Akbarnāma* of Abū-l-Faḍl. It ends with 1010 A.H. (1602 A.D.), the year in which Abū-l-Faḍl's work was completed.

Various other historical works of a later date have either based their accounts on or borrowed from the *Ṭabaqāt*, but it is not necessary to deal with them here.

Of the authors in English it is only necessary to note that the *Ṭabaqāt* is regarded by Elliot, Erskine, Elliot and Dowson, Lees, Ranking, Wolseley Haig, Beni Prasad and others as "amongst the best Persian histories and the most reliable sources of our information" [2].

It was the first comprehensive work which dealt with the history of India to the exclusion of the other Asiatic countries, and in which the histories of different provinces were dealt in a strict historical sequence. It must also be remembered that the author was primarily a court official, an administrator and a soldier not a *wāqi'ah-navīs* or a court historian. Historical work was with him a labour of love, and being an officer with other more pressing duties, this was carried out by him with the help of his protégés under very unsettled conditions of life. His work also must not be judged by the modern standards. As Elliot admirably summed up in his learned preface [3], the works of the Muhammadan historians can hardly be regarded as ranking higher than annals. "They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence; without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which

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[1] Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, pp. 116–146 (1875).

[2] *Vide* Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 442 (1930).

[3] *Vide* Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, Preface, pp. v–xxx (1849).

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is not of the most puerile or contemptible kind; and without any observation calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies." With the restraining influences of ostracism and even death under the despotic monarchs during whose times these histories were compiled, there could hardly be any chance for the development of individual character or the expression of unbiassed opinions. In common with the authors of the times, and this was not restricted to Muhammadan authors only, Islam in the *Ṭabaqāt* is lauded above all other religions, the Muhammedans are of the true faith and all others are infidels; when the former are killed in battle or otherwise they drink "the cup of martyrdom", while the souls of the infidels "are despatched to hell". Patriotism and bravery of the *Kāfirs* are condemned in very strong terms, while even cowardice, intrigues, wholesale massacres and desecration and demolition of the religious institutions of the Hindūs are applauded. All the same the author deserves full credit for being far in advance of his times and to a great extent free from religious bigotry when he, as against Ḍiyā Barnī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, who describes Khusrau Khān on the occasion of his battle with Ghazī Malik "as the effeminate wretch who could not bear the attack of men", applauds him as "having with great bravery and courage fought to the end of the day."[1]

Similarly in narrating the chivalrous treatment of Sulṭān Maḥmūd at the hands of Rāṇā Sānkā (Sangrāma Singh, Rānā of Mewār) and restoring to him the kingdom of Mālwah after the former's defeat and capture by the latter, Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn[2] shows himself a true historian untrammelled by any religious bigotry or prejudices. In dealing with Akbar, his king and patron, he employs the usual eulogistic high sounding

[1] *Vide* De's translation of vol. I of the *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 207.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt* text edition, vol. III, p. 203:

بر ضمائر اهل بصیرت پوشیده نماند - که کارِ رانا سانکا از سلطان مظفر بالاتر ست - چه سلطان مظفر پناه برده را مدد نمود - و رانا سانکا دشمن را در حرب گرفته سلطنت داد - و مثلِ این قضیهٔ غریب تا غایت معلوم نیست *

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titles and phrases, but cannot, like Abū-l-Faḍl [1], be accused of uncouth flattery, both in form and style, or of wilful concealment of facts. As a historian he casually mentions the "Divine Faith", but does not go into any great detail regarding the observances of the faith or criticize the Emperor, Abu-l-Faḍl and any of the other followers. He was writing a history of the period from personal observations and information collected from all available sources and has succeeded more than any other author of his time in producing what Dowson [2] rightly styles a contemporary history of very high authority.

The *Ṭabaqāt* does not exhibit much literary talent and is not written in any ornate style. The language is fairly simple and vigorous, but not grandiose and highly polished; it is more of the Afghān type which is quite different from the almost pure Persian of Irān, used by Firishtah or Mullā 'Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī, the author of *Maāṯhir-i-Raḥīmī*. Arabic quotations are only sparingly used, but the dates are invariably given in Arabic rather than Persian. The narrative, owing to long sentences, is often involved, rather disjointed and even fragmentary, but as few metaphors and similes are used, there is seldom any difficulty in comprehending the exact meaning of the author.

Brajendranath De [3]

(1852–1932).

Mr. Brajendranath De was born at Calcutta on the 23rd of December, 1852, in his maternal grandfather's house in Simla,

[1] See Blochmann's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Phillott's revised edition), Preface, pp. vii, viii (1939); Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, introduction, pp. xi, xii (1939), and Wolseley Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, p. 111 (1937).

[2] *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, Preface, p. vii (1873).

[3] The life of the author is based on a typescript of an autobiography entitled *Reminiscences of Mr. Brajendranath De, an Indian Member of the Indian Civil Service* which was kindly placed at my disposal by his son Mr. H. K. De, Barrister-at-Law, to whom I tender my grateful thanks. A short Life of Mr. De, written by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain, was published in the *Proceedings* for 1932, pp. clxxv–clxxxvii, in *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXIX for 1933 (1934).

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near the Cornwallis Square. His parents were *Kayasthas* and, as the author writes, belonged to "the middle class section of well-born or as they are commonly called *bhadralok* people". His mother was one of the *garhkātā* Basu families of Anarpur. His early days were spent partly in the home of his maternal ancestors and partly in his paternal home at Bhawanipur which in those days formed one of the suburbs of Calcutta. Brajendranath was the eldest child of the family, and though he had nine or ten brothers and sisters, all except one died in their infancy. The author remarks "it is, therefore, curious that I have lived so long, and on the whole have enjoyed such remarkably good health. I have no doubt that it is due to the fact that I have lived an abstemious, active and regular life, have taken considerable care of myself and have been more or less well-occupied." During his childhood, however, he suffered from various ailments, but he notes that he was in good health from 1862 onwards when his father migrated to Lucknow. He was very fond of religious stories and *sankirtans* (religious musical performances in honour of Krishna or Vishnu) and apparently these greatly impressed him during the early years of his life. He was a favourite companion of his grandmother, and her austere, religious and simple life greatly influenced him in his younger days.

Like all Hindu boys of the period, he had to go through what was known as the *hāte kharī* (chalk in hand) ceremony. This took place when he was 5 years old, on the '*Sripanchami* and *Saraswati Puja*' day; the old family priest after offering '*pujas* to the family *Saligram* and *Saraswati*' (the Goddess of Learning) placed a small cylindrical piece of hard grey chalk in the boy's right hand and guided him in writing the entire Bengali alphabet on the hard floor of the room where the ceremony was performed. In connection with his earlier education the author remarks, "My father had a deep-rooted antipathy equally to indigenous *pathsalas* and to missionary schools, which was perfectly justified in the case of the former, but not so well in the case of the latter; and I therefore never went to any institution of either of these classes." He was first sent to a school in Chakraberia, but soon afterwards was transferred

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to the Nandan Brothers' Academy; both these institutions were located in Bhawanipur. He then migrated to a school in Chorbagan and later to the Colootolah Branch School, now known as the Hare School, and it was here that he was educated up to the Vth standard.

The migration of his father to Lucknow in 1862 to take up his appointment in Government service has already been mentioned, but the family, including the young Brajendranath, did not join him till 1865. Lucknow in those days, as the author remarks, was "in every way different from Calcutta. The men and women were differently built, more sturdy and stalwart than the puny men and women we had known in Calcutta. They were differently dressed, and spoke a different language. The houses were built in a different style . . . . . ", and in fact the entire atmosphere was quite different from that of Calcutta.

At Lucknow young Brajendranath was admitted in the Canning School which later developed into the Canning College and finally into the Lucknow University of the present day; it was there that he suddenly blossomed forth into what he styles "a veritable prodigy". In spite of the fact that he was greatly handicapped by having to learn an entirely new second language, he reached the top of his class at the end of 8-9 months, and for the six or seven years during which he was at this school he was always at the top of his class. He passed the Entrance (the Matriculation) Examination in December, 1867, in the 1st division. The Intermediate Examination he passed in 1869, standing 4th in order of merit in the whole of the Calcutta University. He passed the B.A. Examination in the 1st division and, after studying for a few months more, the M.A. Examination in the 1st class in 1871.

He started studying Sanskrit for his Intermediate Examination and his fondness for this language continued unabated to the end of his life. During this period also he started learning Persian with a *Maulvī* (Persian teacher) at home, who, according to the author, was given "the magnificent monthly salary of Rs.4 for two hours' tuition every day." With this *Maulvī* he used to read various *Inshā's* or collection of letters, among which he mentions *Inshā'-i-Mādhūrām*. Even at this age

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young Brajendranath was very good in languages, particularly in English, Sanskrit and Persian, but he was rather deficient in Mathematics, and in spite of hard work he was not able to make up this deficiency.

After passing the M.A. Examination and even before he had been thinking of going to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service, the authorities of the Canning College, in view of his brilliant career, recommended the award to him of a scholarship of Rs.200 a month, but the Chief Commissioner of the province turned down the proposal on the grounds of his being a Bengali and the son of a ministerial officer of the Government. The College authorities, however, awarded him a scholarship of Rs.50 a month for a period of about 6 months till he could appear in the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. The family finances at the time were in none too flourishing a condition, so in the middle of July, 1872, young Brajendranath, with only Rs.1,300, sailed for England. On his arrival in London he joined the University College, and appeared in the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service held in April, 1873. Only 35 of the 350 candidates that appeared for this examination that year were selected for the Indian Civil Service, and Brajendranath was 17th in the list. The author attributes this rather low position to his having selected Mathematics as one of the subjects, in which he obtained very low marks; his proficiency in English, Sanskrit, Persian and Mental Science, however, enabled him to pass the Civil Service Examination and secure a fairly high place amongst the selected candidates. *En passant* it may be mentioned that he was the 8th Indian who passed the I.C.S. Examination.

Brajendranath De in the meanwhile had joined the Middle Temple Inn and was studying for the Bar. Without much work he passed the law examinations, and having kept the full complement of twelve terms, was called to the Bar. After being selected for the Indian Civil Service, he went into residence at the Oxford University, and before leaving England, in July 1875, was awarded the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship. In addition to this during the period of his probation in England he won a number of prizes in the half-yearly examinations for proficiency in

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languages. At Oxford he attended the lectures of Prof. Max Müller and Mr. Ruskin, and also used to attend regularly the meetings of the Union of which Mr. H. H. Asquith (later Earl of Oxford) was the President.

On the return journey he travelled extensively on the Continent and returned to Calcutta in September, 1875. Soon afterwards he was posted to Arrah as the Assistant Magistrate-Collector, and during his service he served as a Collector in various districts of Bengal, and twice officiated as the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division. After full thirty-five years' service he retired in September, 1910, from Hooghly where he was then serving as the Magistrate and Collector.

Shortly after his return he turned his attention to the language examinations which had been instituted with a view to inducing young civilians and other officials to acquire proficiency in classical languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic and the Indian vernaculars. Being a Bengali by birth and in view of his having been educated at Lucknow, he was debarred from appearing in the examinations in vernaculars such as Bengali, Hindi and Hindustani, but the examinations in classical languages were open to him. There used to be 3 examinations in each language, (1) the Higher Standard, for which there was a prize of a comparatively small monetary value, (2) the High Proficiency, for which a prize of Rs.2,000 in each language was awarded to each successful candidate, and (3) the Degree of Honour, for which there was a prize of Rs.5,000 for Sanskrit and Arabic and Rs.4,000 for Persian. He passed the Higher Standard Examination in Sanskrit and High Proficiency Examination in Persian. In the Degree of Honour Examination for Sanskrit he appeared without even passing the High Proficiency Examination and was declared successful on the very first occasion. Here it would not be out of place to mention that in connection with the Persian examinations he had to face a serious difficulty in regard to his pronunciation. As he says, "Persian is pronounced in one way by Delhi and Lucknow *Maulvīs* or scholars; and in another way by the Persians themselves. I had read Persian originally in Lucknow, and I pronounced Persian as it is pronounced there." His examiners

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did not consider this correct and to acquire the pure Persian accent he studied for two months with Shaikh Maḥmūd Gīlānī, a famous Persian coach in Calcutta of those days. During this period he read through various text-books with the help of the learned Shaikh, and in addition studied a work called *Qaṣā'id Badar-i-Chāch* or the Odes of Badar Chāch. Brajendranath was not greatly impressed by the literary merits of this work, as he considered its language "very inflated and involved", but he read it for his examination, and this training was later useful to him in the preparation of the text and translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

After his retirement Brajendranath settled down in Calcutta and in view of his early love for Persian, volunteered to prepare for the Asiatic Society a properly collated edition of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* for publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series and also to translate this important historical work into English. He started this work in 1911, but, as has been remarked earlier, the publication of the work did not proceed smoothly; in fact after the issue of the first fascicles of the text and translation in 1913 the work remained in abeyance till 1925. The exact position about the end of 1924 is summed up by the author as follows: "I had commenced the work in 1911, but had given it up owing to some difference with the authorities of the Asiatic Society. I now took up the work again at the request of Mr. van Manen, the General Secretary, who sent Shamsul Ulema Maulvi Hidayat Hosain to my house to ask me to do so. I readily consented, and I have gone on with the work as quickly as the state of my health and my other occupations have allowed me to do."

In view of the rather unsatisfactory nature of the available manuscripts and the peculiar style of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, the work of collation and translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* must have been not only difficult, but extremely arduous. In spite of all these difficulties and his failing health Mr. Brajendranath De persevered in his task, and produced six volumes of the text and translation which will stand as monuments to his industry and scholarship. Only those who have attempted translating Persian works into English can realize the onerous

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nature of such undertakings. As Ranking [1] rightly remarked, "The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness, but its truth; that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the latter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition."

Mr. De's work fully conforms to these high ideals for a faithful translation, while the numerous very critical footnotes in the various volumes add materially to its importance as a work of reference. It is sad that the work could not be completed before his demise on the 28th of September, 1932, at the ripe old age of about 80 years.

The author summed up his autobiography as follows:

> "I am over 76 years of age, which, considering the short-lived race and family from which I have sprung, must be considered a very great age. I have enjoyed fairly good health, and have had an active life, except during the last four or five years, when my age and the infirmities which are incidental to it, have had their usual effect on my health and my activities and energy. I am thankful however to remember that I am not bed-ridden, but can still attend to the ordinary business of life, and to my literary pursuits, such as they are. A certain amount of success has crowned my life, though, in my discontented moments, I have sometimes thought, that it has not been all that I have deserved; but I am fully aware of the limitations and deficiencies under which I have worked; and probably in this well-ordered world, no one gets more or less success than he merits. I have lost some very near and dear ones, but I thankfully remember that others are left to cheer and comfort me in my old age."

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[1] Translator's Preface to the translation of vol. I of the *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, p. i (1898).

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Mr. Brajendranath De had a charming personality. His circle of friends was wide and all who knew him respected him for his honesty, straightforwardness and gentle nature. Though rather shy and somewhat reserved, he was very generous and kind hearted, and was possessed of a subtle sense of humour.

He joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal as a Member in 1904, but retired in 1912. He rejoined the Society in 1926, and served as a member of the Council during the years 1928-29 and 1929-30. During these periods the writer of this note had exceptional opportunities of working with him as a colleague and well remembers his genuine interest in the work of the Society, particularly in its Oriental publications. He resigned his membership of the Society in 1931.

Concluding Remarks and Acknowledgments.

Normally I would have started this preface with an *apologia*, but on maturer consideration I decided to leave this unpleasant infliction till the end. I have no pretensions to being either a historian or a scholar of Persian, but I must confess to having a more than usual interest for the history of my country, while from my childhood Persian has been like a second mother tongue to me. In April last when the Publication Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal had to face the Augean task of resuscitating and completing several publications which had lain dormant for many years, the question of completing and editing the translation of the third and final volume of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also came up for consideration. As scholars with the rare combination of an expert knowledge of Persian and English, and of Indian History are rather rare, and none with the necessary leisure to do this voluntary work for the Society could be found amongst its members or well-wishers, this work, in accordance with the couplet of Ḥāfiẓ:

آسمان بارِ امانت نتوانست کشید
قرعۂ فال بنامِ منِ دیوانه زدند

was assigned to me. None of my critics would be more capable of disapproving this unbecoming choice, but rather than let the

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work remain incomplete, with the serious consequences of an already almost illegible manuscript becoming quite useless if left till such time when some really suitable editor could be found for completing it, I agreed to undertake the work. Even good intentions and resolutions have their limitations, and on looking through the material I found an almost impossible task before me. The manuscript, as remarked above, was very nearly illegible; it had been written in a type of shorthand which, though it would have been quite simple for its author to transcribe, was quite beyond an ordinary reader; it took me a long time to master and the deciphering of the diacritical marks involved a great deal of labour. There was also an uncorrected typewritten copy, but this differed materially from the manuscript. Further, there were long blanks and very few, if any, of the text quotations or references had been filled in. Even in the manuscript the references were without page indications and this involved a great deal of reading of the original sources. The quotations from different works were often incorrect, being paraphrases by the author rather than the original versions, while the names of persons and places, though given in inverted commas, were, almost without exception, spelt differently from what they were in the originals. This should not, however, be understood to mean that I am in any way trying to disparage the work of the author or to cast any aspersions on his scholarly attainments, but in fairness to him and myself, I have considered it essential to explain the situation with which I was faced. Several times I felt like giving up the task, but, knowing, as I did, the great amount of time and labour which, in spite of his failing health and eyesight, my late lamented friend Mr. Brajendranath De had put into the work I persevered in completing it as best as I could. My own share in the publication is limited to standardizing the transliteration as far as possible, checking, verifying and correcting the all too numerous references, supplying missing passages in the translation, comparing it with the text-edition which had been changed materially since the translation was prepared, pointing out variations between the text and translation where it would have meant changing the entire account, and finally seeing the work through

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the press. All this has involved a tremendous amount of work, more particularly as I could, with the responsibilities of my official position, only devote my few leisure hours to this work. In presenting the work, as now issued, I am fully conscious of its shortcomings and while craving the indulgence of my readers, only hope that in view of the circumstances explained, they will make due allowances for the defects [1].

Acknowledgments. In preparing these volumes for the press I have been materially assisted by my friend Shams-ul-'Ulama Khān Bahādur Hidāyat Ḥosain, the Joint Philological Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and I take this opportunity of offering him my very grateful thanks for the help which he gave so ungrudgingly at all times. I am also indebted to Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti for help in connection with the revision and correction of the Sanskrit portions in the Kashmīr section of the work. My thanks are also due to Messrs. P. Knight, N. A. Ellis, and G. E. Bingham of the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, for assistance in connection with the printing of this work. Owing to its multi-lingual nature this work presented exceptional problems, both in type-setting and the correction of the proofs, but, as usual, the Baptist Mission Press rose fully to the occasion, and the close co-operation and ever-ready help of the gentlemen mentioned above made it possible for me to complete the publication in a little over six months. The index is being prepared under my supervision by Shāh Mu'īnuddīn Aḥmad, the 1st *Maulvī* of the Society, and will be issued as soon as possible.

Museum House, Calcutta. BAINI PRASHAD.
28*th October*, 1939.

[1] Unfortunately widely different schemes for the transliteration of the names of authors and their publications are adopted by different authors. The originals are strictly followed for the citations in the foot-notes, but the transliterations in the text are, except where within inverted commas, in accordance with the scheme recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894.

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PREFACE

The late Mr. Brajendranath De, as a result of sustained work for nearly 20 years, prepared a collated edition of the text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Ḵẖwājah Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad. The first half of the first volume of the text was issued in July 1911, and the final or third volume was completed after Mr. De's death on 28th September, 1932, by Khan Bahadur M. Hidāyat Ḥosain from his manuscript and issued in July 1935. The first two volumes of the English translation by the same author were issued in 1927 and 1936 respectively. The first 80 pages in page-proof and an unrevised and partly incomplete translation of the remainder of the third volume was found amongst Mr. De's papers, and the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal recently requested the undersigned to edit and complete the work. It was hoped that the undersigned would have the collaboration of Prof. M. Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaqq in this work, but this has not been possible, and for the work, as now issued, the entire responsibility must rest with the undersigned. The first 80 pages were printed as corrected and revised by Mr. De, and in the remainder the work of Mr. De has, as far as possible, been preserved. The undersigned has, however, to prevent errors and omissions, verified the entire translation and checked citations and references as far as possible. Further, as no standard scheme of transliteration had been followed, it was thought desirable to follow a slightly modified form of the scheme adopted by the International Oriental Congress of 1894 for the transliteration of Arabic and Persian works.

In view of the size of the publication it was decided to issue the translation in two parts. The first part is now being issued, and the second part with a detailed preface and comprehensive indices to both the parts will, it is hoped, be ready for issue sometime during the year.

Museum House, Calcutta.
12th July, 1939.

BAINI PRASHAD.

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TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(VOLUME III)

SECTION I. THE SULTĀNS OF THE DAKIN, TWENTY-NINE PERSONS

THE [1] DAKINI SECTION, 29 PERSONS, AND THE PERIOD OF THEIR RULE BEGAN WITH THE YEAR 748 A.H., AND ENDED IN 1002 A.H., AND LASTED FOR [2] 254 YEARS.

Historians are agreed, that when the sun of the greatness of *Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh* passed from its zenith, and declined towards its setting, there were troubles in all parts of his kingdom, the hearts of his soldiers became averse to obedience; and many rebellions were brought forth from the womb of time. The real cause of the occurrence of these rebellions was this, that the Sultān entrusted great works to men of mean and evil nature. [3] These men, under the influence of their greed and avarice undertook difficult tasks, and [4] laid unreputable deeds on the ground. As their determinations did not bear fruit, they became annoyed with men, who had any marks of greatness, and caused sorrow to the latter.

Couplet:

[5] To exalt the heads of the unworthy,
To hope for good from any of them,

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[1] The lith. ed. has طبعهٔ سلاطین دکن, which is better.

[2] This is the period mentioned in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. The *Bahmani kingdom* however only lasted for about a century and a half. The *Cambridge History of India* has a list of 18 Sultāns whose reigns extended from 749 A.H. (1347 A.D.) to 934 A.H. (1527 A.D.).

[3] The MSS. have ان گروه.

[4] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have و عملهای غیر مکرر بر زمین نهادند, the meaning of which is not at all clear.

[5] The first four lines were quoted in connection with the employment of base and unworthy men in the History of Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh; see page

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Is utterly to lose the thread of thy actions,
And is like a snake, in thy pocket, to keep.
As on the worthless, thou placest charges great,
Know that from salt land thou hop'st for fruit.

Among the most important incidents was that of 'Azīz Khammār, on account of whom the *amīrs Sadhā* (*amīrs* of hundreds) of Gujrat rose in rebellion, and the whole country became full of disturbances and rebellion. Sultān Muhammad advanced towards Gujrat in order to put them down. He sent Malik Lājīn (Lāchīn) to summon the *amīrs* of hundreds of Daultābād. As the pardoning of offences, and patience were not ingrained in the creed of the Sultān, the *amīrs* of hundreds being frightened of their awe of him, and of the wrath of his greatness, slew Malik Lājīn on the way; and going to Daulatābād seized all the property, and wealth which were in Dhārāgarh, and having blown up the dust of disturbance, raised the standard of rebellion. The details of this brief statement, have been written down in their proper places by this pen of broken writing.

In the end, during the lifetime of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq, [1] 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan, who is celebrated as Hasan Gāngu, and was one

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216, Vol. I, Persian text of this work. The appointment of such men and the result of such appointments were fully described in the History of Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh.

[1] Compare Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Vol. I, page 37 *et seq.*, where it is stated that "Sultan 'Alla-ud-din Hoosein Kango Bahminee" (as the name is written there) "was a man of the name of Zuffir Khan" (Zafar Khān) "who had originally been the slave of a Bramin, an inhabitant of Dehli named Kango, who having discovered his merits, gave him liberty and assisted him, as well as foretold his subsequent fortune. On being raised to empire Zuffir Khan did not forget his protector and appointed him in charge of the treasury; and had the honour of giving the appellation of Bahminee to a dynasty of Patan kings". The year of the accession is there put down as 1347 A.D. See also Elphinstone's History, page 465. Firishtah, in the beginning of his 3rd section about the Sultāns of the Dakin, gives a long account of Hasan, and his gradual rise to power, of his receiving the title of Zafar Khān and finally of his accession. It will be seen that Nizām-ud-dīn omits all mention of the Brahman, who laid the foundation of, and foretold Hasan's fortune; and it will also be seen, that according to him, it was Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā who first gave indications of his rise to sovereign power. Firishtah mentions the

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of the common soldiers of that country, raised in concert with a body of low people and adventurers, the standard of government in Daulatābād in the Deccan in the year 748; and gave himself the title of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn.

Sultān Muhammad had no opportunity of putting him down, on account of the disturbances in Gujrat; and at that very time, he died in the neighbourhood of Thatha. The currency of the rule of the Bahmanya Sultāns was on such a grand scale from the aforementioned year, which was the year of the accession of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan till the year 887, which was the date of the

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prophecies of both the Brahman and of Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā; but he does not refer to his alleged descent from Bahman, the son of Isfandiār. It is unnecessary here to mention the details, but Firishtah's conclusion is that "As the name of Kānku or Gāngu Bahman (Brahman) became a part of the name of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan, he has been called Bahmanī but poets and historians, who wanted to flatter him having got hold of an argument (دستاویزی) have shown the matter in a different garb." The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 170, says Hasan's claim to descent from the half-mythical hero Bahman, son of Isfandiār, seemed to mark him out for the honour of royalty. Nizām-ud-dīn does in one place say that he made such a claim; but according to Firishtah it was poets and historians who manufactured this claim. The Cambridge History of India calls 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh, Bahman Shāh and Sir Wolsely Haig in a paper published in the J.A.S.B. extra no. 1904 gives certain cogent reasons in support of this name. Yet it is curious that if he styled himself Bahman Shāh he should have called his capital Hasanābād and not Bahmanābād.

The Cambridge History of India brushes aside Firishtah's story about Kānku or Gāngu Brāhman as an absurd legend, yet it finds it difficult to explain the name of Kānku or Gāngu which frequently occurs in connection with the names of the Sultāns of the dynasty. It is admitted in note 3 on p. 170 that the meaning of the addition Kānku has not been established, but in p 373, it says that it has been credibly explained by Maulavi 'Abd-ul-Wali as a scribe's corruption of Kaikāus. I have carefully read the Maulavi's short paper, and I must say with all deference to him and to Sir W. Haig that the explanation is utterly flimsy. Kaikāus was to have the final س struck off and the کیکاو which would be left, might be changed to Kaikān, Kankān, Kānku, Gāngu, Kāku. How Kaikāu (کیکاو) can be changed to Kānku (کانکو) or Gāngu (گانگو) and why of all the variants these should have been selected and adopted by historians neither the Maulavi nor Sir W. Haig condescend to explain. I may say that even Zia-ud-dīn Baranī has Hasan Kānku.

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accession of [1]Muhammad Shāh, and which comes to a period of 139 years, that any increase over it cannot be conceived. Hasan Gāngu declared that he was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and on that account, the attribution of the name of Bahmanya to him and his descendants is not inappropriate. [2]And from the year 887 A.H. to the year 935 A.H. which comes to a period of 148 years, the name of Sultān has been attributed to the descendants of Bahman Shāh. But the wretched (*Be Daulat*) Barīd and his descendants had, on account of their evil spirit, kept their sovereign princes in confinement, in their house, and had themselves performed the functions of the sovereign power.

The five *amīrs*, who had been the principal nobles of the Bahmanya empire, divided the Dakin amongst themselves; and each took possession of his share, and became independent in it.

Also in the year 935, 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāveli having made his submission to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrat, had the *Khutba* (public prayers) read and the *Sikka* (coin) struck in his own territory in the name of Sultān Bahādur. After a year Sultān Bahādur marched into the Deccan at the instigation of 'Imād-ul-mulk. As Nizām-ul-mulk and the other *amīrs* had not the strength to oppose him, they also read the *Khutba* in his name.

During that time, Malik Barīd, son of Barīd, had the helpless Sultān Kalīm-ul-lāh imprisoned in the city of Bidar. In the matter of the fixing of the period of the rules of the Bahmanya Sultāns, different accounts have come under my notice; but as the book (called) Sirāj-ut-Tawārīkh written by Khwāja Muhammad Lāri during the time of those Sultāns, and from that date till to-day, namely 1002 A.H., a period of sixty-seven years, Dakin was governed by four dynasties, *viz.*, the descendants of Nizam-ul-mulk called Nizam-ul-mulkīya, the descendants of Adil Khan called Adil Khanīya,

[1] This should, I think, be Mahmūd Shāh, the period from the accession of 'Ala-ud-dīn in 748 A.H. to that of Mahmūd in 887 A.H. is 139 years.

[2] The meaning of the following sentences is not at all clear. The period is 148 years in one MS. But only 48 years in the other and in the lith. ed. The correct period from the accession of 'Ala-ud-dīn to the end of the reign of Kalīm-ul-lah, the last Sultān of the dynasty in the year 935 A.H. which is mentioned in the text, is 186 years. The last five Sultāns were puppets in the hands of Barīd and his descendants.

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the descendants of Qutb-ul-mulk called Qutb-ul-mulkīya, and the descendants of Malik Barīd called Malik Barīd, as I will detail later.

[1] Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh, eleven years and [2] ten months and seven days.

Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh, [3] eighteen years and seven months.

Sultān Mujāhid Shāh, one year and one month and nine days.

Sultān Dāūd Shāh, one month and three days.

[4] Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, nineteen years, nine months and twenty-four days.

[5] See note.

Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, [6] son of Muhammad Shāh, five months and seven days.

Sultān Fīruz Shāh, twenty-five years and seven months and eleven days.

Sultān Āhmad Shāh, [7] twelve years and nine months and twenty-four days.

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[1] Compare the names and the periods of the reigns of the Bahmani Sultāns as given in a note in page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas. These names, the note says, were taken from Firishtah's History. Compare also Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 702.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have two months. The other MS. has ten months. The date of his accession is given as August 3rd, 1347. The date of his death according to Firishtah is 1st Rabī'-ul-Āwwal, 959 A.H., 2nd February, 1358. There is one coin of his of 760 A.H. but it is believed to be posthumous. (See note 1, p. 10, which gives a summary of the history of the reign as given by Firishtah.)

[3] Both MSS. have eighteen years, but the lith. ed. has thirteen years. According to the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, he reigned from 759 A.H., 1358 A.D. to 776 A.H., 1375 A.D.

[4] As to the correctness of this name, see note 2, p. 22. Firishtah calls him Sultān Mahmud.

[5] In the list given in Grant Duff's History, the name of "Sultān Ghazee-ood-deen Shah Bahmani" is given as that of the sixth Sultān between Sultān Mahmud Shāh and Sultān Shams-ud-dīn. The correct name is Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn; and although it is omitted from the list in the MSS. and also in the lith. ed., a short account of his reign appears in its proper place. The name is given in the list in p. 702 of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.

[6] One MS. has "son of Muhammad Shāh" but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. do not have these words.

[7] One MS. and the lith. ed. have the period as given above in the text; but the other MS. has و بیست روز و یکماه و مدت سلطنت, *i.e.*, the period of his reign (was)

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[1]Sultān Ahmad Ghiyās-ud-dīn Shāh, twelve years, and nine months and twenty-four days.

Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, twenty-three years and nine months and twenty-two days.

Sultān Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, three years and six months and five days.

Sultān Nizām Shāh, one year and eleven months and ten days.

Sultān Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī, nineteen years and four months and fifteen days.

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, forty years and two months and three days.

Sultān Āhmad Shāh, two years and one month.

Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, one year and eleven months.

Sultān Wali-ul-lah and his brother Kalīm-ul-lah, three years and one month and twenty-seven days.

The total period of the rule of the Bahmania Sultāns, seventeen persons, and one hundred and eighty-seven years and two months.

After that, the four *amīrs* having gained their independence, have been ruling with complete independence from that day till this day, which is (in) the year 1002 A.H. and the 38th year of the Ilāhi era, [2]which amounts to a period of sixty-seven years. Up to the present time the Dakin is in their possession. Let it not remain concealed, that the foundation of the rule of the four *amīrs* took place in the year 887 A.H. and they became completely independent in the year 935 A.H.

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one month and twenty days. According to Firishtah he reigned for twelve years and two months; and according to the Cambridge History of India from 825 A.H., 1422 A.D. to 839 A.H., 1435 A.D.

[1] This name occurs in one MS. but does not occur in the other and in the lith. ed.; and it appears from the history of the reigns, that there was no Sultān of this name. Apparently the name of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn which was omitted from its proper place was inserted here by mistake, with Ahmad prefixed to it.

[2] The text is according to the reading in the MSS. but the lith. ed. has حکومت دکن در تصرف انها است، سي و هشت سال القاب و نام سلطنت بر او و اولاد بهمنیه مي داشتند, *i.e.*, the rule of the Dakin was in their hands but they had for thirty-eight years the titles and the name of sovereignty in the Bahmani dynasty

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The Nizām-ul-Mulkiahs :

Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri.

Ahmad Nizām-ul-mulk, four years.

Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk, forty-eight years.

Hasan Nizām-ul-mulk, thirteen years.

[1] Murtaza Nizām-ul-mulk, twenty-six years.

[2] Hasan Nizām-ul-mulk, son of Murtaza, two months.

Husain Nizām-ul-mulk, two years.

Murtaza Nizām-ul-mulk, who is at present the ruler, two years.

The 'Ādil Khāniyas :

[3] Yusuf 'Ādil Khān, seven years.

Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān, twenty-five years.

[4] Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, twenty-five years.

'Ali 'Ādil Khān, twenty-five years.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, fourteen years.

The Qutb-ul-mulkiahs :

[5] Sultān 'Ali Qutb-ul-mulk, twenty-four years.

[6] Ahmad Qutb-ul-mulk, seven years.

Ibrāhīm Qutb-ul-mulk, thirty-five years.

Muhammad Quli Qutb-ul-mulk [7] thirty-eight years.

An account of the reign of 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh.

The chroniclers of events have narrated, that 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Bahamani, who is celebrated as Hasan Gāngu, came to the capital city of Dehli, according to the vicissitudes of time, in the reign of

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1 The text is according to one MS. and the lith. ed., but the other MS. has Isma'īl Nizām-ul-mulk.

2 The text is according to one MS. and the lith. ed., but the other MS. has Burhān Nizām-ul-mulk instead of Hasan Nizām-ul-mulk.

3 The name is Yusuf in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but it is Isma'īl in the other MS.

4 According to one MS. and the lith. ed. 'Ali 'Ādil Khān comes between the two Ibrāhīms, but according to the other MS. he precedes them and one Ibrāhīm succeeds the other.

5 His name occurs in one MS. but is omitted from the other MS.

6 He is Ahmad in one MS., Jamshīd in the other, and has no name in the lith. ed. but is simply called قطب الملک.

7 One MS. and the lith. ed. have thirty-eight years, but the other MS. has thirty-five years.

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Sultān [1] Tughlaq Shāh. One day the Polestar of all those who have known God, Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Dehlavi had issued a general invitation; and Sultān Muhammad and all the great men were present. When the table cloth was removed, and Sultān Muhammad took his leave, the Shaikh said to an attendant, "One Sultān is gone, and another is at the door; go, bring him". The attendant went outside. He saw Hasan Gāngu at the door. He took him to wait on the Shaikh. Hasan, in the purity of his faith, placed his head of exaltation on the foot of the Shaikh; and expressed his devotion. The Shaikh placed a round piece of bread on his finger, and gave it to Hasan. The bread and the Shaikh's finger took the shape of an umbrella. So that all who were present and Hasan came to know the glad tiding given by the Shaikh. Hasan in great pleasure and joy went out of the presence of the Shaikh; and accepting the joyful news, turned towards the Dakin, in concert with a body of Afghāns. When they arrived there, at that time there were disturbances in that country. Hasan Gāngu killed the [2] Superintendent of the city of Gulbarga, and took possession of the neighbouring tract of country. From there, he went to Daulatābād, in concert with the *Mirān-Sadhā* (the chiefs of the hundreds). 'Alam-ul-mulk, brother of Qutlagh Khān shut himself up in Daulatābād. As Hasan was under obligations to Qutlagh Khān, he gave safe conduct to 'Alam-ul-mulk, but took possession of the property belonging to Muhammad Shāh, which was in Dhārāgarh. Then in concert with the soldiers, he placed an Afghān of the name of [3] Isma'īl Fath on the throne of sovereignty, with the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn.

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[1] One MS. has Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, but the other and the lith. ed. omit Muhammad.

[2] There are slight variations in the readings. One MS. has سحنه میران گلبرگه را کشت, while the other has گلبرگه را کشت. The lith. ed. has سحنه گلبرگ را کشت. It appears from Firishtah that Hasan Gangu had already assumed the title of Zafar Khān, and had become well known (اختصاص یافته) in Bakri and Rāibagh and Mirich and Kalhar Hasanābād Gulbarga and killed Bharūn Rāy, the governor of the fort of Gulbarga, who was one of the trusted servants of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh.

[3] According to Firishtah Isma'īl Fath was an *amīr-i-du-hazārī* (an *amīr* of two thousand horse); but Col. Briggs says "an officer of one thousand horse";

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When this news reached Sultān Muhammad, he started from Bahroj for Daulatābād, in order to have his revenge. The rebels fought with him, and were [1] defeated. Isma'īl Afghān crept into the fort of Dhārāgarh (Daulatābād?) and Hasan marched away towards Gulbarga. Sultān Muhammad Shāh halted at Dhārāgarh for some days. At this time scouts brought the news that [2] Taghi, a slave of Safdar-ul-mulk, had revolted in the neighbourhood of Nahrwala Pattan, had taken possession of that place, and was besieging the fort of Bahroj. [3] Muhammad Shāh nominated 'Imād-ul-mulk for overthrowing Hasan; and left some of the *amīrs* round the fort of Dhārāgarh; and himself marched towards Gujrat. Hasan by such [4] machinations, as he could employ, defeated and slew

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and he was also the younger brother of Malik Gul Afghān (Col. Briggs calls him *Mallick Moogh*) who was one of the great nobles of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, and had a large army for the defence of Malwa, who would, if it became necessary, assist and aid his brother. It does not appear that all the *amīrs* of the Dakin agreed to Isma'īl Fath's being made the Sultān; for Firishtah says, "That all the *amīrs* of the Dakin, whether they liked it or not (*khwāhī na khwāhī*) agreed to make Isma'īl Fath Afghān, Nāsir-ud-dīn Shāh; and held the umbrella of sovereignty over his head". The Cambridge History of India says that the man whom Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah call Isma'īl Fath has been called Mukh, Muyh and Fath, but it has followed the Bibliotheca Indica text of Baranī and called him Isma'īl Mukh the Afghān. Baranī however calls him only مخ افغان which may be transliterated Makh or Mukh Afghān.

[1] Firishtah says that Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq was joined on the way to Daulatābād by 'Imād-ul-mulk Tabrīzī, his son-in-law, and governor of Berar, and Malik Gul Afghān; and he describes in some detail the varying fortunes of the battle. He also says that after the battle, the rebel leaders decided that it would not be advisable to have another drawn battle; and that Nāsir-ud-dīn should remain at Daulatābād with a sufficient force to defend it; and Hasan should remain in possession of Gulbarga with twelve thousand men. Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh besieged Daulatābād; and the garrison was reduced to great straits, when the news of the revolt of Taghi came from Dehli.

[2] The name is Taghi in the MSS., and in Firishtah. The lith. ed. has wrongly ظفر, Zafar.

[3] One MS. has the word "Sultān" before "Muhammad Shāh", but the other MS. and the lith. ed. omit it.

[4] Firishtah does not mention any machination or treachery. He says that Hasan Gāngu met 'Imād-ul-mulk near Ahmadābād Bidar. For twenty days neither army felt strong enough to attack the other; but 'Ala-ud-dīn having

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'Imād-ul-mulk. He then went to Daulatābād, and placing the umbrella (of sovereignty) over his own head, assumed the title of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn. Sultān Muhammad considered the overthrowing of Taghi of primary importance, and did not turn his attention to the suppression of the disturbances in the Dakin. And during the course of that year, he was united with the Divine mercy in the neighbourhood of Thatha; and the empire was settled on Hasan without a dispute and an enemy. He gave the name of Hasanābād to Gulbarga, and made it his capital.

[1] After a time he fell ill, and when he had no hope of living longer, he gave advice and direction to his son, Muhammad Khān,

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received reinforcements of fifteen thousand infantry from the Rāy of Telingana, who was aggrieved with Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq, and of five thousand horsemen from Nāsir-ud-dīn attacked 'Imād-ul-mulk. The battle was well contested and lasted all day. In the end victory declared itself for 'Ala-ud-dīn; and 'Imād-ul-mulk was killed.

[1] Nizām-ud-dīn does not give any account of the events of 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh's reign. It appears from Firishtah that he proclaimed himself as Sultān on Friday, the 24th Rabi'-ul-Ākhar, 748 A.H., corresponding with Friday, August 3rd, 1347 A.D. Firishtah goes on to say that one of his first acts was to send for Gāngu Brāhman, and to place the account office of his kingdom (daftar-i-muhāsiba-i-mumālik Mahrūsa-i-khud) in his charge. He also combined the name of the Brāhman with his own by styling himself, "the smallest of the slaves of the holy Presence 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan Gāngu Bahmani". He brought the neighbouring territories under his rule, took possession of the fort of Bidar and Kand'har from the officers who were in charge of them under Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh by peaceful means, and restored the Jāma'Masjid and the fort of Gulbarga which had become dilapidated. Then he heard of the death of Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, and becoming assured of there being no further danger from him, set about to make his rule permanent. He married his son to the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī with great pomp. It appeared that when the marriage festivities were going on, his wife expressed her sorrow that at such a time, her sister, the aunt of the prince, could not be present. The Sultān inquired where she was, and found that she was in Multan; so without telling her anything, he sent men to bring the lady; and protracted the marriage festivities for seven months, till the old lady was brought, in a *duli*, to the great joy and surprise of the queen.

After the marriage festivities were over, Isma'īl Fath, who had at one time been raised to the throne as Nāsir-ud-dīn Shāh, but had afterwards been made *amīr-ul-umra* and *sipah-sālār* became disaffected, because Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī was given precedence over him. 'Ala-ud-dīn put him to death, but as he had

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and accepted the summons of death. The period of his reign was eleven years and two months and seven days.

Verse:

No one doth live in this garden for aye,
Each one for a moment doth in it play,
In it, each moment a new fruit doth grow;
One goes away, and another arrives.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF 'ALA-UD-DĪN HASAN SHĀH.

When the term of rule came to Muhammad Khān, he sat in the place of his father, and assumed the title of Sultān Muhammad Shāh.

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promised, did not punish any of those whom he had got to enter into a conspiracy with him; and also did not punish his son or any other relation of his, but maintained them in their rank and position. The Rāy of Tilang, who had before this been inclined to be refractory, now became submissive and sent the tribute, which he had formerly sent to Dehli. 'Ala-ud-dīn then made most grandiose proposals for the conquest of all the surrounding country; but later modified them on the advice of Malik Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī. He sent an army to the Karnatik, which looted and devastated the country, and brought immense quantities of booty and tribute. He also extended his territory as far south as the Tungabhadra. He then started for Malwa and Gujrat, and sent Shāhzāda Muhammad with twenty thousand horsemen in advance. When the prince arrived at the town of Nausārī, he found the forests full of wild animals and began to hunt them. He also sent information to his father, and the latter went and joined in the hunt. There he had fever; in spite of which, he indulged in wine and *kabāb* of the meat of the animals killed. He became seriously ill and returned quickly to Gulbarga. There he obtained absolution from the hand of the Sadr-ush-sharīf Samarqandī; and then divided his kingdom into four parts and placed them in charge of four nobles. He was ill for six months, during which time he occupied himself in doing justice to the poor and oppressed among the people. He also ordered the release of all convicts, except six, about whom he left directions with his son. He died on the 1st Rabī'-ul-Āwwal, 759 A.H., corresponding with the 2nd February, 1358. The Burhān-i-ma'sir gives 761 as the year of his death and says he reigned for thirteen years, ten months and twenty-seven days, but these figures are not accurate.

[1] Firishtah's account of the reign of Muhammad Shāh contains a lot of matter which have not been referred to at all by Nizām-ud-dīn, and I consider it unnecessary to mention it here. It appears however that the gold and silver coins of the Bahmani Sultāns were being melted down in large quantities

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He was a young man, adorned with (a sense of) justice and equity. The people were happy and contented during the period of his rule;

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by the Hindus of Bījānagar (Vijayanagar) and Warangal; and numbers of the Hindu merchants were put to death to put down this practice. In connection with the conquest of "Bilampatan", it appears however that Sultān Muhammad sent much treasure to Mecca and Medina with his mother. This gave rise to some dissatisfaction among the nobles, and the Rāy of Bījānagar, coming to know of this, sent ambassadors, demanding that all the territories as far as the river Krishna and all the forts and parganas in it should be left in his possession. The Rāy of Tilang, who had ceded Kūlās as a tribute to Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Ḥasan, also at this time sent ambassadors with the message that his son Nāgdeo had rebelled against him, and was demanding the recovery of the fort of Kūlās, and it was advisable that Sultān Muhammad should restore it to him instead of having recourse to warfare. Sultān Muhammad kept the ambassadors on various pretexts, in his capital, for a year and half; and during that time he destroyed all the *amīrs*, about whom he had any suspicion, and collected those who were loyal to him. He then sent for the ambassadors at a great *majlis* and directed them to write at once to their masters to send elephants loaded with gold and gems and other presents to the Sultān. The ambassadors sent reports to their masters. When the Rāys of Bījānagar and Tilang received these reports, the latter sent his eldest son Nāgdeo (his correct name appears, according to Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar", p. 31, to have been Vināyaka Deva; Col. Briggs calls him Vinaik Dew) from Warangal with a large army of infantry and cavalry towards Kūlās; and the former sent twenty thousand horse and foot to reinforce Nāgdeo's army. The Sultān sent Bahādur Khān, son of Isma'īl Fath, whom he had made his commander-in-chief, with the armies of Bidar and Berar against Nāgdeo. The latter was defeated and his army fled. Bahādur Khān pursued him as far as Warangal, and returned with much booty.

Then one day, towards the end of the year, when the Sultān was seated on a *kursi* (chair?) and making his ablutions, it was reported to him that some merchants had brought horses for sale. The Sultān at once sent for them, and inspected the horses, but found that they were not good enough for his use. On asking the merchants, they said that they were bringing fine horses for the Sultān, but Nāgdeo who was at "Wailampatan" as deputy of his father had taken the horses intended for the Sultān, in spite of their protests. The Sultān was greatly annoyed, and immediately mounted a horse and went out of the city. He stayed there for ten days apparently to collect the forces, and then started on his march. When he arrived at Wailampatan he sent a body of Afghāns in the guise of merchants. They went to the gate, and complained that they had been attacked by robbers, and their merchandise had been looted. While they were thus engaged, the Sultān came to the gate and entered the

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and the country of Dakin, became, on account of the peace (which it enjoyed), and the gathering together of the great men, the envy of all the country of Hindustan; and there was a fresh splendour in the affairs of the state. Applying all his energies to the conquest of territory, and the reviving of the customs of religious warfare (jehād), he in the spring-time of his reign, and in the beginning of his grandeur, collected a well-equipped army and started for Bilampatan, and in the course of the march, he seized many villages and towns

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city; and his soldiers put every one they met to the sword. Nāgdeo fled to the citadel and attempted to defend it, but it was soon taken. When Nāgdeo was brought before the Sultān, the latter asked him why he had taken the horses intended for him; he was so frightened that he gave a harsh reply! The Sultān who was inclined to be merciful and wanted to pardon him, became enraged and had his tongue cut out, and ordered him to be burnt alive. He then passed fifteen days in the city in the enjoyment of much pleasure.

I have endeavoured to compress about three quarto pages of lithograph in the above note. Firishtah's language appears to me to be harsh and cruel. He says for example that the burning alive of Nāgdeo was سیاست کہ لایق بکفار بیدین است.

I have not been able to identify Bilampatan or Wailampatan. Gulbarga and Warangan and Cullian or Kallian which last is mentioned by Firishtah as having been passed by the Sultān on his march to Bilampatan are in the map. It appears from Mr. Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar", p. 31, that Villumpattan which according to Mr. Sewell is how the name, as given by Firishtah, should be spelled, and Filampatan, according to the author of the Burhān-i-Ma'asir was the city (capital) of the Rāya of Warangal. Mr. Sewell does not mention the story of the horses; but according to him, apparently, Muhammad reached the capital of Warangal in the first expedition. The Sultān "commanded a pile of wood to be lighted before the citadel and putting Nāgdeo in an engine (catapult), had him shot from the walls into the flames in which he was consumed".

Mr. Sewell, as far as I can see, makes no attempt to identify Wailampatan. In a note on page 302, Vol II of his "Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India" Col. Briggs, however, makes such an attempt. He says he knows of no place of this name (Walianpatan). "Vilum Conda or Bellum Conda (the sugar hill) was the seat of government of a powerful Raja nearly two centuries afterwards, and perhaps Bellum Conda ought to be the true reading. The terminations of pattan (town) and conda (a hill) being frequently used synonymously, if the town lie under a hill, as it does in this case. One principal objection to this surmise however arises from the towns of Kawlās and Kallian which are here mentioned, not lying on the nearest road between Koolbarga and Bellumconda."

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belonging to the enemy, and included them in his own kingdom. The Rāy of that country, being proud of the strength of his fort, shut its gates on himself. The *amīrs* and soldiers having arranged the necessary appliances for the conquest of the fort, commenced hostilities; and with Divine help and heavenly aid, seized the citadel, and carried out the practices of slaughter and taking prisoner. After this victory, the Sultān made arrangements for the government of that neighbourhood, and returned to Gulbarga; and having arranged a great festival, granted to every one a share from the board of his benefactions.

It so happened that one day a messenger came from [1] Badhūl and reported to the Sultān, that the Rāy of Bījānagar had come

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[1] The readings are different. One MS. has از بدهول رسیدهٔ, coming or arriving from Badhūl. The other MS. has از دهول رسیدهٔ coming from Dhūl, but in the next line we have بدهول بر ولایت on the country of Badhūl. So that بدهول Badhūl appears to be the correct reading. The lith. ed. has بدهولپور رسیدهٔ, having arrived at Dhūlpūr. This is clearly incorrect. I cannot find any place called Badhūl in a map. There is a place called Mudhal to the south of the river Krishna about half way between Bījānagar or Vijayanagar and Gulbarga or Koolbarga, but a long way to the west of the line connecting them, which may be the place. I cannot find any mention of the place in Firishtah, but there is a story there about Sultān Muhammad having sent an order (*Barāt*) for the payment of certain musicians to the Rāya of Bījānagar. I cannot understand the meaning of this proceeding unless it was meant to be an insult for provoking hostilities. The order was given, according to Mulla Dāūd of Bidar, who was seal bearer to Sultān Muhammad (as quoted by Mr. Sewell, page 33) in a festive assembly, "when the spring of the garden of mirth has infused the cheek of Muhammad Shāh with the rosy tinge of delight," or to use somewhat less romantic language, when he was flushed with wine. The order was so extraordinary that the minister hesitated to despatch it. The Sultān however penetrated his thoughts and compelled the minister to send it.

The Rāya who was proud of his power became angry, and paraded the man, who carried the order, mounted on a donkey all round the city of Bījānagar and immediately collected thirty thousand horse and nine hundred thousand foot soldiers and three thousand elephants for the conquest of the Bahmani kingdom. He established a camp in front of اودني Ūdni (Adoni in the map). Sultān Muhammad ordered the army of Daulatābād to assemble (those of Bidar and Berar being exhausted with the campaign against Tilang) and after proper religious observances set out to oppose the Rāya of Bījānagar. The latter

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by rapid marches, with a large body of horse and foot to the country of Badhūl, and had seized the fort and made martyrs of the Mussalmans

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being assured of safety owing to the Krishna being in flood was engaged in besieging the fort of Mudkal (Madgall in the map N.-W. of Adoni). The fort was at last taken, and all the garrison was put to the sword, except one man who concealed himself and who escaping from the fort and crossing the Krishna, went and gave information to Muhammad Shāh at Hasanābād Gulbarga. I have stated in an early part of this note that Badhūl may be identical with Mudhal; but from the context of both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah Mudkal is more likely to be identical with Badhūl.

Firishtah's account of the conquest of Mudkal is different from that of Nizām-ud-dīn. Ferishtāh begins his account by saying that Sultān Muhammad on hearing what the fugitive had to say, ordered the poor man to be put to death; the reason given by him, being that he could not bear the sight of a man who has seen the death of so many men. He started at once and when he reached the bank of the Krishna, after some bragging about his own greatness, he said that he was not afraid of the river in flood, or of the grandeur and might of the infidel army. He sent back his son, who afterwards became Mujāhid Shāh, to Gulbarga, making him his heir; and with only twenty elephants and nine thousand horsemen he crossed the river in the course of three days. The Rāy, in spite of his having such an immense army, was so astounded and perplexed by the Sultān's crossing the river, that he sent back all his troops in the darkness of the night; and remained *jarīda* (alone or with a small retinue), so that he might decide in the morning, whether he would fight or not. When the news of the retreat of the Rāy's army became known in the Sultān's camp, he left it and everything behind, and with horse and whip started for the enemy, who fled at once, leaving everything behind. When the Sultān arrived at the Rāy's camp he gave an order for a general massacre, and seventy thousand persons, men and women, and young and old, and slaves and free men were put to the sword. He passed the rainy season in Mudkal, and having received reinforcements, started towards the fort of Ūdnī (Adoni). Firishtah has a great deal more about further conquests in Bījānagar, but as there is no reference to them in the Ṭabaqāt, I refrain from noting them. But it may be briefly stated that the Sultān seized Adoni, and after much more fighting, and much more slaughter of Hindus, in which neither women nor babes at their mothers' breast escaped, laid seige to Bījānagar itself; but although he tried his best for about a month he was unsuccessful. He then had recourse to the stratagem, which according to Nizām-ud-dīn he had used at the time of the seige of Badhūl or Mudkal. He threw himself on the bed of weakness, and the commanders of his army conducted it back across the Tumhandra (Tungabhadra) river, and arrived on a level plain, where they halted. Kishan Rāy, the Rāy of Bījānagar who is however called Bukka I, in Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire"

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there. Immediately on hearing this, the Sultān collected an immense army; and set forth to punish the Rāy. The latter on receiving information of the vast multitude of the Sultān's army, fled and took shelter in a strong fort. The Sultān sat down round the fort for some days, but when he saw that by doing so, the hand of his hope would not reach the skirt of success, he made an invalid of himself (*i.e.*, pretended that he had fallen ill) and returned towards Gulbarga. When he had crossed the Krishna, the Rāy opened the gates of the fort, and gave his men leave to go to their respective places. The Sultān, making Divine help the vanguard of his army, made a rapid march of eighty-one *karohs*, and presented himself in the neighbourhood of the fort; and with great activity and smartness fought with and defeated the Rāy; and much booty, in which were included eight thousand prisoners, fell into his hands. The Sultān then returned to Gulbarga, crowned with prosperity and success; and made the people happy by his benefactions.

A long time had not elapsed after this, that swift messengers brought the news, that [1] Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy had placed

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also encamped at a distance of three or four *karohs*. The Sultān then convened a *majlis*, but still feigning illness left it early. He then sent for his commanders in secret, and ordered them to array the army for battle. At midnight he joined the army, and advanced towards the Bījānagar camp; where the Rāy and his commanders, presuming on the Sultān's illness were engaged in drinking and looking at the dancing of Nautch-girls. When they became aware of the Sultān's approach, they were completely helpless, and the Rāy fled, and did not draw rein till he arrived at Bījānagar. There the people reviled and reproached him; and he at their instance sent emissaries to the Sultān to sue for peace. The latter was at first unwilling to grant their request, but demanded that his original demand for the payment of the musicians should be complied with. The emissaries at once agreed, and in fact there and then paid the amount. Then at the request of the emissaries, the Sultān said that hereafter he would never order the massacre of prisoners and the general slaughter of the people. After this he returned to his capital.

[1] Nizām-ud-dīn does not say anything about the cause of the rebellion of Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy; but it appears from Firishtah, that owing to the Sultān's having feigned to have fallen ill, before Bījānagar, the report of his death became published all over the kingdom; and there being no leading men in the country of Daulatābād, the leaders of the army being at Bījānagar, Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, whom Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan had given the

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their feet outside the bounds of the road of obedience, and had scratched the face of loyalty and devotion, with the finger nails of hostility. Upon this he started by successive marches towards Deogarh, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of that place fear came in the hearts of Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy; and they immediately went to Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, who was one of the great Shaikhs of the age, and behaved with great meekness and humility.

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name of son, and Kumbh Deo Marhata sardār rose in revolt. The Govind Rāy of the Ṭabaqāt may be the Kumbh Deo of Firishtah; and in fact Col. Briggs calls him Govind Deo Maratta. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 382, calls him Kondba Deva. Deva is pure Sanskrit, but I do not know what Kondba is; I should think that Kumbha Deva or Govinda Deva more likely to be correct than Kondba Deva. According to the Cambridge History of India, Bahrām Khān resented the succession of Muhammad, and invited Fīrūz *Tughlaq* to recover the Deccan; and although he failed in this, he now rose in rebellion, as he felt stronger owing to Muhammad's armies being engaged in the south. There is no mention in the Cambridge History of any intercession by any pious Shaikh. On the approach of Muhammad the rebels dispersed and fled, and were pursued to the frontiers of Gujrāt where they took shelter. Firishtah's account of the rebellion is much longer and more elaborate; and the end is also different. The Shaikh to whom the rebels went is there named Zain-ud-dīn (Col. Briggs calls him Shaikh Ein-ood-deen), and not Rukn-ud-dīn; and he did not intercede with the Sultān for their pardon; but told them to escape to Gujrāt; and they went there. The Sultān pursued them but being unable to seize them, returned to Daulatābād, in great anger. He then sent word to the Shaikh, with whom he was already angry, because he had not made his submission to him, like the other Shaikhs, at the time of his accession, because he drank intoxicating liquors and did other things, not allowed by the law of the Prophet, either to appear before him, or to send a writing containing his submission. The Shaikh refused to do either. Then the Sultān ordered him to leave the city. The Shaikh, taking up his few belongings, went and sat down at the *rouza* (tomb) of Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn, and challenged all and sundry, to move him from the place, if they dared. The Sultān now became repentant and he and the Shaikh exchanged civilities; and the Sultān went back to Gulbarga after receiving the title of Ghāzī from the Shaikh. Firishtah goes on to say that after this, the Sultān shut up all shops for the sale of intoxicants; and ordered that all robbers and turbulent people should be put to death; and accordingly in the course of six or seven months not one of them was left alive; and according to Mullā Dāūd Bidarī, the heads of about twenty thousand of them were brought into Gulbarga.

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Sultān Muhammad Shāh immediately on arriving at Daulatābād, went to visit the Shaikh. His reverence interceded for the pardon of the offenders; and the Sultān agreed to pardon them, on condition of their immediately leaving his dominions. Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy then went away to Gujrāt, hanging down their heads in shame.

After arranging the affairs of that *sūba* the Sultān returned to Gulbarga. The *amīrs* and the great men of the city went forward to welcome him, and made [1] joy offerings. He remained for a few days in a garden, which was near the gate of the city; and had the bed of pleasure and enjoyment spread there. From that delightful place, he came into the city, and made the Saiyyads and learned men and the Shaikhs of the city happy by allowing them to partake of his extensive benefactions, and of the board of his enjoyment. He also made enquiries and investigations into the condition of the *raiyyats* and all helpless people. He redressed with kindness and justice any wrongs that might have been caused to anybody.

[2] Suddenly the hand of [3] death tore asunder the garment of life on his body; and drew off the robe of life from his soft bosom.

Verses:

The world hath to ashes burned many such heaps of grain;
Thou shouldst not try to teach tricks to such a magician old.

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[1] One MS. inserts here ثنا *i.e.*, praises or applause; the sentence would then be "Greeted him with applause and made joy offerings".

[2] According to Firishtah Sultān Muhammad appears to have lived for several years after his return from Daulatābād; for it is said, that every year he went on hunting expeditions to one of the four sides of his dominions and spent three or four months in these excursions. Firishtah gives the 9th Zi-qa'ada سنه ست و سبعین و سبعمائه which would be 776, but the year is given in figures as 775 and the period of his reign is said to have been 17 years and nine months and five days. Col. Briggs says he died on the 19th Zekada. 776 A.H, 21st March, 1375. Mr. Sewell quotes the date given by Firishtah, but he makes the English date the 21st April, 1375. He also says that according to the Burhān-i-Ma'āsir the Sultān died in 775. According to the list in the note on page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas he succeeded his father in 1357 and died in 1374 and therefore reigned for 17 years. According to the Cambridge History of India, Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne on the 21st March, 1365, and died in the spring or early summer of 1377.

[3] One MS. substitutes فنا for اجل.

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Be not secure that this turbulent stream,
Hath forgotten its habit of devouring men.

The period of his reign was eighteen years and seven months.

An account of the reign of Mujāhid Shāh.

He was the son of Muhammad Shāh. After the latter's death he [1] succeeded him. He continued to maintain the praiseworthy qualities and the good attributes of the former Sultāns. He made the supporting and cherishing of his *raiyyats* and the giving of justice his special habits; and fully maintained generosity and liberality and manliness. In the first spring of his reign he marched towards [2] Bījānagar. When he crossed the river Krishnā some of

[1] It appears from Firishtah that he was nineteen years of age when he ascended the throne.

[2] According to Firishtah, Mujāhid Shāh wrote to the Rāy of Bījānagar, that the territory and the forts between the rivers Krishnā and the Tungābhadrā were held jointly by them; and there were, therefore, many disputes between them. It would, therefore, be better if the Rāy would cede that territory to him. The Rāy did not agree, and said that the whole of the tract had from ancient times belonged to Bījānagar, and should be left in his possession. Mujāhid Shāh then collected his army, and crossing the Tungābhadrā laid siege to Ūdnī (Adonī). He left Safdar Khān Sistānī to carry on the siege, and marched quickly towards *pargana* Kankawatī, where he was informed that Kishan Rāy (according to Mr. Sewell his real name was Bukka I) was encamped.

The people informed the Sultān of a feroçious and man-eating tiger that infested the jungle there, and he, with only seven companions, entered the forest, on foot, and when the tiger made its appearance, he told his companions to do nothing, and with his first arrow he shot the animal dead. This so frightened Kishan Rāy, that although he had a large army, he fled into the trackless forests (Mr. Sewell says the forests in the valley of Sandūr), and the Sultān pursued him for six or seven months. Then Kishan Rāy and his sons fell ill. He said he had been wandering about in the forest, because he had thought that the Sultān would fall ill, but instead of that he himself had fallen ill. He then went to Bījānagar and fortified himself. The Sultān left his commanders, to carry on the siege of Bījānagar, and himself went on to Setban (Setubandha) Rāmesar (the site of the bridge built by Rāma); and there he repaired a mosque, which Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Khaljī had built; and demolished the idol temples. As regards this see Sewell, pp. 41, 42, and also notes in Briggs' History, II, pp. 332, 333.

On returning to Bījānagar, he seized the city; and demolished the great golden temple ornamented with gems. Then a great battle took place, and

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the inhabitants of the country represented to him, that there was a tiger in the neighbouring forests, which was desolating those parts. Mujāhid Shāh went to hunt the animal, and with the strength of his arm killed it. After that, he ravaged a portion of the country of Bijānagar, and obtained much booty. Kishan Rāy, who was the

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Kishan Rāy was nearly defeated, when his brother arrived with a fresh army of eighteen thousand horsemen and six lakhs of foot soldiers. These are the numbers in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs has twenty thousand cavalry and a body of infantry. The battle was renewed but the Sultān was unable completely to conquer the kingdom. He therefore retraced his steps and came to Ūdnī (Adonī).

When the Sultān was attacking Bījānagar his uncle Dāūd Khān had been left with six thousand horse and some infantry to occupy a post called *Dahna-i-Sodra*, or the mouth of the defile of Sodra. It appears from Sewell that this was the way of approach to the city along a narrow and difficult road, which approached along the valley of the Sandūr, or along the valley which now carries the main road from Bellāry to Vijayānagar, between the Sandūr hills, and the hills that surround the latter city. Col. Briggs calls the place Dhuna Sodra. I now quote from Col. Briggs: "On hearing that the engagement began at dawn, and the enemy were not yet defeated, perceiving also that re-inforcements were joining them at every instant, he (Dāūd Khān) became alarmed of the safety of the king, and quitting his station joined in the battle, in which he behaved with surprising gallantry. He had three horses killed under him, and was frequently obliged to fight on foot. The king on seeing the standard of Dāūd Khān was far from pleased, but stifled his resentment, till victory declared for the faithful. He then called Dāūd Khān before him, and gave him a harsh reprimand for quitting his station."

On arriving at Ūdnī (Adonī) he found that his officers were still besieging it. He also was unable to capture it. So a sort of treaty was concluded and the Sultān continued his journey. At Mudkal he left the army behind, and with four hundred companions went to Raichūr (Rāichore). There he occupied himself with hunting. He sent back Safdar Khān Sīstānī and Ā'azam Humāyūn Sīstānī to their respective governments of Berar and Daulatābād. Dāūd Khān, who was grieved owing to the Sultān's having abused him (this is also mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt), conspired with Masnad 'Alī Khān Muhammad and Masa'ūd Khān, who had grievances of their own; and Dāūd Khān entered the pavilion in which the Sultān was asleep at night, after he had crossed the river Krishnā, and had been engaged in fishing in the river during the day, and with the help of Masa'ūd Khān slew him. This happened on the 17th Zi-hijja, 779, April 4th, 1378. Mr. Sewell makes the date April 16th. The period of Sultān Mujāhid's reign did not extend to three years.

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leader of the rebels, came out of the citadel, and surrendered the fort, and made submission the stronghold of his honour.

[1]At the time of the return, scouts brought the news that some turbulent men had taken shelter on the top of a high hill, which was in that neighbourhood, with much wealth and treasure in their possession. The Sultān marched in that direction, and left Dāūd Khān, who was the [2]son of his uncle (*i.e.*, cousin) on the road, by which those men would be likely to try to escape; and himself engaged in plunder and pillage. After the division of the booty, he reprimanded Dāūd Khān by word of mouth, as he found there had been negligence and carelessness on his part, in guarding the road of escape of the turbulent men. Dāūd Khān nourished malice and hostility in his heart, conspired with a number of his intimates, and when they had all crossed the river Krishnā, he one night entered the private pavilion of the Sultān, and slew him with his dagger. The period of Mujāhid Shāh's reign was one year and one month and nine days.

A NARRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF DĀŪD SHĀH, [3]SON OF THE UNCLE OF MUJĀHID SHĀH.

After the assassination of Mujāhid Shāh, [4]Dāūd Khān, who was the son of his uncle, took his place on the throne of sovereignty, and

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[1] The real cause of the enmity of Dāūd Khān and the manner of the assassination, and the length of Mujāhid Shāh's reign are given differently by Firishtah. See the latter part of the last note. According to the list of the Bahmanī Sultāns given in a note in page 40 of Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas," Mujāhid Shāh succeeded his father in 1374, and was assassinated by his uncle in 1377, so that he reigned for three years, and the period mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn although it is so definite is not correct. According to the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, also Mujāhid Shāh reigned from 776 to 779 A.H., 1375 to 1378 A.D. or for about three years. Dāūd Khān was a son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan, and so he was an uncle of Sultān Mujāhid Shāh, and not a cousin.

[2] See note 1. He was an uncle and not a cousin of Mujāhid Shāh.

[3] See the preceding note.

[4] There are slight differences in the readings. The new Sultān is called simply Dāūd in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. he is called Dāūd Khān. I have affixed Khān to his name. Then one MS. says he took his seat on the ارایکه سلطنت و مسند ایالت. The other MS. has ارایکه سلطنت

the seat of greatness. Most of the *amīrs* and the great men of the country agreed with him. The sister of Mujāhid Shāh bound the girdle of hostility and the belt of enmity, in retaliation of the murder of her brother; and tempted some of the *amīrs* by gifts of money. On a Friday, in the Jāma' Masjid they wounded Dāūd Shāh. He was carried to the palace, while there was still a little breath left in him. Then the brave men of the two parties and the warriors of the opposite sides came out armed and equipped for strife and battle; and in the end the enemy (the party who had assassinated Dāūd Shāh ?) were defeated; and the city was devastated. When the news of this reached Dāūd Shāh, he gave the word of acceptance to the summoner of God. The period of his reign was one month and [1] three days.

[2] An account of the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Mahmūd, son of Bahman Shāh.

The rule of the country of the Dakin was in the grasp of his power for a period of nineteen years. Nothing that may be worthy

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و اورنگ ایالت while the lith. ed. has ارایکه ایالت only. I have adopted the second reading.

[1] The account of the reign of Dāūd Shāh, as given by Firishtah, does not differ much from that given in the text. Firishtah, however, says, that the *amīrs* did not at first all unite in acknowledging him. There were two parties; one on the side of Dāūd Shāh, while the other was in favour of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh the youngest son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan; but Malik Nāib Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī had the public prayers read in the name of Dāūd Shāh, in spite of the opposition of the sister of Mujāhid Shāh, who bore the name of Rūh Parwar Āgha. She persuaded a young man of the name of Bāka, who had been high in the favour of Mujāhid Shāh, on account of his sincerity and bravery, to avenge his patron's murder; and he agreed to devote his life in the attempt. On Friday, the 21st of Muharram, 780 A.H., May 19th, 1378 A.D., he slew Dāūd Shāh in the Jāma' mosque, and was himself cut down by Masnad 'Alī Muhammad Khān. According to Firishtah, Dāūd Shāh reigned for one month and nine days. According to the list in the note on page 40 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, he reigned for about one month. It is said there also that he was assassinated at the instigation of Roopurwur Agah.

[2] The history of the reign of Muhammad Shāh, which extended to nineteen years, is given by Nizām-ud-dīn in a few lines. Apparently he knew very little

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of mention has come under my notice among the particulars connected with him. Towards the end of his life [1]the *thānadār* of

about the history of the reign. Even the name is incorrect, the correct name according to Firishtah being Sultān Mahmūd Shāh; but see note 2 in page 47 of Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar", from which it would appear that the name on all the coins of this Sultān is Muhammad (Dr. Codrington, Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd series, Vol. XVIII, page 261) and not Mahmūd; and this is confirmed by the Burhān-i-Ma'āsir and two other authorities (Major King, in Indian Antiquary, July, 1899, page 183, note 39) so that, after all, Nizām-ud-dīn is right and Firishtah wrong. But the Sultān's relationship with the previous Sultān was probably not known to Nizām-ud-dīn. According to Firishtah he was the youngest son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Hasan, the founder of the dynasty; and Mr. Sewell also says that he was 'Ala-ud-din's youngest son. But according to one MS. of the Ṭabaqāt he was the son of Mahmūd, son of Bahman Shāh; and according to the other he was the son of Mahmūd, son of Shāh *Bahmanī*; and according to the lith. ed., he was the son of Mahmūd, son of *Husain Shāh*. The name of Bahman Shāh (incorrectly Shāh Bahmanī) supports the statement made by the Cambridge History of India that the founder of the dynasty styled himself Bahman Shāh. The Husain Shāh of the lith. ed. is of course a mistake for Hasan Shāh. As I am not translating Firishtah's history, it is not necessary for me to go through the whole of the history of the reign, as written by him, which extends over nearly three quarto pages of closely printed lithograph. I can only refer to such portions of it as will explain the one fact, which is mentioned in a very doubtful form, at the end of Nizām-ud-dīn's account.

[1] I have taken this from Firishtah. The readings in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are doubtful. One MS. has تهاندار قلعه شكر او باغي بود شد; the other has the same reading, but omits the word بود, which is clearly superfluous and incorrect. The lith. ed. has تهاندار قلعه دار اورا باغي شد. What really happened, according to Firishtah, was that Bahā-ud-dīn, son of Ramzān Daulatābādī, became a favourite of the Sultān, and was made the Thānadār and governor of the fort of Sāghir. He had two sons, Muhammad and Khwāja, who acquired much power, and became the object of much envy and malice. People complained of them to the Sultān, and although he did not believe the accusers, Muhammad and Khwāja, thinking that they were suspected, revolted; and forced their father to join them. They defeated two armies sent against them. A third army was sent under Yūsuf Azhdar, and in the course of its operations, an arm of Muhammad was cut off by Saiyyad Muhammad Kālapahār, an officer of the Sultān's army, in a single combat. Khwāja also came out of the fort and the two brothers remained outside. Then the men in the fort sent a message to Yūsuf Azhdar to the effect that they would cut off the head of Bahā-ud-dīn and open one of the gates of the fort; and he should

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the fort of Sāghir rebelled against him; the Sultān marched against him; and defeated him. In the course of the same journey he took the way to the other world. He reigned for a period of nineteen years and nine months and twenty-four days.

[1]An account of the reign of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn sat on the *masnad* of sovereignty in the place of his father, on the 7th Rajab; and all the *amīrs* and the attendants

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send a body of chosen men to the gate, when he would be able to capture the fort. In accordance with this plan the fort was seized. The reference to Sāghir or Sāgar as it is called in the Cambridge History of India is brief and, I venture to think, slightly confused. It is said there that Muhammad II imprisoned Khān Muhammad, who had been a general in the service of Muhammad I, but who had afterwards been Dāūd's principal supporter, in the fortress of Sāgar, where he shortly afterwards died, and punished his accomplices.

The account of Bahā-ud-dīn's rebellion in Sāghir as given in the Ṭabaqāt agrees practically with that given by Firishtah. A short time after this the Sultān died of fever on the 21st Rajab, 799, April 20th, 1396; and his reign extended according to Firishtah to nineteen years, nine months and twenty days. According to the Cambridge History of India, Muhammad II was a man of peace and a lover of poetry and literature. At the instance of the Sadar-i-Jahān Mīr 'Ināyetullah of Shīrāz he invited the great poet Hafiz to come to his Court. Hafiz started but he was so alarmed by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he went back to Shīrāz. The Cambridge History of India also says that there was a great famine in the Deccan between 1387 and 1395; and describes the relief measures as displaying a policy of combination.

[1] There is not much difference in the readings in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. There is also not much difference between the accounts given by Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah. Of course, the latter gives more particulars and details. The name of the Turki slave, who engineered the transfer of the sovereignty, appears according to Firishtah to have been Taghalchīn. Col. Briggs calls him Lallchin; Mr. Sewell does not give his name, but describes him as an ambitious slave. He was dissatisfied, because other nobles had received high dignities and he had been left out in the cold. He had a very beautiful daughter, who was highly skilled in Indian music, and the Sultān was greatly enamoured of her. The latter accepted Taghalchīn's invitation with alacrity, because he expected that his host would offer his daughter as *Peshkash* or tribute, and in the same hope, he ordered all his attendants to leave the place, at the instance of his host. The latter went into the *zenana* as if to bring his daughter; and after a little while, came back with a naked dagger in his

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of the Sultān, and the commanders of the army placed their heads of fealty on the ground of service. It happened, however, that a slave of his father, of the name of Taghaljī, who had been honoured, by increase of dignity, and proximity in rank, wanted that the sovereignty should be transferred to another brother (of the Sultān). In order to carry out this resolution, he arranged a great feast, in the course of which he imprisoned the Sultān; and on the 17th of Ramzān, 799 A.H., he drew a pencil over his world-seeing eyes; and raised Sultān Shams-ud-dīn on the throne. The period of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn's rule was one month and twenty days.

An account of the reign of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, brother of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

As [1]Sultān Shams-ud-dīn sat on the *masnad* of sovereignty, by the exertions of Taghalji the *amīrs* and the great men made their submission to him, but the two[2] Shāhzādas Firuz Khān and Ahmad

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hand. The Sultān, who was a lad of seventeen, and was more or less intoxicated made a struggle for his life, and tried to escape. Taghalchīn caught him by the hair of his head and rooted out his eyes, with the point of his dagger. He then sent for the nobles and the attendants of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn, on the pretext that the latter was calling for them; and as they appeared, one by one, murdered 24 of them; and he then sent for the younger brother of Ghiyās-ud-dīn, who was called Shams-ud-dīn, and who was a lad fifteen years of age and placed him on the throne. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn was kept in imprisonment, for two months, in the fort of Sāghir. It does not appear what happened to him after that.

The account of Ghiyās-ud-dīn's short and tragic reign as given in the Cambridge History of India does not differ materially from that given above. The man who blinded and imprisoned Ghiyās-ud-dīn is described in it as Taghalchīn the chief of the Turkish slaves, and the cause of his anger is said to have been Ghiyās-ud-dīn's refusal to appoint him Governor of Gulburga and lieutenant of the kingdom.

[1] According to Firishtah, Sultān Shams-ud-dīn was only Sultān in name, and all the power was in the hands of Taghalchīn, who had received the title of *Malik Nāib*, and the rank of *Amīr Jumlagī* or the *amīr* in charge of everything.

[2] These were sons of Sultān Dāūd Shāh. The Cambridge History of India says they were sons of Ahmad Khān one of the younger sons of Bahman Shāh. According to Firishtah they were only six or seven years of age when their father was killed; but Sultān Mahmūd had had them properly trained

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Khān then attempted to regain their hereditary dominion; and commenced to gain the *amīrs* over to their side. Sultān Shams-ud-

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and had given them his daughters in marriage, and up to the time that he had no sons, had said that he would make prince Fīrūz his heir. Afterwards Sultān Mahmūd directed them to be loyal and faithful to his son and heir, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn; but when Taghalchīn blinded and imprisoned Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the wives of the two princes, who were the sisters of the blinded Sultān, incited them to avenge the outrage committed on the latter. On the other hand Taghalchīn incited Sultān Shams-ud-dīn and the queen mother to seize them. Then they fled to Sāghir; and Sidhū, the governor of the place, did everything in his power to help them. They were still faithful to Sultān Shams-ud-dīn; and wrote to him, telling him that they were not hostile to him, but they only wanted the punishment of Taghalchīn. The Sultān, however, incited by Taghalchīn and the queen mother wrote a reply, which could only inflame their enmity. They then raised three thousand horse and foot and advanced towards Gulbarga, with the hope that the troops there would come and join them; but when they came to the river Pithora (that appears to be the name in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs calls it the river Beema) no one joined them. They held a consultation; and afterwards proclaimed Fīrūz Khān to be the Sultān, and again advanced towards Gulbarga. Then there was a battle with Sultān Shams-ud-dīn's troops in the neighbourhood of Marqul (Col. Briggs calls it Merkole); and Fīrūz Khān and Ahmad Khān were defeated, and retired towards Sāghir. The parties of Taghalchīn and the queen mother became stronger than ever; but the people of Gulbarga were dissatisfied with them, and sent word to Fīrūz Khān and Ahmad Khān that they should get an agreement from Sultān Shams-ud-dīn and come to Gulbarga; and when a suitable opportunity occurred should accomplish their object. At this time a '*Diwānah Kashmīrī*' (a Kashmīrī mad man) came from Gulbarga and called Fīrūz Shāh by the name of Rūz-afzūn Shāh and said he would take him to Gulbarga and make him *bādshāh*. Taking this to be a happy omen the princes started for Gulbarga and arrived there. Both Fīrūz Khān and Taghalchīn were suspicious and afraid of danger, and took great care of themselves. Then on Thursday, the 23rd Safar 800 A.H., November 15th, 1397 A.D., Fīrūz Khān entered the *Darbār* attended by twelve *siladārs* (armed men); and then by a sudden *coup* he imprisoned Shams-ud-dīn and Taghalchīn and ascended the *masnad*, and took the title of Sultān Rūz-afzūn. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn was brought from the fort of Sāghir, and in spite of his blindness, he slew Taghalchīn who was placed before him, with one blow of his sword. Sultān Shams-ud-dīn was blinded and he and his mother were allowed, at their own request, to go to Mecca. He is said to have lived there for many years, and during his life-time Fīrūz Shāh made him a liberal allowance of five thousand golden *asharfis* and also

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dīn attempted to seize them; and they fled to the fort of Shakar (according to Firishtah, Sāghir). The *thānadār* there was a slave of the name of Sādhū. He considered the advent of the Shāhzādas to be a matter of advantage and gratitude, and supplied all that they wanted. Fīrūz Khān then collected troops and advanced for war. Sultān Shams-ud-dīn gathered an army, and came out of the city. After the troops had been arranged in battle array, Sultān Shams-ud-dīn fled; and did not halt anywhere till he had gone to the city (Gulbarga). Fīrūz Khān, owing to the purity of his faith, and the goodness of his nature, took the path of peace and procrastination, and came to the Sultān. But it became patent after a few days, that the Sultān breaking his agreement with him and his brother Ahmad Khān, wanted to seize them. Then Fīrūz Khān forestalled him, and had three hundred well-armed men concealed in his house, under the charge of his brother Ahmad Khān. He himself went to the palace, and as he found that the royal seat was unoccupied, he made bold, and going up to it, sat down on it. As the people were on his side, those who were present in the assembly, placed their heads of fealty on the ground of service. About the same time Ahmad Khān arrived there with the three hundred armed men. Those who were on the side of the Sultān (*i.e.*, Shams-ud-dīn) left the assembly and dispersed. The Sultān concealed himself; but after some days he was seized; and, according to another statement, was slain. The throne of the empire was adorned with the grandeur of the accession of Fīrūz Shāh. The period of the reign of Shams-ud-dīn was five months and nine days.

An account of the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh.

Sultān Fīrūz Shāh was a *bādshāh* of great splendour and magnificence and vigour and learning and wisdom. He sat on the throne of grandeur on [1] Thursday, the 24th Safar 800 A.H. [2] In the splendid

sent him annually rich clothes. This differs greatly from Nizām-ud-dīn's statement, that he was imprisoned, and according to another statement put to death.

[1] According to Firishtah (see last note) the 23rd Safar was Thursday; so the 24th was Friday.

[2] Nizām-ud-dīn is rather vague and indefinite in his laudation of the virtues of Fīrūz Shāh. Firishtah is more precise. He gives him credit for

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period of the days of his rule, the laws of generosity and the customs of truth and honesty and the foundation of justice and equity became stronger. And all sections of the people had peace and comfort under the wings of his justice and beneficence.

Couplet:

His justice, by the sword, did clean the page
Of the time, from the signs of falsehood and pain.

In difficult affairs and troublesome matters his mind sought the help of those who sat in privacy in corners, praying in humility and tribulation. He himself also in his prostrations and risings prayed for assistance in his victories from the great Holy God. Therefore of a necessity in whichever direction he turned the bridle of his attention, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of his standards.

As all matters connected with his government were properly regulated after his accession, he made the [1] conquest of Bījānagar the

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bravery and activity, and says he was engaged in twenty-four campaigns, for extending his kingdom, and for his generosity; but he says he was addicted to the drinking of wine, to the listening of music and to women. He made excuses, and said that music elevated his soul to the contemplation of God; and wine did not create a disturbance in his mind. As to women, he took the opinions of learned men; and as Mīr Fazl-ul-lah Ānjū told him that in the time of the Prophet, *Mutā'* (temporary) marriages were allowed, but the Sunnīs did not allow them, while the *Imāmias* or *Shiās* did, Fīrūz Shāh following the *Shiās* received "three hundred females" according to Col. Briggs "in one day"; but the lith. ed. of Firishtah says that eight hundred women were introduced into the *harem* in the course of one month. Firishtah also says that Fīrūz Shāh married a princess of the Bījānagar family; and that this was the first time such a marriage took place. The Cambridge History of India says "Fīrūz at the time of his accession was an amiable, generous, accomplished and tolerant prince, possessed of a vigorous constitution and understanding, both of which he undermined by indulgence in the pleasures of the harem."

[1] Firishtah does not mention the rebellion, or of the rebels fortifying themselves in the fort of Shakar or Sāghir, as Firishtah calls it, as we have already seen; but he says that when Sultān Fīrūz, on hearing that Deo Rāy of Bījānagar had invaded his kingdom, marched from Gulbarga to Sāghir, he seized one of the *zamīndārs* of Sāghir, who was a bold and reckless *kāfir*, and had a force of seven thousand or eight thousand Hindūs (Kolīs), and had him put to death. The Cambridge History of India calls it a rebellion of the

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object of his (martial) spirit. As some refractory people had taken up a position in the fort of Shakar, he turned in the first instance, to punish them. Immediately on hearing the news of his advance, the

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Kolīs headed by a Hindū chieftain on the north bank of the Krishnā. Firishtah also says that when Sultān Fīrūz was still at Sāghir, news was brought that Narsingh Rāy the ruler of the fort of Kehrlā (Walī Qila'-i-Kehrlā, the Hindu kingdom of Kerala) or more properly perhaps the Rāja of Kehrlā as Col. Briggs describes him, had invaded the country of Berār and plundered and devastated as far as the fort of Māhūr and had caused much insult and loss to many Musalmāns; and that he had done this at the instigation and with the aid of the rulers of Mandū and Asīr (*i.e.*, the Muhammadan kings of Mālwa and Khāndesh), and also at the instigation and motion of the Rāy of Bījānagar. The Sultān had, therefore, to send back the armies of Berār and Daulatābād to redress these matters; and he himself started for the Krishnā with twelve thousand horsemen. This invasion by the Rāja of Kehrlā has not been mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn; but the Cambridge History of India agrees with Firishtah. It calls the Rāja of Kehrlā, Narsingh the good Rāja of Kherlā.

Firishtah does not say that Fīrūz Shāh wanted to conquer Bījānagar. On the other hand he has a great deal to say about the Sultān's *harem*, which contained nine ladies from Arabia, nine from 'Ajam, besides ladies from Turkey, Firang (Europe), Khita (China), and Afghānistān and Rājputāna and Bengāl and Gujrāt and Tilang and Kanāra and Mahratta. These ladies had attendants from their own countries, so that they might conform to their own customs, and speak their own languages; and the Sultān conversed with every one of them in her own language.

Firishtah also says that according to various historians he carried on *Ghazā* (religious war) with the *kāfirs* twenty-four times, that Mulla Dāūd Bidarī, and the author of the Sirāj-ut-tawārīkh have described some of them in detail; but he does not himself mention particulars of any of them. Then he goes on to say that in the year 801 A.H. Deo Rāy of Bījānagar invaded the Doab of the Tungābhadrā and the Krishnā with a large army for the conquest of the forts of Mudkal and Rāichore and some of the *parganas* in their neighbourhood.

Mr. Sewell, see page 50 of his "A Forgotten Empire", says that there was peace between Bījānagar and the Bahmanī kingdom during the reign of Harīharā II of Vijayanagar; and then he quotes the passage from Firishtah about the invasion of the Doab in 801 A.H. He places the movement of the Hindū army at the beginning of the cold season of 1398 A.D., probably not later than December of that year. The Hijrī year 801, extending from 13th September, 1398 to the 3rd September, 1399. Mr. Sewell thinks that Harīharā II was too old to lead the invasion himself, and that it was probably a bold dash made by his son Bukka II, who afterwards succeeded him towards the end of 1399, with his permission.

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rebels fled and concealed themselves in nooks and corners. The Sultān leaving the *dārogha* (apparently the officer-in-charge of the government), proceeded by successive marches, and encamped on the bank of the river Krishnā. But as it was impossible to cross the river at that time, there was necessarily a delay there. The Rāy of Bījānagar came with a great army, and took up a position on the other side of the river. The Sultān was very anxious and distressed, on account of these obstacles and delays; and had frequent consultations with the loyal *amīrs*. Then one day [1] Qāzī Sirāj, who was one of his special advisers and friends, and had very great reputation for bravery and cleverness informed him that the solution of this problem could only be effected by having recourse to trickery and deceit; and this slave (*i.e.*, he himself), with some of his companions, on whom he had complete faith and reliance, would in any way that may be possible, cross the river and reach the Bījānagar army. Let a noble order be issued that the men should arm themselves and be ready. The easiest way would be that [2] *pushtwāras* should be made of wood and grass, and placing the necessary furniture and things on them, he and his companions would cross the river; and as soon as there would be a great noise and uproar in the army of

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It would appear, therefore, that instead of what Nizām-ud-dīn says about Fīrūz Shāh's martial spirit inciting him to invade Bījānagar, he was only compelled to march towards Bījānagar to repel the invasion of Bukka II.

[1] The Cambridge History of India calls him Qāzī Sirāj-ud-dīn and describes him as an inferior officer of the Court.

[2] The word is پشتوارة in the MSS. and پشتاري in the lith. ed. They were I suppose some kind of rafts or basket boats. In the corresponding passage of Firishtah, it is said that "two hundred *sabads* (baskets), which in the idiom of the people of the Deccan were called *Naukras* covered with cow-hides were made ready". In Scott's Firishtah, page 76, they are called hurdles covered with leather, but Col. Briggs calls them baskets; and he says in a note (Vol. II, page 371) that "the same sort of basket boats, used in the Tigris, in the time of Herodotus, are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage boats known in the Indian Peninsula, at this day, to the natives of the country. A detachment of the British army crossed its heavy guns, without even dismounting them over the Toongbudra in 1812 in these basket-boats".

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the enemy, order should be given that the [1]soldiers should without any hesitation cross the river. There was hope, that the beautiful form of victory and triumph should appear [2]in the mirror of their purpose and aim.

The Sultān having accepted this counsel, Qāzī Sirāj with seven other men crossed the river, and mingled with the army of the Rāy of Bījānagar. [3]They took up their quarters in the house (or quarters) of the musicians. As the Qāzī had great skill in the art of music, and showed some of the finer and subtler points of the art to the musicians, after a few days, when the Rāy of Bījānagar held a great festival, and summoned all the musicians, the Qāzī and his companions also went to the *majlis* with the other musicians. After the Rāy of Bījānagar and the other Rāys had become intoxicated, the Qāzī showed some feats, the like of which the Rāy had never seen in his life; and everyone acknowledged the superiority and mastery of the Qāzī in the art. The latter having waited for a suitable opportunity plunged his poisoned dagger into the malevolent breast of the Rāy, and tore it open; and his companions, also, drawing their daggers cut off the heads of the other Rāys. When the shouts

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[1] It would appear from the *Qāzī's* plan, and the success which attended it, that it was not so much the tumultuous waters of the Krishnā that the Sultān's army was afraid to cross, as it was the fact of having to cross the river in the face of a strong and vigilant hostile army; for as soon as the *Qāzī*, by assassinating the Rāy and his commanders threw that army into disorder, the Sultān's army had no difficulty in crossing the river.

[2] The words in one MS. and in the lith. ed. are در انبه مراد; in the other MS. they are در انبه مراد و مطلوب.

[3] The account of what the *Qāzī* and his companions did is given in much greater detail by Firishtah; and there are also many differences in matters of detail, which it is not necessary to mention here, except that according to Firishtah, the *Qāzī* and one of his companions entered the *majlis* having assumed the female garb, ogling and smiling and dancing and playing on the *mandals*; and making no doubt very grotesque figures of themselves. One matter of detail is however of very considerable importance, namely that it was the Rāy's son and not the Rāy himself, that was holding the *majlis* and that it was the Rāy's son that was assassinated. This is confirmed by Mr. Sewell also, who says that after his son had been murdered, "Bukka reached Vijayanagar in safety, and took refuge behind its fortifications".

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and uproar of the Hindūs reached the Sultān,[1] he in his own person crossed the river. He made that crowd, without a head, food for the sword, and those who escaped the sword were carried off as slaves. So much booty fell into his hands, that the accountant of time found it difficult to make a note of it all. The Sultān made Fūlād Khān governor of that *sūba*, and returned to his capital. There he arranged a great festival, and made all the well-known *amīrs* happy by his favours and great rewards. The[2] grand assemblage and the festivities for the conquest of Bījānagar had not yet been concluded, that a messenger came from Badhūl, and submitted the report, that Deo Rāy had on account of his great pride and hauteur sent an army of three hundred thousand infantry to that neighbourhood, for the following reasons, viz., that he had

[1] There are also greater details in Firishtah, of what happened after the assassination of the Rāy's son. First a body of four thousand men crossed the river; and then the Sultān also crossed it, before the morning. The Rāy made no efforts for resistance, but fled taking the dead body of his son with him. The Sultān's army pursued the Hindūs to the vicinity of Bījānagar, taking much booty and many prisoners, and defeating the Hindūs in several actions. The Sultān also sent the Khān Khānān and Mīr Fazl-ul-lah Ānjū Shīrāzī to ravage the Rāy's territory south of Bījānagar which was very fruitful and populous. As many Brahmins had been taken prisoners, their relations and the other *raiyyats* prayed that emissaries should be sent to the Sultān to try to effect their release. Mīr Fazl-ul-lah carried out the negotiations, and the prisoners were released on the payment of eleven lakhs of *hūns* (a *hūn* according to Col. Briggs, amounts, on an average, to three and a half to four rupees, or about eight shillings), ten lakhs going to the Sultān's treasury, and one lakh to Mīr Fazl-ul-lah as his remuneration. After this the Sultān released the prisoners; and returned towards his capital, leaving Fulād Khān to assume charge of the *Doāb*.

[2] Contrary to this, it appears from Firishtah, that several things happened between Fīrūz Shāh's first and second campaigns against Bījānagar. The first campaign took place in 801 A.H. In 802 A.H., the Sultān invaded the territory of Narsingh Rāy of Kehrlā, and reduced him to subjection. In 804 A.H., Fīrūz Shāh sent an embassy to Taimūr, who it appears was then contemplating the conquest of Hindūstan, and offering his submission and proposing to render help and send reinforcements, in the event of his sending an army to conquer Hindūstan. The embassy was graciously received by Taimūr. After this the rulers of Gujrāt, Mālwa and Khāndesh sent embassies to Fīrūz Shāh asking for his friendship; but at the same time, they sent messages to the Rāy of Bījānagar offering to help him, if necessary, in his wars against Fīrūz Shāh.

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received information, that there was a [1] maiden in those parts, who had the shape and form of a *parī*, and the face like the full moon, and who had no rival under the blue dome of the sky; and his men had, after much search and investigation, had to return disappointed

[1] As to the beautiful maiden, Firishtah, on the authority of Mullah Dāūd Bidarī says, that she was the daughter of a goldsmith who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of the town of Mudkal. Mr. Sewell, apparently on the authority of Firishtah makes her the daughter of a farmer living in the town of Mudkal; but both the lith. ed. of Firishtah and Col. Briggs say that she was the daughter of a goldsmith living in a village near Mudkal. According to the lith. ed. of Firishtah her name was پرتهال, Parthāl and Mr. Sewell calls her Parthāl, but Col. Briggs gives her the name of Nehāl. Her parents, following the customs of the country, wanted to betroth her in her girlhood to a youth of her own caste, but she prayed that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that they consented. Then a Brahman, who was returning from Benares saw her and was struck with her beauty. He taught her music and dancing, and then went to Bījānagar, and went to the Rāy. According to Mr. Sewell the reigning Rāy was Bukka II's successor and brother, Deva Rāy I, who began to reign in November, 1406 A.D. On hearing the Brahman's account of the girl's beauty and accomplishments, the Rāy sent him back with rich gifts to bring the girl, and her parents to Bījānagar. The parents were overjoyed, but when they attempted to throw a beautiful jewelled necklace, which the Brahman had brought, around her neck, and the wearing of which would be the mark of her betrothal, she with tears besought them to desist, and told them, that if she became a *Rānī* of Bījānagar, she would never again be allowed to see them or any of her other relations. Her parents acceded to her tearful requests, and the Brahman had to go back disappointed to Bījānagar. The maiden afterwards told her parents that she had long had an inward conviction, that she was destined to be the wife of a prince of the faith of Islām; and asked them to await the will of Providence. Nizām-ud-dīn does not say so, but it may be mentioned here, in passing, that she afterwards became the wife of Hasan Khān the son of Sultān Fīrūz, who did not, however, succeed him.

On hearing the Brahman's account of the failure of his mission, the Rāy was much annoyed. He at once marched out with an army, and on reaching the bank of the Tungābhadrā, sent five thousand selected horsemen across the river to march to Mudkal; and to bring the maiden and the whole of her family with them, but without doing them any injury. As the Rāy had not sent the Brahman back, to apprise the family of the maiden of his intention, they like all the other villagers fled to distant places and the troops had to return unsuccessful. They, however, devastated the country; and when Fūlād Khān, after collecting his army opposed them, they outnumbered his men, and he had to fall back.

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and discouraged. When this news had reached Fūlād Khān, he had at the time of the return of the Bījānagar army obstructed their passage; and had sent many of them to their real place (*i.e.*, hell).

After receiving the information of these occurrences, the Sultān sent a special robe of honour and Arab horses to Fūlād Khān; and himself turned his attention to the punishment of Deo Rāy. He marched by successive stages with a large army, and passed into the kingdom of Bījānagar. He stretched his hands to ravage and devastate the country; and so much plunder came into his hands, that it was beyond the bounds of estimation. After plundering the country, he advanced to the fort (of Bījānagar); the approaches to which were extremely narrow. Although the *amīrs* and the loyal servants of the Sultān pointed out, that it was not advisable for him to enter them, he did not listen to them; but relying on his high destiny, and the assistance of heaven, he penetrated into them; and when he arrived close to the fort, he arranged his troops, and placed himself in the centre of the line. Deo Rāy also came out of the fort with nine lakhs of infantry, and arranged them in front of the Sultān's army. As the numbers of the enemy exceeded the estimate, Sultān Fīrūz commenced the engagement in his own person, and made blood to flow in streams, from the enemy's army. He galloped about in the battle field, and challenged warriors of the hostile army to single combat. Suddenly an arrow from the bow of fate struck his hand; but [1] tying up the wound, he stood firm on the field of bravery and the plain of heroism. The Khān Khānān, Shāhzāda Ahmad Khān, who was the commander of the vanguard, also performed feats of valour.

When the world-illuminating sun bound the black veil over his bright forehead, the drum of return was beaten, and the army took up its former position. The next day [2] Sultān Fīrūz Shāh

[1] The words in the MSS., as well as in the lith. ed. are برو پاک بسته. I cannot make out the meaning of برو پاک. According to Firishtah the Sultān did not show any distress, but drew out the arrow with his own hand, and, without dismounting, tied up his arm.

[2] Firishtah says that the Sultān's plans were more extensive and far-reaching. He sent the Khān Khānān with ten thousand horse to lay waste the country to the south of Bījānagar, and sent Mīr Fazl-ul-lah Ānjū Shirāzī to take

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devastated and ravaged the country surrounding the fort; and for some days was engaged in measures of pillage and destruction, and the whole country was laid waste. Then Deo Rāy with (great) humility sent an ambassador, and prayed for the pardon of his offences, and making promises of loyalty sent much tribute, consisting of elephants of the size of mountains, and various kinds of fabrics and stuffs. The Sultān, on account of his innate kindness accepted his excuses, and turned his bridle for his return.

As Fīrūz Shāh's heart was always engrossed with the conquest of new dominion, [1] he marched with a well-equipped army for the conquest of the Marhatta country, at a moment which the astrologers declared to be auspicious. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Mahūr, the *thānadār* there offered many fine and beautiful presents.

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the fort of Bankāpūr, one of the most celebrated fortresses of the Karnātik. The Khān Khānān returned with sixty thousand prisoners and much plunder; and Bankāpūr was captured. It was then decided that the Khān Khānān should be in charge of the operations against Bījānagar; and the Sultān and Mīr Fazl-ul-lah should march against Adoni. Deo Rāy then sent some of his chiefs to sue for peace. The Sultān at first refused to listen to his prayers; but at last agreed to the following conditions: *viz.*, that the Rāy should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Sultān, besides, much money and pearls and elephants and thousands of slaves. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour; but, in the end, the Sultān was offended because the Rāy did not accompany him all the way to his camp, when he returned to it, at the end of the marriage festivities. So in spite of the alliance there was still enmity between them. The Sultān then returned to his capital.

[1] Firishtah places this campaign in 802 A.H. 1399 A.D., long before the war against Bījānagar, which took place in 809 A.H. The campaign, according to Firishtah, was also of longer duration. Narsingh Rāy the Rājā of Kehrlā (Nizām-ud-dīn calls him Harsingh Rāy) met the Sultān's army, at a distance of two *manzils* or stages from his capital (Col. Briggs says two *coss* from Kehrlā); and there was a severe conflict, and the Sultān's army was at first beaten, and it was reported that the Khān Khānān had been slain. Mīr Fazl-ul-lah, however, fought bravely; and he was joined by the Khān Khānān; the Hindūs were defeated and Kosal Rāy (called Gopāl Rāy by Col. Briggs) the son of Narsingh Rāy was taken prisoner. Kehrlā was then besieged, and after two months the garrison being reduced to great distress, Narsingh sued for peace, which was soon concluded; Narsingh Rāy giving one of his daughters, in marriage, to the Sultān, and also valuable presents including 45 elephants and a large sum of money.

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He then traversed many stages, and arriving at Kehrlā (the ancient Kerala), laid siege to that fortress and devastated the country all round it. Harsingh Rāy the Rāy of Kehrlā, having with great humility, made his submission petitioned for the pardon of his offences; and bringing some valuable presents, gems and gold, and twenty [1] chains of elephants came to render homage; and presented the keys of the forts. The Sultān gave him a seat in front of the throne, and having given him Arab horses and a gold embroidered robe and a jewelled belt gave him permission to go back (to his capital).

Returning from there, after a few days, he sent bodies of men to different parts of his dominions to collect the revenue; and the men, who were sent, brought after a time immense quantities of treasure and elephants and gold and gems.

[2] At this time also, the engineer of his thoughts planned a city on the bank of the river, into all the houses in which there should be running water. After it had been finished, he gave it the name of Fīrūzābād. He built a noble mansion, the turrets of which raised their heads and claimed rivalry in altitude with the stars, for his own palace.

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[1] The word is سلسلہ, *Silsila* a chain. I have never seen it used before, with reference to elephants. The expression for an elephant is *ek zinjīr fīl*. *Silsila* probably is synonymous with *zinjīr*. A *halqa* of elephants is the collective name for one hundred elephants.

[2] Firishtah mentions the building of Firūzābād, but the date of the building of the city cannot be ascertained. From what is said in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, it would appear that Fīrūz Shāh's love for fair women had something to do with the building of the city. It is said there سلطان فیروز شاہ چون بزنان پری طاوس زیب رغبت تمام داشت شہری بر کنار تہرنپورہ موسوم بفیروز اباد بنا کردہ تختگاہ خویش گردانید Col. Briggs, however, does not say anything of the kind. He simply says, "Fīrūz Shāh built a town on the bank of the river Beema". Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs says anything about the flowing water being brought into all the houses; but they say that a canal was brought from the river into the fort, and along this, kiosks were built for the ladies. It may be mentioned here, that the palace at Fīrūzābād was, later on, allotted by Ahmad Shāh, the next Sultān, to Hasan Khān, the indolent and lotus-eating son of Fīrūz Shāh.

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[1] And about this time, news came that [2] Amīr Saiyyad Muhammad Gīsū-darāz, who was one of the holy men of the age, and among the disciples of Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Dāūdi, was coming from the direction of Dehlī. His Majesty the Sultān was highly pleased and happy on account of the grandeur of the noble advent of that great Saiyyad, and went forward to welcome him. After having the pleasure of meeting him, the Sultān suggested that as that country had now become illuminated by the reflection of the sun of his grandeur, he hoped that the shadow of the safety conferred by his presence should continue to be spread over the people of the country. His holiness the Saiyyad acceded to the prayer, and took up his residence in the city of Gulbarga.

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[1] Firishtah places the arrival in 815 A.H., 1412 A.D.

[2] He is called Amīr Saiyyad Muhammad Gīsu-Darāz in one MS., and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. and in Firishtah he is called Mīr Saiyyad Muhammad Gīsu-Darāz. There is considerable difference between the statements of Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah as to the treatment accorded to the holy man. According to the former, Fīrūz Shāh showed great respect and reverence to him, but he was annoyed with him when he refused to bless his son Hasan Khān, and said that Ahmad Khān, his brother, and not Hasan Khān, would succeed him. On the other hand Firishtah says that Fīrūz Shāh at first received him with great respect, but when he found him deficient in علم ظاهري خصوصاً معقولات, *i.e.*, natural sciences, specially those founded on the reasoning faculty, he did not pay him so much attention as before; but the king's brother Ahmad Khān had very great belief in him, and continued to attend on him. Nizām-ud-dīn says, that Fīrūz Shāh took his son Hasan Khān to the holy man, and telling him that he had made him his heir, asked for his benediction, when the Saiyyad told him that his son was not fashioned for the robe of a Sultān; but Firishtah says that Fīrūz Shāh, after declaring Hasan Khān his successor, and giving him all the paraphernalia of royalty, sent men to the Saiyyad for his blessings, the latter said, that when the Sultān had already declared Hasan Khān to be his successor, what necessity was there for his prayers in his favour. When the Sultān again sent men to him and asked with greater insistence for his prayers, then he said, that it was his brother, and not his son, that would succeed him.

Firishtah goes on to say, that the Sultān sent word to the Saiyyad that his residence was too near the fort (palace); and there was always a great crowd there; and that he should therefore go out of the city. The Saiyyad had to comply with the order, and he took up his residence outside the city, where his adherents soon erected a fine house for him, at the spot where his tomb now stands. Col. Briggs adds in a note, that the tomb now standing was either

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[1] It is said that one day, Sultān Fīrūz Shāh had his eldest son, who bore the name of Hasan Khān, arrayed in a special dress, and made him his heir. He then took him with himself to his holiness the Saiyyad; and informed the latter that as he had selected the prince to be his heir, he hoped that his holiness should cast an eye (of favour) on his affairs and should not withdraw the hand of his training from over his head. The holy Saiyyad declared, that the fashioner of providence and fate had prepared the robe of sovereignty for the person of the Khān Khānān Ahmad Khān, and no one can object to the ordinances of fate. The Sultān was annoyed at these words, and left the place.

As the rainy season was now over, [2] he marched with a large army towards Arankal (Warangal). When he arrived in that country, he saw a fort built of hard stone, which raised its head to the blue dome of the sky, and round it there was a deep ditch dug, which was thirty dira' (yards) in breadth, and which was connected with (or filled with) water from a spring. His Majesty, the Sultān, remained for two years at the foot of the fort, and was, in spite of that, unable to carry out his object; and on account of the (bad)

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built or erected by a descendant of the Saiyyad, Muhammad Amīn Husainī in 640 A.D., in the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr.

[1] There are slight variations in the readings here. One MS. has حکایت گویند, *i.e.*, an anecdote, they say. The other MS. has only گویند, they say; while the lith. ed. has روایت کنند, they narrate.

[2] According to Firishtah he did not march against Warangal or Talingāna, but in 820 A.H., 1417 A.D., he sent ambassadors to the Rāy of Telingāna demanding arrears of tribute; and the latter sent enough in money and goods to satisfy him. Then Fīrūz Shāh marched against the fort of Pāngal, which Firishtah says, was in his time called Bilkonda, and was situated at a distance of eighty *farsangs* (240 miles) from the fort of Adoni. Col. Briggs says in a note that at the present time Pāngal has no other name, and is 70 miles from Adoni. Nizām-ud-dīn apparently mixes up the two incidents of the demand of tribute from the Rāy of Telingāna, and the siege of Pāngal. He does not give the name of the fort, but it is clear that it was Pāngal that he was referring to. It would appear, however, from what Nizām-ud-dīn himself said, that Pāngal was in Bījānagar and not in Telingāna; and Firishtah also says, that he besieged the fort, completely disregarding his relation with the Rāy of Bījānagar. Mr. Sewell, however, calls it the Warangal fortress Pāngal (page 65).

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climate of the place, most of the men and quadrupeds (in his army) were destroyed. When Deo Rāy of Bījānagar became acquainted with what had happened, he took advantage of the opportunity, and sent a large army of cavalry and infantry, and obstructed the entrances and the exits. The Sultān was compelled, therefore, to leave the place for the return journey. Deo Rāy's soldiers attacked the army with arrows and spears. The [1] warriors belonging to the Sultān's army then attacked Deo Rāy's troops, but as the ways were narrow they were unable to accomplish anything. They represented to the Sultān, that at such a crisis, it would be fit and proper for him to hasten away and reach a place of safety; for the safety of the army, they said, was bound up with the safety of the sovereign. The Sultān said, "How can it be allowed in the religion of manliness and humanity, that I should go to a place of safety, and leave my soldiers to perish or to be taken prisoners". At this conjuncture, a person having the form of a demon and the nature of an evil spirit, coming from the enemy's army, [2] inflicted a wound on the Sultān, and fighting bravely, escaped out of the orbit of the Sultān's army. The *amīrs*, seizing the Sultān's bridle took him out of the danger, and carried him away to [3] Gulburga.

The Sultān then wrote letters, giving an account of the events, and couched in sincere language, to Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt; and

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[1] Firishtah's account is different, and altogether more probable. He says that Mīr Fazl-ul-lah, rallying the soldiers, nearly defeated the Bījānagar army, when یکی از کفار کهنره a Hindū of Cahnara, who had been a long time in his service, but who had been seduced by the promise of a high dignity by Deo Rāy, killed him by inflicting a serious wound on his head. The Sultān's army was now routed, and the Sultān with the assistance of Ahmad Khān escaped, with the remnant of his army. Firishtah does not mention the Sultān's being wounded by a person with the form of a demon and the nature of an evil spirit.

[2] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has ضربی بر سلطان زد, the other has ضربی بر سر سلطان زد, while the lith. ed. has ضربی بسلطان زد.

[3] Firishtah goes on to say that the Hindūs (I am quoting from Col. Briggs) "made a general massacre of the Musalmans" ..... "and subsequently took many towns, broke down mosques and other holy places, slaughtered the people without mercy; and by their savage conduct seemed desirous to discharge the vengeance and resentment of many ages".

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asked for help from him. But the [1]army of Gujrāt had not yet arrived, when the Sultān fell ill from excessive anger (or mortification); and as his illness increased, some of his [2]adherents wanted that they should seize the Khān Khānān, prince Ahmad Khān, and should draw a pencil across his world-seeing eyes. The Khān Khānān receiving information of this, withdrew himself into the corner of safety. The soldiers, however, came from all sides and joined him. Firūz Shāh sent one of his slaves with twenty thousand horsemen and some elephants to crush him. After the two armies had met, [3]Firūz Shāh's army fled. The latter, in spite of his illness

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[1] According to Firishtah, however, Sultān Ahmad (of Gujrāt) having only recently ascended the throne, and his affairs being still unsettled, the message had no effect; but the king's brother Ahmad Khān, the Khān Khānān, opened the door of the treasury, collected a new army, and drove the Bījānagar troops out of the kingdom.

[2] Firishtah says, that when Firūz Shāh's illness was prolonged, the management of affairs fell into the hands of two slaves, named, respectively, Hushiyār 'Ain-ul-mulk and Bīdār Nizām-ul-mulk, and they told the Sultān, that as Ahmad Khān was very powerful and popular, his son Hasan Khān could only succeed him, if Ahmad Khān could be removed, and Firūz Shāh also remembered what Saiyyad Muhammad Gīsū-Darāz had told him about the succession, and he determined upon depriving Ahmad Khān of his eye-sight.

[3] According to Firishtah, the Khān Khānān did not have such an easy success. He first of all went to Saiyyad Muhammad Gīsū-Darāz, taking his son 'Alā-ud-dīn with him. The Saiyyad took his own turban from his head and divided it into two parts, and bound them on the heads of the father and the son. Col. Briggs says erroneously, that it was 'Alā-ud-dīn's turban that was cut into two portions. After that the Khān left home early the next morning with only four hundred tried soldiers. At the gate he was joined by Khalf Hasan of Basrah, who was an old friend of his. He dissuaded him from attaching himself to his hopeless cause, but Khalf Hasan refused to leave him; and it was his advice and help that conduced to his success. Firishtah agrees with our author in saying that after the Khān Khānān's first success Firūz Shāh got into a palankin, and advanced against the Khān Khānān; but he says that before doing this, he had the umbrella of sovereignty placed over the head of his son Hasan Khān. In the second battle, which took place at a distance of three *karōhs* from Hasanābād Gulbarga, Firūz Shāh fainted owing to his great weakness, and the report got about that he had been killed. The soldiers then went over to the Khān Khānān. The latter out of regard for his brother did not pursue him. Firūz Shāh entered the fort, and the Khān Khānān encamped outside. Then Hushiyār 'Ain-ul-mulk and Bīdār Nizām-ul-mulk began to

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got into a palankin and advanced to the battle field. At the time, however, when the troops were arrayed for battle, most of the soldiers fled and joined the Khān Khānān. On seeing this state of things, he returned to the city, and turned the men out of the *diwān khāna* (audience hall); and sent the keys of the fort and the treasuries, by the hands of the great men of the city, to Ahmad Khān.

Verses:

He (alone) is wise, who in all things,
Sometimes accepts flowers and sometimes thorns.
With every morsel, thou cans't not sugar find;
Sometimes comes the clear (wine) and sometimes the dregs.

The Khān Khānān, desirous of rendering the rights, which his brother had by having trained him, and brought him up, went alone into the palace and kissed the ground of service. Fīrūz Shāh descended from the throne, and took him into his arms, and holding his hand led him up to the throne. He opened his mouth with pleasant and kind words, and filled Ahmad Khān's ears, with the precious gems of advice. They both wept out of brotherly love, and Fīrūz Shāh commended his children to the care of his brother; and [1]on the night of the 4th of Shawwāl 825 A.H., when the dawn raised its head over the turrets of the horizon, the hand of that marauder, Death, plundered the capital of his life. [2]According to

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discharge cannon and musket shots at the Khān Khānān's camp, and one cannon ball struck his tent, and some of his attendants were killed; and he had to move his camp further back.

After this Fīrūz Shāh told Hasan Khān, that the soldiers having joined his uncle, it was not possible for him to ascend the throne. He also ordered the gates to be opened, and sent for his brother, who came and placed his head on his feet. Fīrūz Shāh then surrendered the sovereignty to the Khān Khānān and placed his son in the latter's charge. The same day, the 5th Shawwāl 825 A.H., September 15th, 1422 A.D. Ahmad Khān, Khān Khānān, ascended the throne, and called himself Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī. Ten days later Fīrūz Shāh died.

[1] See the latter part of the last note. Mr. Sewell quoting Scott's translation of Firishtah, page 95, and counting the length of Fīrūz Shāh's reign, gives the 7th Shawwāl 825 A.H., 24th September, 1422 A.D. as the date of his death.

[2] This gives one a shock, after the somewhat idyllic picture of brotherly love just painted; but Firishtah has something equally bad, if not worse.

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another statement poison was given to him. The period of his reign was twenty-five years and seven months and twenty days.

[1]A NARRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF SULTĀN AHMAD SHĀH BAHMANĪ.

When the throne of the empire and the seat of government was adorned by the accession of Ahmad Shāh, all sections of the people were very happy with the perfection of his justice, and his all-comprehending beneficence. He acted with such justice and equity, that the habit of tyranny and the custom of oppression became obsolete among men.

Couplet:

The door of justice was opened so wide,
That the sparrow of the hawk, a house mate became.

In the scales of his spirit, dust and gems appeared to have the same price. He was in the society of learned and great men at most times; and lavished much wealth on them. In following the law of the Prophet, he never showed himself to be deficient, in any way, as far as it lay in his power. He showed his respect and veneration to the descendants of the Prophet and to the successors of saints and holy men, in a way, that it was impossible to conceive anything in excess of it. [2]In connection with this, they relate this story of him. He had an *amīr* of the name of Shīr Malik, into whose hands he had entrusted the reins of the government. Shīr Malik was returning after capturing a great fort which was famous in

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He says و در بعضی کتب بنظر در آمدة که احمد شاة بوسوسة و تحریک خواهر زادة خود شیر خان فیروز شاة را خفه کردة بکشت و الله عالم بحقیقت الحال which may be translated as "And it has come to my notice, in some books, that Ahmad Shāh had Fīrūz Shāh strangled to death, at the instigation of his sister's son Shīr Khān; but God only knows the real truth of the matter.

[1] There are variations in the heading. One MS. has ذکر سلطان احمد شاة بهمني; the other leaves out the word سلطان. The reading in the lith. ed. ذکر سلطان احمد شاة بن فیروز شاة بهمن is altogether incorrect. Ahmad Shāh was the brother, and not the son of Fīrūz Shāh.

[2] This summary and barbarous punishment for insulting a Saiyyad occurred very near the end of the Sultān's reign. It is mentioned by Firishtah as having occurred in 837 A.H., and Ahmad Shāh died the next year.

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that country, and came to a sea port. On the way a Saiyyad of the name of Nāsir-ud-dīn 'Arab, to whom Sultān Ahmad had entrusted a large sum of money, so that he might go to Karbalā, and open out a stream of water there, met him. Saiyyad Nāsir-ud-dīn did not show such respect to Shīr Malik, as the latter had expected. He merely met him, mounted as he was. Shīr Malik told his servants, and they made Nāsir-ud-dīn dismount from his horse The Saiyyad returned from that place, and came into the presence of the Sultān, and informed the latter of what had happened. The Sultān comforted him and sent him back. After some days Shīr Malik arrived near (the place where the Sultān was); and high and low hastened to meet him; and brought him to the royal threshold. And at the very instant, when the Sultān's eye fell on him, he ordered that an elephant of the name of [1]Qassāb might be brought in to the presence; and at that very moment, without any talk or discussion, Shīr Malik was thrown under the elephant's feet. The Sultān said, "This is the punishment for insulting Saiyyads".

[2]When the Sultān was established on the throne of State, news came that the army of Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī, which Sultān Firūz had summoned, had arrived at the frontier. Ahmad Shāh sent presents and gifts for Sultān Ahmad; and gave permission to the *amīrs* of Gujrāt to return; and he also sent presents to the *amīrs*, in accordance with their condition and rank.

[3]As Deo Rāy had been guilty of unmannerly conduct during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, Sultān Ahmad Shāh, in retaliation of that,

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[1] The name appears to be فساب Fasāb in the MSS. and تساب Tasāb in the lith. ed. It is قصاب Qasab (butcher according to Col. Briggs) in Firishtah.

[2] I cannot find any mention of this in Firishtah. On the other hand the latter says سلطان احمد شاه ..... خاص و عام را مطیع و منقاد خود ساخت و سرحد گجرات را بامرای معتبر سپرده خاطر ازان طرف جمع کرد which means that Sultān Ahmad Shāh . . . . . made high and low submissive to himself, and placed the frontier of Gujrāt in charge of trustworthy *amīrs*, and thus assured his mind on that side.

[3] Instead of the very vague and sketchy account of the campaign which follows, Firishtah has a long and graphic account, which may be summarised thus. The Sultān advanced with forty thousand horsemen to the Tungābhadrā. The Rāy of Bījānagar also advanced to the river, after summoning the Rāy of

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advanced towards Bījānagar, on the first *Nauroz* after his accession. After traversing many stages, when he arrived within the territories

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Warangal to his help. The two armies halted for forty days on opposite banks of the river. Then weary of the delay, the Sultān called a council of war; and finding his officers impatient to cross the river, he despatched some of them with a body of men. They crossed the river at a ford at some distance, and by day-break reached the Rāy's camp. The Rāy of Talingāna had already deserted his ally and marched away. The Rāy of Bījānagar was sleeping in his tent when the vanguard of the Musalmān army arrived, and, being alarmed, fled almost naked into a sugar-cane plantation. Here some Musalmān soldiers found him and taking him to be an ordinary villager, made him carry a bundle of sugar-cane. Then when the Sultān had crossed the river, the soldiers hoping to find more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, left him; and he, with great trouble, about midday came up with some of his officers, who recognised him and received him with great joy. He, however, considered the late accident as a bad omen and fled to Bījānagar. The Sultān without waiting to besiege the Rāy's capital, overran the open country; and put men, women and children to death without mercy; and whenever the number of the slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted for three days, and held a great festival. He also demolished Hindū temples (Butkẖānhā Wa Kanāis, which Col. Briggs translates as "Idolatrous temples and colleges of the brahmins"). Then five thousand Hindūs took an oath to kill the Sultān in revenge for these outrages. They attacked him one day when he was separated from his attendants, while out hunting. He took shelter in a small mud enclosure used as a fold for cattle, and was in great danger, till 'Abd-ul-qādir, his armour bearer, came up with a body of men, and after a severe conflict the Hindūs were defeated. After this the Sultān closely blockaded Bījānagar; and the people being in great distress the Rāy sued for peace; and the Sultān agreed, on condition that the Rāy should send all arrears of tribute, laden on his best elephants, with his son. The Rāy agreed, and sent his son with thirty elephants laden with the treasures. The Rāy's son was received by the Sultān, and was presented with a robe, a sword set with gems, twenty beautiful horses of different countries, a male elephant, some hounds for the chase, and a leash of hawks; and was dismissed from the banks of the Krishnā; and the Sultān returned to Gulbarga.

Mr. Sewell's remarks on the above narrative are, (1) the fact of the Rāy's camp being close to a sugar-cane plantation indicates that it was probably close to one of the old irrigation channels supplied by dams constructed across the river by the Rāys; (2) that it is difficult to reconcile the story with the fact that the Rāy (Deva Rāyā II) was then quite a boy; and that the Musalmān chroniclers, from whom Firishtah obtained the facts, mistook some adult member of the Rāy's family, who commanded the army, for the Rāy; and (3) that it is useless to speculate as to the locality where the Sultān was

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of Bījānagar, he commenced to plunder and ravage (the country). Deo Rāy, who had been rubbing his head with the zenith of the revolving sky, now withdrew his hand from the reins of government, and sent one of his trusted adherents, with gifts and presents to attend on Ahmad Shāh, and asked for pardon of his offences. The Sultān drew the pen of forgiveness over his guilt, and sent *farmāns* couched in friendly language. Deo Rāy then came forward with humility and submission, and sent everything that he had promised to send; and became included in the band of the Sultān's friends and adherents. The Sultān returned with victory and triumph, and when he arrived at the capital, he distinguished the *amīrs* with [1] promotion in rank and robes of honour; and gave them permission to return to their own *thānās*.

After a short time, the Sultān wrote a letter to Nasīr Khān of Asīr proposing a [2] marriage for his true son Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn; and sent it by the hand of 'Azīz Khān Nāmī. When the letter reached Nasīr Khān, he agreed to the alliance, prepared the necessary things for the chaste and pure veiled one; and sent her with his sons and attendants and servants and troops to the capital (Ahmadābād Bidar or Gulbarga) so that the usual rites and ceremonies of festivity might be performed, and gave permission with all politeness and respect, to 'Azīz Khān to return. Sultān Ahmad welcomed the delightful advent of the guests with pleasure and gratitude, and made them happy with his great lavishness and

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surrounded, and had to take shelter in a mud enclosure; but as he was riding, he was probably riding down antelope.

[1] One MS. inserts the word مناسب (suitable), after مناصب.

[2] The marriage, according to Firishtah, took place some time after 830 A.H., 1426 A.D., and after the expeditions to Talingāna, which according to Nizām-ud-dīn occurred in 826 and 828 respectively, so that according to the correct chronological order, the account of the marriage should succeed and not precede the account of the Talingāna campaign. The ruler of Asīr is called Nasīr Khān ruler of Asīr. He claimed to be a descendant of his holiness 'Umar Fārūq, in the Persian text of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs calls him "Nuseer Khān Farooky ruler of Kandeish". The bride was sent, according to Firishtah, to Ahmadābād Bidar, and was lodged in a garden outside the city. The festivities continued for two months, and the bride was brought into the city, and at an auspicious moment the marriage took place.

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benefactions; and spread the shadow of safety and of his kindness on the guests and the residents; and kept open the gates of pleasure and enjoyment, so that men might occupy themselves in various pleasures; and [1] take what was due to them from the cup bearer of time. The Sultān summoned the Qāzīs and the learned men, and the men possessing the knowledge of God, and the great men of the city and arranged the marriage assembly; and (afterwards) he sent back the sons and the adherents of Nasīr Khān after showing them every honour, and conferring on them many marks of his kindness.

In the year 826 A.H., Sultān Ahmad Shāh collected an immense army; and [2] advanced towards the country of Tilang; but on account of certain matters connected with the kingdom, he returned from the way, and came back to Gulbarga. Then in the year [3] 828 A.H., 1424 A.D., he again advanced towards Tilang; and certain

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[1] The meaning is not quite clear. The actual words are از ساقي وقت داد خود بستانند, according to the MSS. The lith. ed. has از ساقي داد وقت خود نستانند.

[2] Firishtah does not mention this expedition which ended so abruptly. The affairs of state, which Nizām-ud-dīn refers to, but does not describe, were the total failure of rain in 826 and 827 A.H. In 826, no rain fell, streams and wells became dried up, and the ground parched. Sultān Ahmad Shāh opened the doors of his treasury, and supported his troops. He also opened the doors of the public granaries, and fed the poor and the needy. The next year also there was no rain, and the Sultān in great distress called upon the learned and pious men and Shaikhs to pray for rain; but this had no effect, so the people became seditious, and spoke of the reign as unlucky. Then the Sultān in great sorrow went out to the open country, and going on an eminence bowed down in prayer, and placing his head on the ground made lamentations and supplications. About this time clouds gathered together, and rain began to fall. This is the translation of the passage in the lith. ed.; but Col. Briggs says that "the Sultān repaired to the mosque in state to crave heaven's mercy for his subjects". The Persian text goes on to say, that so much rain fell, that the men who had accompanied the Sultān began to shiver, and they acclaimed the Sultān with the title of *Walī* or Saint.

[3] Mr. Sewell says that 828 A.H. began only on November 23rd, 1424, but the campaign was very short and may have been finished before the end of December. The account of the expedition as given by Firishtah is different from that given in the text. According to Firishtah the Sultān marched to Golkonda, where he halted for a month and twenty days, and sent Khān Ā'azam 'Abd-ul-

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forts, which at the time of the catastrophe (in Fīrūz Shāh's reign), had passed out of the Sultān's possession, again came into it. He then took tribute from the Kalāntars or chiefs of Rājkonda and Deorkonda; and returned to Gulbarga.

In the year 829 A.H., news came that the Rāy of Māhūr had strayed from the path of allegiance, and was bent on war and bloodshed. Sultān Ahmad Shāh collected an army, which was beyond all calculation, and advanced to punish him. The Rāy fortified himself in the fort of Māhūr. The Dakinī army ravaged the neighbourhood of the fort, and rased everything to the ground. In the end the Rāy came forward with humility and repentance, and joined the band of the Sultān's [1] loyal adherents; and whatever had been in his possession came again into the Sultān's possession.

Latīf as commander of the vanguard. When he advanced again, news came that the Rāy had arrayed his army for battle, but had been defeated and slain with seven thousand of his cavalry and infantry. The Sultān on reaching Warangal took possession of the city, and all the treasure which the Rāy and his ancestors had collected. He then gave a suitable reward to the Khān Ā'azam 'Abd-ul-Latīf, and sent him to conquer the other portions of the kingdom; and he returned to the Sultān at Warangal, after conquering the whole country in the course of three or four months. If this account be accepted, then Mr. Sewell's remark that the campaign might have been finished before the end of 1424 cannot be correct.

As to Nizām-ud-dīn's account, I cannot find any mention in the other accounts of this expedition of Rājkonda or Deorkonda, or their Kalāntars. But it appears from the accounts of the reign of Sultān Humāyūn, grandson of Sultān Ahmad Shāh, as given by both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah, that the Telegus of Deorkonda offered a stout resistance to the generals of Sultān Humāyūn. This is also mentioned by Mr. Sewell in page 98 of his book, where he calls the place Devarkonda. And in page 132 of his book, he says that Sultān Quli Qutb Shāh of Golkonda "took Rāzukonda and Devarakonda, fortresses respectively S.E. and S.S.E. of Hyderābād in Telingāna". Rāzukonda (which is apparently identical with Rājkonda) and Devarakonda are both shown in the map of South India, opposite to page 76 of Mr. Sewell's book; so there may be some foundation for Nizām-ud-dīn's statement.

[1] Contrary to this, Firishtah says that after the *Zamīndār* of Māhūr had submitted, the Sultān breaking his engagement with him, had him and five or six thousand Hindūs put to death, and imprisoned their sons and daughters, and forced them to become Musalmāns. Firishtah also says that at this time the Sultān took possession of the fort of Kalan (Briggs calls it Kullum), and also of

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[1] After the conquest of Māhūr, as the kingdom became more extensive, the *amīrs* submitted that one of the Shāhzādas might be declared to be the heir apparent; and *sūbas* might be allotted to the others, so that the rule of sincerity and friendship might continue among the "brothers of purity". The Sultān said, "Please tell me whatever might have been decided in your minds on the subject of the heir apparent". The *amīrs* submitted "Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn is endowed with high attributes and is most anxious and painstaking in the management of measures for the amelioration of the condition of the *raiyyats*, and for improving the condition of the poor and oppressed". The Sultān applauded the opinion of the *amīrs* and appointed Shāhzāda 'Ala-ud-dīn to be the heir apparent and [2] made Muhammad Khān over to him. [3] He conferred the country of Māhūr with its dependencies on Shāhzāda Mahmūd Khān, and he gave the fort of Rāijūr (Rāichur) with its surrounding country to Dāūd Khān, and took an engagement from all his sons, that they should never be hostile to one another, and should keep the *raiyyats*, and the poor and oppressed, who have been entrusted to them by God, in comfort. He also directed them that they should treat the following [4] four noble classes among men with special respect and

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a diamond mine, which had up to that time been in the possession of the ruler of Gondwara.

[1] The date of these transactions is not given either by Nizām-ud-dīn or by Firishtah, but it appears that they took place between 829 and 833 A.H.

[2] The meaning of this is not clear; but the following passage from Firishtah, who after saying that the Sultān made 'Alā-ud-dīn his heir says و برادر کوچک او شاهزاده محمد خان را که کوچک ترین فرزندان بود شریک شاهي وي گردانید which means, that he made his (*i.e.*, 'Ala-ud-dīn's) youngest brother, Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān who was his youngest son, co-sharer in the kingdom with him (*i.e.*, with 'Alā-ud-dīn).

[3] According to Firishtah the distribution was different. He says Ramgar (Ramgir according to Col. Briggs) and Māhūr and Kalan and a small part of Berār were given to Shāhzāda Mahmūd Khān; and Shāhzāda Dāūd Khan was sent, with the insignia of royalty, and some old and trustworthy *amīrs* to assume the government of Tilang.

[4] It may be mentioned that the four noble classes of the community here mentioned somewhat resemble the four sections of the Indian people as originally classified by the Indian *Sāstras* of Brāhmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sūdra, though of course they were not castes, as they later became in India. Firishtah

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esteem; *viz.* first, learned men, for their minds are the fountains of philosophy and Divine knowledge; second, writers, as this great band adorn the cheek of the country, and the face of the state with [1] constructive guidance, by the tongues of their pens.

Couplet:

As the Shāh-in-shāh's sword lays the foundation of the state,
The tongue of the pen, of rules becomes its guide.

The third are the men of arms, for the well-being of the people ('ibad, literally the servants of God), and the putting down of all disturbances in the country, are bound up with (the existence of) this body; and the [2] flashes of the light of their lances, which put down all disturbances are the guardians of religion and of the state; and the tongue of the ruthless swords explain the texts of victory and triumph. The fourth are the cultivators, for the *stability* of the world, and the continued existence of mankind are bound up with and sustained by the exertions of this body. For if they show any negligence, and permit idleness to find its way into their limbs, the supply of food, which is the means of the maintenance of life and of the sustenance of existence, would be completely cut off. And after giving necessary counsel and directions he sent Mahmūd Khān and Dāūd Khān to the *subas* to which they had been nominated.

Then in the year 830 A.H., he appointed Khalf Hasan 'Arab who had the title of Malik-ut-tujjār to conquer the [3] island of

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does not say anything about the Sultān's direction and precepts about these classes.

[1] The words the meaning of which is obscure appear to be بحال تعمیر in one MS., and in the lith. ed.; and عیال تعمیر in the other MS.

[2] The words here are also somewhat obscure. The words in one MS. are و لمعان نواسان فتنه نشان نگاهبان دین و دولت; the other MS. has left out the whole passage from لمعان to دین و دولت. The lith. ed. agrees with the first MS. but substitutes نواستان for نواسنان, and نگاهبانان for نگاهبان. I think that نواسان and نواسنان are both incorrect; and the proper reading should be نور سنان and نگاهبانان is probably better than نگاهبان. I have adopted this reading.

[3] The words which I have translated as the island of Mahāim look like جزیدهٔ بهایم, in one MS. but they are clearly جزیرهٔ بهایم in the other. In the lith.

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Mahāim (Māhim). The Malik-ut-tujjār, by the strength of his arms, and his bravery and courage took possession of that country. The Rāys there, who were Musalmāns, went to the presence of Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt for aid. The latter sent a *farmān* to Shāhzāda Zafar Khān, who was at Sultānpūr Nadarbār, that he should advance to help those Musalmāns. The Malik-ut-tujjār wrote an account of what had happened, and sent it to Gulbarga. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was sent from that place to reinforce the Malik-ut-tujjār. When the two armies met the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Zafar Khān's standards. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn fled and went back to his own territory, and the Malik-ut-tujjār also joined him. These matters will be narrated with greater details in the section about Gujrāt.

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ed. they are جزیدہ مہایم. There is no mention in Firishtah of the Malik ut-tujjār or any one else being sent in 830 A.H. to conquer the island of Mahāim. But it appears from Firishtah that towards the end of 833 A.H., the Sultān sent the Malik-ut-tujjār to purify the land of Kokan (Concan), which is situated on the coast of the Arabian sea, from the taint of all rebels and disturbers, and to destroy all the Rājas, who had gone beyond their bounds. The Malik-ut-tujjār carried out the orders within a short time, and sent much tribute to the Sultān, who sent him a special robe of honour and other rewards. The Malik-ut-tujjār then, in the excess of his zeal, conquered the island of Mahāim (Māhim) which was in the possession of the king of Gujrāt. The latter sent his son Zafar Khān to recover possession of Mahāim; and Sultān Ahmad also sent his son 'Alā-ud-dīn to reinforce the Malik-ut-tujjār. The two *Shāhzādas* remained encamped on opposite banks of an inlet of the sea, and neither had the courage to cross it. Then 'Alā-ud-dīn became ill and retired some stages; and Zafar Khān attacked the Malik-ut-tujjār, and various engagements took place. The Malik-ut-tujjār's brother was taken prisoner, and two other chiefs of the Deccanī army were slain; and that army was completely defeated; and all the elephants and horses and equipages belonging to it fell into the hands of the Gujrātis. Sultān Ahmad then advanced to reinforce the Malik-ut-tujjār; and Ahmad Shāh of Gujrāt also collected a large army and advanced to meet him. The Deccan army at first surrounded the hill fort of Tambolā in Baglāna, but on the approach of the Gujrāt army raised the siege. The two armies confronted each other for some time; but at last, on the intervention of learned men, peace was restored on the terms that each country should remain in possessi of the territories, which it had held from before the war.

Col. Briggs in note says that Mahāim or Māhim is identical with Bombay.

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[1] In the year 832 A.H., a letter of Narsingh Rāy, who was one of the associates of the line of Ahmad Shāh (*i.e.*, I suppose one of the

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[1] See note 3, pp. 49, 50. Firishtah places the war with Sultān Hūshang in 830 A.H., whereas Nizām-ud-dīn says it took place two years later in 832 A.H. To understand the relation between Narsingh Rāy, Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī and Sultān Hūshang of Mandū, it is necessary to go back to the events of 829 about the Rāy of Māhūr as described on p. 47 *ante*, and Firishtah's version referred to in note 1, p. 47. According to Firishtah, after treacherously slaying the *zamīndār* of Māhūr, Ahmad Shāh remained at Elichpūr and erected and repaired fortresses there. He had obtained a grant of Khāndesh, Mālwa and Gujrāt from Taimūr, and his object was to take possession of these territories, and afterwards conquer Bījānagar. Sultān Hūshang, having received information of these ambitious projects, tried to seduce Narsingh Rāy from his allegiance to Sultān Ahmad; but Narsingh Rāy did not agree. Then Sultān Hūshang twice invaded his territory; but was defeated both times. He sent a third army, and the *amīrs* commanding it laid waste Narsingh Rāy's country, and took possession of some *parganas*; and Sultān Hūshang prepared to invade the country in person. After this Narsingh Rāy, in great distress, sent the petition in 832 A.H. to Ahmad Shāh, asking for his help. The latter sent a *farmān* to 'Abd-ul-qādir the Khān Jahān, governor of Berar, to march to the help of Narsingh Rāy; and he also himself advanced with six thousand horsemen to Elichpūr on the pretext of going on a hunting expedition. As Sultān Hūshang was yet in his own territory, he spent two months in hunting. Sultān Hūshang, thinking that the delay was due to Sultān Ahmad's weakness, marched rapidly to Kehrlā, and besieged it. Sultān Ahmad then advanced towards Kehrlā, but at this time some learned men told him, that no Bahmanī Sultān had, up to that time, waged war with a Musalman ruler; and it would bring discredit on him if he, in order to aid a *kāfir*, went to war with Sultān Hūshang. Sultān Ahmad heard this with sorrow, and although he had arrived within twenty *karōhs* of Sultān Hūshang's army sent an emissary to the latter, and pointed out to him that Narsingh Rāy was an adherent of his, and that it was desirable that he would return to his own country, as he was himself returning to his own, at the suggestion of men learned in the law of the Prophet; and he commenced to retire even before his emissary had arrived at Sultān Hūshang's camp. The latter became angry on receiving this message; and presuming upon the fact that his army consisted of thirty thousand horsemen, while that of the Deccan did not exceed fifteen thousand, followed in close pursuit of Sultān Ahmad Shāh. The latter now summoned the learned men, and pointed out to them that he had acted upon their suggestion, and had brought this dishonour on himself; but on the following day he was going to fight anybody that might stand in front of him, whoever he might be; and accordingly arranged his army, placing the two wings under 'Abd-ul-qādir, Khān Jahān and 'Abd-ul-lah

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latter's tributaries) arrived, to the effect that Sultān Hūshang, the ruler of Mandū, had, with violence and in great force, invaded his territory, and was laying it waste. Sultān Ahmad marched by successive stages to that country. He had not, however, yet arrived there when news came that Narsingh Rāy had removed the yoke of allegiance to the Sultān (*i.e.*, Ahmad Shāh), and had submitted to Sultān Hūshang. Sultān Ahmad Shāh, therefore, turned the rein of his attention, and halted at a place three stages behind, as he did not wish to prolong a war with Musalmāns. (Another) account is this, that Sultān Ahmad had besieged the fort of Kehrla when the Rāy summoned Sultān Hūshang to his aid, and agreed to pay him three *lākhs* of *tankas* daily towards his expenses. Sultān Hūshang arrived near; and Sultān Ahmad, raising the siege, halted at a place three stages further back. Then Sultān Hūshang pursued him along those three stages and raised the dust of disturbance. The next day, when the fire of [1]battle blazed up, and the field of bloodshed became hot and streams of blood began to flow from the opposing armies, Sultān Ahmad came out of ambush, with two thousand five hundred well tried warriors, and fell on the centre of Sultān Hūshang's army; and in accordance with the words that the beginner (or the aggressor) is the oppressor or is to blame, the army of Mandū was routed. The harem of Sultān Hūshang with all its inmates fell into the hands of the army of the Dakin. Sultān Ahmad with great generosity kept his army back from pursuit; and after some days, sent the inmates of Hūshang's harem back to Mandū, after making all arrangements for them, with an escort of five hundred horsemen, and after sharing the plunder, divided the country among the *jāgīrdār amirs*.

At the time of returning, when they arrived in the city of [2]Bidar,

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Khān, the grandson of Isma'īl Fath, respectively, and the centre under Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn. He placed four hundred elephants in different groups, and himself with three thousand selected horsemen and twelve elephants remained in ambush. Sultān Hūshang arrived with seventeen thousand horsemen; and before he could arrange his troops, the battle began, and Sultān Hūshang was defeated, as mentioned in the text.

[1] This is the battle referred to in the latter part of the last note.

[2] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. call it شهر بدر, the city of Badar or Bidar; but Firishtah in the corresponding passage says و سلطان در همان یورش چون

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they found the ground verdant, and the fields pleasing to the heart, and the Sultān selected the place for his capital; and at the moment fixed by the astrologers, laid the foundation brick of the citadel in the ground, and divided it among the *amīrs*; and for the palace, made a plan of a grand mansion. After its completion, the poets, who had accompanied him in the journey, composed verses to be used as inscriptions on it. Shaikh Āzurī, who was with him in that expedition, wrote some couplets which were inscribed on the gate.

Couplets:

Oh brave! such a palace strong, that for its grandeur great,
The sky itself is the threshold of its gates sublime,
The sky could not say, that this transgresses courtesy's rule,
[1]'Tis the palace of the world emperor Ahmad Shāh Bahman.

The writer of the "Tārīkh Bahmanī, Wal-ahadat-'Alia" says that the Sultān gave Shaikh Āzurī a reward consisting of twelve thousand packages of stuffs.

When the country of the Deccan was purified of the weeds of all enemies, and came into the uncontested possession of Sultān Ahmad,

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بعوالی حصار بیدر رسید, from which it appears that the city or fortress of Bīdar is referred to. Firishtah indulges in high praise and loud eulogy of the beauty and salubrity of the place; and recalls the fact that it was the site of the ancient Hindū city of Vidarbha, the scene of the loves of Nala and Damayantī, daughter of Rājā Bhīma Sena of Vidarbha.

[1] There are some variations in the reading of the last line. The MSS. have قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است. The lith. ed. has قصر سلطان جهان بهمني احمد شاه است. These couplets are also quoted by Firishtah. According to him the second line is اسمان سدهٔ از پایهٔ این درگاه است; and the last line is identical with that in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt. According to Firishtah, the reward paid to Shaikh Āzurī was forty thousand white *tangas*, each of them being one *tola* of silver, besides twenty thousand more paid to him for the expenses of his journey, as he was then about to return to his own country, Khurāsān. It appears also that Shaikh Āzurī wrote the Bahman-nāmā, a chronicle of the Bahman dynasty in verse, which he continued to write even after his return to Khurāsān; and after him Mulla Nazarī and Mulla Sāma'ī and others continued it.

According to Firishtah, the fort or citadel of Ahamadābād Bidar, which was the name given to the new capital, was finished in 836 A.H., 1432 A.D.

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he, in the year 835 A.H., marched to capture the fort of [1]Tanbūl, which is situated on the boundary of Gujrāt, and arriving near it by successive marches, surrounded it. When the siege had been prolonged for two years, Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt, at last, with great amity and courtesy sent an emissary with this message: "If this *faqīr* had been present at the (wedding?) festivities of Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn, he (Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī) would have shown him some courtesy. It is now the prayer of the *faqīr*, that in place of that courtesy, he would leave this fort in the possession of its owner". Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī, turning from the high way of generosity and the path of politeness, began to take the course of having a consultation on the matter. Some of his *vazīrs* said that the right of gift can only be exercised, if the fort comes into his (*i.e.*, the Sultān's) possession; while another body said that the prayer of Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī should be honoured with the courtesy of acceptance. The Sultān preferred the first opinion; and sent a reply, that when the fort should come into his possession, it would be made over to his (Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī's) servants. The latter was enraged on receiving this reply, and sent a large body of troops to reinforce the garrison of the fort; and when this news reached the ear of Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī, he withdrew his forces from the foot

[1] Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says that after the defeat of Khalf Hasan in his attack on Māhim, Sultān Ahmad collected a large army, and Sultān Ahmad of Gujrāt also did the same, and came forward to meet him. The Deccan army at first besieged the fort of مبیول [which looks like Mabiūl; Col. Briggs says that "the Deccanīs in the first instance laid siege to a hill fort, (in a footnote Tembola) in Buglana"], which was in the possession of the adherents of Sultān Ahmad Shāh Gujrātī; but when the latter came to the neighbourhood, he raised the siege and the two armies remained facing each other for a long time, neither party daring to commence the fight, till at last the learned men in the two armies intervened, and peace was concluded, each Sultān being satisfied with his own possessions, and neither was to attempt to seize any part of the other's dominion. Firishtah refers to the slightly different versions of the affair given in the Tārīkh-i-Alfi and other histories.

The Cambridge History of India (see p. 401) calls the fort Bhaul on the Girnā, which was held for Gujrāt by Malik Sa'ādat. In p. 299 in the chapter which contains the history of Gujrāt and Khāndesh apparently the same fortress was called Ba'tuol which it was said there was gallantly defended by Malik Sa'ādat, an officer of Gujrāt.

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of the fort; and the Gujrāt army also halted some distance behind. The Sultān, having removed the dream of capturing the fort from his head, went to Gulbarga. The writer of the Kitāb-i-Bahādurī has narrated these transactions in a different manner. If the great God so wills it, the pen of the writer will describe it in the section about the Sultāns of Gujrāt.

[1] In the year 838 A.H., an illness overtook the person of the Sultān; and with a sound resolution and true intention he repented of all his offences and sins, and gave counsel and direction to his eldest son Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn in the presence of the *amīrs* and *vazīrs*. He then spoke thus to the *amīrs*: "I have this hope from you that you will pray for the absolution of my sins to the great God. I am hoping that as in my time the hand of tyranny was too short to reach the skirts of the oppressed and helpless, so the great and holy

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[1] The following incidents which occurred in 836 and 837 A.H. and which are mentioned by Firishtah have not been referred to by Nizām-ud-dīn: (1) the completion of the city of Ahmadābād Bidar in 836 A.H.; and (2) the execution, by order of Sultān Ahmad, of his nephew Shīr Khān, at whose instigation he had caused Fīrūz Shāh to be strangled to death, and whose continued existence appeared to be likely to be the cause of his son being deprived of the empire. This also was in 836. And in 837 A.H., Hūshang Shāh of Mālwa, seeing the hostility between the Sultāns of the Dakin and of Gujrāt, invaded the territory of Narsingh Rāy, and the latter was slain in battle, and Hūshang Shāh seized the fort of Kehrla. Then Sultān Ahmad advanced towards Kehrla when Nasīr Khān of Asīr intervened; and peace was concluded on the condition that Kehrla should belong to Sultān Hūshang and Berar to Sultān Ahmad, After that Ahmad Shāh marched into Talingāna, and after his return he ordered Shīr Malik to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. This was mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn in the beginning of his account of Sultān Ahmad's reign. Firishtah also gives a rather long account of Sultān Ahmad's veneration for learned and holy people, and of his sending emissaries to Shāh Nia'mat-ul-lah of Kirmān, and the latter's sending one of his favourite disciples, Mullā Qutb-ud-dīn, and later on his grandson Mīr Nur-ul-lah.

After Shāh Nia'mat-ul-lah's death, his son Shāh Khalīl-ul-lah came to the Deccan with his family, and his sons Shāh Habīb-ul-lah and Shāh Muhibb-ul-lah. Shāh Habīb-ul-lah married a daughter of Sultān Ahmad Shāh, and Shāh Muhibb-ul-lah, a daughter of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn and they attained to great distinction. One of them was distinguished as a military commander and received the title of Ghāzī, and the town of Bīr and the surrounding country as his *jāigīr*.

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God would forgive my offences". He delivered his life to the creator of life between sunset and the time of sleeping at night, on the [1]20th of Rajab with the text of the unity of God on his tongue. The period of his reign was twelve years and nine months and twenty-four days.

An account of the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn,[2] son of Ahmad Shāh

When on the 29th of Rajab of the afore-mentioned year, (he) sat on the place of his father, he gave himself the title of [3] 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh. He devoted all his energy on the strengthening of the rule of justice and of the foundations of equity; and he placed the weak and infirm in the cradle of safety, peace and repose. Therefore, of a necessity, the great and holy God gave him his help and aid, day after day, and in the very beginning of his youth he [4] acquired great fame for experience and knowledge of affairs. He entrusted the reins of the management (literally binding and loosening) of all affairs to the wise hand of [5] Dilāwar Khān, who had the title of Khān Ā'azam Khān.

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[1] The date of Sultān Ahmad's death is the 20th Rajab, according to the MSS. as well as the lith. ed. The period of his reign, according to the MSS., is twelve years and nine months and twenty four days. The lith. ed. has only twenty days. According to Firishtah the date was the 28th Rajab 838 A.H.; and this is probably correct as the date of the accession of 'Ala-ud-dīn is put down in the Ṭabaqāt as the 29th Rajab. Firishtah does not give the length of the reign. Col. Briggs says in a note that the date on his tomb in Bidar is 839, the year probably in which the mausoleum was completed.

[2] In the heading of the narrative of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign, the word بن son (of) is left out in the lith. ed., but is in both MSS.

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have Sultān Ahmad Shāh; but this is clearly a mistake, and I have corrected it to 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh.

[4] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has شهرت عظیم کرده; the other omits the word عظیم; while the lith. ed. has شهرتی عظیم یافته I have adopted شهرت عظیم یافته.

[5] This agrees with Firishtah, who however says that Dilāwar Khān was made Vakīl-ush-Shāhī. He also says that Khwāja-i-Jahān Astrābādī was made Vazīr Kul, (Minister-in-charge of all departments), and 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghurī was made Amīr-ul-Umrā.

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[1] In the year 839 A.H., Nasīr Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān, the ruler of Asīr, raided a part of the territories of the Dakinī kingdom. The

[1] Firishtah does not mention this invasion of 839 by Nasīr Khān, who, it will be remembered, was Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn's father-in-law; but contrary to what is said here, he says that in 841 Āghā Zainab, who had the title of Malka-i-Jahān, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's queen, and the daughter of Nasīr Khān, sent a letter to the latter, that the Sultān was altogether cold to herself, and was paying all attention to the daughter of the Rāja of Sonkehr (which Col. Briggs says has not been identified), whom Dilāwar Khān had, after defeating her father, brought with him, and had presented to the Sultān, who was charmed by her beauty, and her great knowledge of music, and had given her the name of Zībā Chehra (Col. Briggs calls her Peri Chehra) (having the face of a fairy). On receiving this letter, Nasīr Khān planned the conquest of Berār. The Sultān of Gujrāt promised to support him. Nasīr Khān also made secret overtures to the *amīrs* of Berār; and they promised to join him as he was a descendant of 'Umr Fārūq and they would become *Ghāzīs* and *Shahīds* if they died fighting on his side; and he marched into Berār, with his own army, and that sent by the Rāja of Gondwāra. The Berar *amīrs* wanted to take Khān Jahān, the governor of Berār, prisoner, and to take him to Nasīr Khān; but he shut himself up in the fort of Tarnāla (Col. Briggs calls it Narnala); and sent a report to Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn. The latter held a council of war, when the *amīrs* suggested that the Sultān should march in person against Nasīr Khān, as the latter would be joined very probably by the Sultāns of Gujrāt and Mālwa, as well as the Rāy of Gondwāra. The Sultān suspecting treachery on the part of his advisers appointed Khalf Hasan Malik-ut-tujjār to the command of the army. The latter accepted the appointment, but pointed out that his defeat at Mahāim was due to the treachery of the Dakinī and Habshī *amīrs*, who were envious of the foreigners like himself. He hoped to be successful, if the Sultān placed under him only foreigners (Mughals), without any Dakinīs or Habshīs. The Sultān complied with his prayer; and he marched to Daulatābād, where he deputed the Dakinī and Abyssinian *amīrs* to guard the frontier of Gujrāt and Mālwa. Then with seven thousand 'Arab horsemen he marched into Berār. At this time Khān Jahān came out of Tarnāla and joined him. Khalf Hasan sent him to Elichpūr to prevent the Rāy of Gondwāra to enter Berār by that route, and himself marched to Rohankehra where Nasīr Khān was encamped. At the foot of the ghāt he was met by a body of Khāndesh troops, whom he routed with great slaughter. Nasīr Khān, considering this defeat to be an evil omen, retreated with precipitance to Burhānpūr. Khalf Hasan, after recovering possession of the neighbouring country, pursued Nasīr Khān to Burhānpūr. The latter was unable to meet him, and shut himself up in the fort of Laling. (Col. Briggs says, in a note, that Laling is a small and now insignificant fort, but Nasīr Khān apparently considered it his safest retreat).

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Sultān sent Khalf Hasan Malik-ut-tujjār to oppose Nasīr Khān. After the parties had met, Nasīr Khān fled, and went back to Asīr. Malik-ut-tujjār pursued him as far as Asīr, and after raiding and laying waste the part of that territory returned; and in the same year Nasīr Khān became the subject of the inevitable (*i.e.*, died); and according to another statement, this happened in the year 840 A.H.

As at the time of dividing his kingdom among the princes, Ahmad Shāh had placed Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān in charge of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, the latter wanted to give him a proper training and to raise him to the higher grades of leadership and greatness; and in order to carry out this intention, [1] he sent him with an army

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Khālf Hasan levied large quantities of gold and gems from the citizens of Burhānpūr; and then devastated the country around, and returning to Burhānpūr burnt down the palace and dug up its foundations, and then gave out that he was marching back to the Deccan; but instead of doing so, he marched rapidly during the night, and appeared before Laling with four thousand horsemen. Nasīr Khān, thinking that Khalf Hasan's soldiers must be quite exhausted, met him with twelve thousand horsemen and a large body of infantry, but he was completely routed, and many of his chief men and the rebel *amīrs* of Berār were slain. Khalf Hasan then returned to Ahmadābād Bidar, and he was received with great honour and distinction.

I have said in the beginning of this note, that the campaign against Nasīr Khān, which is mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn as having occurred in 839, is not mentioned by Firishtah; but on further consideration, I think that the two campaigns, namely that mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn and that described by Firishtah as having occurred in 841, both refer to the same series of events. Khalf Hasan commanded the Deccan army in both, and he is said, in both, to have pursued Nasīr Khān to Burhānpūr and to have laid that place waste.

[1] Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says that Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān was sent with 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghūrī, who was made *Amīr-ul-umra*, and Khwāja Jahān against Bījānagar, as the Rāy had not sent five years' tribute. They marched into Canāra, and began to plunder and ravage the country. The Rāy in great distress sent the tribute with valuable presents. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Mudkal, some discontented officers told Muhammad Khān that the Sultān should either place him by his own side on the *masnad*, and allow him to act with himself in the management of affairs, or should give him half the kingdom. The Shāhzāda was deceived by these words; and he tried to induce 'Imād-ul-mulk and Khwāja Jahān to join him. They refused to do so, whereupon they were

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to conquer Bījānagar. [1]Malik 'Imād-ud-dīn Ghūrī, who was in those parts from before the time when the Shāhzāda was sent, when he heard that the Shāhzāda had arrived at the bank of the river Krishnā, joined his army without any hesitation. As the Shāhzāda was not satisfied with the fact that the kingdom should belong to the Sultān, and was waiting for an opportunity, he put Malik 'Imād-ud-dīn, who was perfectly innocent, to death, and raised the standard of revolt and hostility. The Sultān, on receiving information of these occurrences, advanced to punish Muhammad Khān. When the armies met, victory and triumph blew on the plumes of 'Alā-ud-dīn's standards. Muhammad Khān frightened and depressed fled with shame and disgrace.

Couplet:

'Gainst thy benefactor, if thou dost transgress,
If thou art high as the sky, low thy head will fall.

The Sultān kept his troops back from pursuit, on account of the relation of kindness, and halted where he was. At this time an

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both put to death. The rebels then collected an army with the help of the tribute obtained from Bījānagar; and took possession of Mudkal, Rāichore, Sholāpūr and Naldrug. Col. Briggs also mentions Bījāpur, but I cannot find it in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Mr. Sewell also mentions Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān's rebellion (see page 71 of his book). He says that the prince took Mudkal, Rāichur, Sholāpūr and Bījāpur and Naldirak from the Sultān's governors. The Sultān was in great grief for the murder of 'Imād-ul-mulk, who, he said, was like a father to him. He then advanced against Muhammad Khān. In the battle which followed the Sultān was victorious, and most of the men who had incited Muhammad Khān were taken prisoners, while Muhammad Khān himself fled to the hills and jungles. 'Alā-ud-dīn returned to Ahmadābād Bidar. He pardoned the rebel leaders, and wrote admonitory letters to his brother, and induced him to come back to him, and, after showing him much kindness, conferred on him the fort of Rāichur and the neighbouring country in Tilang, which had been previously given to prince Dāūd, who was now dead, and sent him there.

[1] The wording of the sentence in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. appears to me to be somewhat illogical. It is قبل از فرستادن ملک عماد الدین غوري که دران سرحد بود چون شنید. The proper form of the sentence would be ملک عماد الدین غوري که قبل از فرستادن شاه زاده دران سرحد بود چون شنید که وي بکنار اب کس رسید; and I have changed the sentence and translated accordingly.

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uncle of the Sultān, who had been in the army of Muhammad Ḵẖān, was brought before him. The Sultān pardoned his offence, and granted favours to him. When he was again firmly seated on the *masnad* of government, he sent a *farmān* containing much good advice to Muhammad Ḵẖān to the following effect: that God the ruler of the world and all who are in it chooses whomsoever He likes among the created beings; and as the rule of eternal grace draws the line of distinction on the page of the condition of that chosen one, He entrusts the keys of success and greatness in the world into the grasp of his power. The tree of grandeur which is watered by the stream of Divine favour never receives any injury from the whirlwinds of calamity; and the sublime mansion which is raised by eternal grace is not endangered by the engines of deceit and treachery.

Couplet:

One who is made great by Him, the sky cannot make him small;
One who is made dear by Him, the world never can wreck.

The result of these comforting arguments is, that one should be satisfied with the justice and grace of God and should not be proud of his own greatness and strength; for the standards of the greatness of such men are always beaten and cast down. It is right and proper that, that fortunate brother should not place his foot outside the path of obedience, and the highway of submission; and should not dispute the will of the great and one holy God, and should not break any engagement and agreement, for such things are evil. And specially after having obtained forgiveness from those who are his elders, he should make his excuses for what has happened, and should not let the dust of distress reach his heart; for the screen of pardon has covered them up. I am conferring [1] *Mouzah* Rāijūr in the territory of Tilang on him. He should go there without any delay, and should draw the goods and chattels of life into that corner of safety; and should no longer run after absurd things. When this *farmān* reached Muhammad Ḵẖān, he trod on the path of

[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have موضع رانجل, Mauza' Ranjal, but I have changed it to Rāijūr.

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obedience and submission; and went to Rāijūr; and the Sultān returned to the capital.

In the year[1] 849 A.H., Khalf Hasan 'Arab, who bore the title of Malik-ut-tujjār, advanced to capture the fort of [2]Sangesar which is one of the largest fortresses on the sea coast. The people of the country, relying on the strength of the jungle fastnesses and the difficult paths, came forward to give battle. The Malik-ut-tujjār, on entering that country, first of all seized the fort of a Rāja who had the name of [3]Sarka by the strength of his brave and heroic arms, and making Sarka prisoner, gave him the choice between death and

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[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have در سنه تسع و اربیعین و ثمانمائه *i.e.*, 849 A.H., but this is clearly incorrect. Firishtah has سنه اربیعین و ثمانمائه, 840 A.H.; and as the war with Nasīr Khān, which arose out of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's love for Zībā Chehra or Peri Chehra, who was brought by Dilāwar Khān as part of the booty obtained in this expedition, and his coldness to his queen Āghā Zainab or Malka-i-Jahān, took place in 841 A.H., the date mentioned by Firishtah, namely 840 A.H., is clearly correct. The accounts of the expedition against the Rāys of Kokan (Concan) as given by Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishtah are altogether different. First, there is the difference in the date. Then Nizām-ud-dīn says it was led by Khalf Hasan, while according to Firishtah the leader was Dilāwar Khān. It appears however from Firishtah that Khalf Hasan or Malik-ut-tujjār was the leader of another expedition into the Concan in 858 A.H. 1453 A.D., when he was waylaid and slain in circumstances somewhat similar to those mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn. It would appear that the latter has mixed up the two expeditions.

[2] The name is سکر Sakar in one MS. شنکر, Shankar in the other and سنگیسر Sangesar in the lith. ed. Firishtah, lith. ed., has سنگیسر Sangesar, but Col. Briggs has Sonkehar; and he says the situation of the place has not been ascertained. There is a place called Sangameswar in the map attached to Elphinston's history, not far from the coast, about half way between Jinjera and Gheria, which may be the place. There is not much difference between the names in the map and in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. The latter only requires a م to be inserted.

[3] Col. Briggs says in a note in page 437 of Vol. II of his translation of Firishtah that "Sirka or more properly Sirky (the Sirkey of the excellent Marratta History) is the name of one of the most ancient families of the Konkan. The mother of the present Rāja of Satāra was of that house." I have consulted Grant Duff's History of the Marhattas. Sirkay is mentioned in the index with 129 against it; but I have not been able to find it in that page or elsewhere.

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the acceptance of Islām. That deceitful man told him, [1] "You will gain nothing by slaying me, but the difficulties of the road and the great extent of the jungle are known to everybody. If you allow me to live, I shall lead the army, by a road in which not a single thorn will reach the skirts of any horseman." The Malik-ut-tujjār trusting his words made him the pioneer of the army and its guide, and commenced to traverse that country. Although the leaders of the army told him, that it was not proper to place any reliance on the words of an enemy, he did not pay any attention to their words; and the misleading guide took them along a road the sight of which, would have frightened even a demon. They were at last brought to a place on three sides of which there were hills and jungles, and on the fourth side, a deep ravine of water which flowed into the jungle; and at this place Sarka gave intimation to the enemy; and that midnight about forty thousand foot soldiers fell on them; and Khalf Hasan with a body of Musalmāns became martyrs; and the remnant of the army, with great trouble and privation returned to [2] Jālna, which was Khalf Hasan's place of residence.

[1] According to Firishtah, Sarka offered to guide the Malik-ut-tujjār against Rāy Sangesar, who was in the neighbourhood of fort Gandhāna, and who was his rival. He also said that after defeating him the Malik-ut-tujjār might make over his territory to Sarka, or to one of the Musalmān *amīrs*. Then he (Sarka) would at once accept *Islām*, and be a loyal tributary of the Sultān. The Malik-ut-tujjār trusting him commenced the journey in 850 A.H., when most of the Dakinī and Abyssinian *amīrs* deserted him. Sarka took him along a broad and easy road for two days and everybody was highly pleased with him. but on the third day he led him along a path which, to quote Firishtah's language, "was so terrible that for fear of it a tiger would become a tigress", (which apparently, according to Firishtah, is a very timid creature) "and which was more tortuous than the ringlets of fair ones, and thinner than the sighs of lovers". The Malik-ut-tujjār became ill at this time of a bloody flux; and consequently there was very little order in the army; and at nightfall the soldiers lay down where they could. Sarka disappeared, and Sangesar on receiving a message from him came with thirty thousand armed soldiers, and Sarka joined him with his own men; and they slew seven thousand or eight thousand soldiers like so many sheep; and then fell on Khalf Hasan and his five hundred Bani Hasan 'Arabs and slaughtered them also.

Col. Briggs calls Rāy Sangesar of Gandhāna, Sankar Rāy of Kehlna.

[2] Called جاكنه Jākta in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, where it is described

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[1]The Dakinī *vazīrs*, in whose creed enmity to the great was ingrained, reported these matters to Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn in a very

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as the نشیمنگاہ خلف حسن بصری, the residence of Khalf Hasan Basri. Col. Briggs calls the place the town of Chakun, and does not say anything about its being the residence of Khalf Hasan Basri. I have not been able to find Gandhāna or Kehlna or Jālna or Jākta in the map; but there is a Galna between Dhūlia and Maligong, but that appears to be too far north, and there is a Chacun, a short distance to the north of Puna or Poona.

[1] The fate of the Saiyyads and other Musalmān foreigners (then commonly called Mughals) is described in greater detail and somewhat differently by Firishtah. According to him, some of the Mughals said imprudently, at the time of going away to Jākta, that it was the treachery of the Dakinī *amīrs*, that caused the defeat and death of the Malik-ut-tujjār, and the Saiyyads; and that as soon as they would arrive at Jākta, they would send petitions to the Sultān stating all the facts. The Dakinīs on hearing this, forestalled them, and sent representations to the Sultān, that Khalf Hasan had, in spite of their remonstrances, gone into the jungles under the guidance of Sarka, and thus brought on death and disaster; and that the Saiyyads and Mughals, who had escaped had refused to join them in an expedition against Sarka and the Rāy of Sangesar, but had gone away to Jākta, after speaking ill of the Sultān; and it appeared from their acts that they intended to join the Rāys of Kokan, and create disturbances. They sent these reports to Mashīr-ul-mulk (Col. Briggs calls him Sheer-ul-mulk) who was the greatest enemy of Khalf Hasan and he submitted them to the Sultān, and reported the acts of the Mughals in the worst possible light. The Sultān was enraged and without making any enquiry, ordered Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk, son of Malik 'Imād-ud-dīn Ghūrī, who were both thirsting for the blood of the Mughals, to go and slay the *amīrs* who were at Jākta. The Saiyyads and Mughals on hearing this shut themselves up at Jākta, and sent reports stating the true state of things. These reports fell into the hands of Mashīr-ul-mulk, and were torn up. The Saiyyads and Mughals then sent other reports by the hands of their old and trusted Hindūstānī servants; but these men treacherously made them over to Mashīr-ul-mulk, who tore them up also. The Saiyyads and Mughals, having no other alternative, fortified themselves in Jākta and collected provisions.

Mashīr-ul-mulk then summoned the Dakinī *amīrs*, who had deserted from Khalf Hasan, and in concert with them besieged Jākta; and for two months slaughter and bloodshed went on. Mashīr-ul-mulk sent repeated petitions to the Sultān that the Saiyyads and Mughals were bent on hostility and intended to deliver Jākta up to the Sultān of Gujrāt; and the Sultān sent repeated *farmāns* directing their total destruction. Then the Saiyyads and Mughals finding that their provisions were becoming exhausted, determined to leave the women and children under a guard in the fort; and to march rapidly to

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unfavourable light; and as the latter had made over the reins of (the management of) affairs into the grasp of power of the *vazīrs*, those

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Ahmadābād Bidar, and explain the facts to the Sultān. Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk then decided that if the Saiyyads and Mughals did this, they would have to pursue them, and a considerable number of them would be slain. They therefore determined on fraud and deceit; and sent a message, that they had reported their helpless condition to the Sultān, and the latter had ordered that there should be no injury to their lives and properties, and they should be allowed to go where they liked. Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk swore on the *Qurān* to testify to the truth of their statements. The Saiyyads twelve hundred in number and the other Musalmān foreigners thirteen hundred in number then came out of Jākta with their women and children. As they had no beasts of burden, they encamped in front of the fort. The Dakinīs abided by their agreement for three days, but on the fourth day they invited the Saiyyads to the fort and all, except Qāsim Beg Safshikan and Qarā Khān Gurd and Ahmad Ekkatāz in all about three hundred men of rank, accepted it. When they sat down to the feast, armed men attacked them and slew them, and about four thousand Dakinīs attacked all the males who were outside, even the babes at their mothers' breasts; and treated the women with all the insult that their lust and barbarity could provoke. Qāsim Beg and the others who were in camp at a distance of two miles then armed themselves and fled towards the capital. Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk sent two thousand horsemen under Dāūd Khān to pursue them; and they also sent orders to all *jāgīrdārs* and *raiyyats* to intercept and slay them. Qāsim Beg, however, held on his course, only turning round to attack the pursuers when they pressed too close on them. When they arrived at Bīr, Dāūd Khān called upon Hasan Khān the *jāgīrdār*, to help him in intercepting and slaying the rebels. Hasan Khān, however, knew Qāsim Beg, who had once saved his life in battle, and replied that if Qāsim Beg had been a rebel, he would have gone over to Gujrāt, which was only three days' journey from the place where they had been. Dāūd Khān then arrayed his followers for a drawn battle and Qāsim Beg met him. Dāūd Khān was at this time hit by two arrows and was slain, but his men continued to fight vigorously, and Qāsim Beg was in great difficulty. Then Hasan Khān appeared with his men. Qāsim Beg, thinking, that they were coming to reinforce Dāūd Khān's men, was seriously alarmed at this new danger; but Hasan Khān's men told his men that they were coming to help them. Then they became more hopeful and defeated the Dakinīs, who went back to Jākta carrying the corpse of Dāūd Khān with them.

Qāsim Beg and Hasan Khān now sent representations to the Sultān, who sent for Qāsim Beg. When the latter appeared before the Sultān, and explained matters to him, he ordered Mustafa Khān, the head of the political department, who had destroyed the petitions of the Saiyyads and Mughals to be beheaded,

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deceitful men sent Rāja Rustam, who had the title of Nizām-ul-mulk and Sālār Hamza who bore the title of Mashīr-ul-mulk with a blood-thirsty army [1] towards (or to seize ?, *ba-qasd*) Jālna. When Nizām-ul-mulk and Mashir-ul-mulk arrived in the vicinity of Jālna, they gave assurances of safety to twelve hundred Saiyyads of true and pure descent, and a thousand other foreigners; and made them expectant and hopeful by strong and well-confirmed oaths; and gave them valuable robes of honour, and sent them to their places of residence. On the following day, they arranged a great entertainment and concealed three thousand men inside the house after putting ornaments on their dresses, and invited the Saiyyads to the feast-and showing them all honour and respect made them sit down. They took thirty of them outside on the pretext of giving them their food, and poured the *sharbat* of martyrdom into the gullet of each one of them. So that twelve hundred Saiyyads, who were distinguished by the purity of their descent were sent to the grade of martyrdom. In no time whatever, since the time of [2] Yezid the impious and the accursed, had such a calamity occurred.

Couplet:

Iron and steel from the same mine come out;
But the one a mirror becomes, and the other
a donkey's shoe.

He also appointed Qāsim Beg in place of Khalf Hasan, and made him the commander of the army of Daulatābād and Jūnīr. The other leaders of the Mughals were also rewarded; and fresh Mughal levies were ordered to be raised. Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk and all their confederates were punished. They were ordered to be brought from Jākta to Ahmadābād Badar on foot with chains and fetters on them. The houses and property of Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk were appropriated to the Sultān's use; so that their children wandered about homeless and starving. Besides this, Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk were afflicted with leprosy in the course of the year.

[1] There is a slight difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have بقصد جالنه as I have in the text. But the other MS. has بقصبه حالنه, *i.e.*, to the town of Jalnā.

[2] The Caliph Yezid who made the attack on Husain at Karbalā. There are some differences in the readings. One MS. substitutes عصري for عهدي, which is in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed. The lith. ed. has مطرود after ملعون, but this is omitted in both MSS., and both MSS. substitute اين نوع مصيبت for اين نوع واقعه.

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[1] In their old age, both Mashīr-ul-mulk and Nizām-ul-mulk became afflicted with leprosy, so that (it may be imagined what would happen to them) in the after life. Oh! holy God, such a father that he cast his own *vazīr* under the foot of an elephant for insulting one Saiyyad; and such a son that he caused the massacre of twelve hundred Saiyyads without any reason whatever.

[2] As the Rāys of Kokan (Concan) vaunted of their independence, and did not make their submission, the Sultān nominated Dilāwar Khān to conquer that country, after conferring on him a special robe of honour; and sent *farmāns* to the *amīrs* on the frontier that they should collect their men and should join Dilāwar Khān. When the latter arrived at the town of [3] Kankūla, [4] he sent Asad Khān and

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[1] Contrary to this Firishtah says و بروایت طبقات محمود شاهي شیر الملک دکن و نظام الملک غوري در همان سال بعلت برص گرفتار گشته.

[2] It appears to me that Nizām-ud-dīn describes here events, which, according to Firishtah, happened before the invasion by and defeat of Nasīr Khān, and the invasion of the Konkan by Khalf Hasan, and the latter's death. (See the early part of note 1, p. 61.) It may be mentioned here that Nizām-ud-dīn's account differs from Firishtah's in three main particulars: (1) As already mentioned Nizām-ud-dīn places the expedition at a date long posterior to that of Firishtah. Firishtah says that Dilāwar Khān started on the expedition on the Nauroz (Muharram 1st) of 840 A.H. Nizām-ud-dīn gives no date, but he mentions it after the death of Khalf Hasan and connected events, which took place according to Firishtah in 858 A.H., though Nizām-ud-dīn unfortunately does not give any date; (2) Firishtah says that Dilāwar Khān sent the daughter of the Rāja of Sangesar or Sonkehr, who received the name of Zībā Chehra, and became the cause of Nasīr Khān's invasion of Berār, and his subsequent defeat. Nizām-ud-dīn says that Dilāwar Khān sent the daughters of two Rāys, *viz.*, those of Sangesar and Rāhal, but he does not say anything about what happened to them after they arrived in the Sultān's camp; and (3) Nizām-ud-dīn says vaguely that the Sultān turned against Dilāwar Khān at the instigation of envious people; but Firishtah says, that the Sultān learnt that Dilāwar Khān had received bribes from the Rājas of Konkan, and had not done his best to reduce their fortresses. Firishtah also says that after Dilāwar Khān had retired, the eunuch Dastūr-ul-mulk was placed in charge of affairs.

[3] Kankūla does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah. He only mentions according to the lith. ed. the Rāys of Rāhal and Sangesar. Col. Briggs calls them the Rāys of Sonkehr and Rairee. As to Sangesar or Sonkehr see p. 61, note 2.

[4] There are differences in the reading. One MS. has را نشیب کر فرستاد تا ولایت را خراب کردند the other has را فرستاد تا ولایت را خراب کردند; the lith. ed agrees with the reading of the first MS.

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Fūlād Khān and Safdar Khān; and they devastated the country, and burnt down houses and other structures. The Rāy of Sangesar, who was the chief of the country, owing to great weakness and exhaustion sent an emissary to Dilāwar Khān and promised to send a large tribute with his daughter; and also engaged that henceforward they would not place their feet outside the path of obedience. Dilāwar Khān agreed to his prayer, and sent the Rāy's daughter, and the heavy tribute to the capital; and himself advanced to capture the fort of [1] Rāhal which was one of the most important forts of that country. On arrival at that neighbourhood Safdar Khān and Fūlād Khān and a [2] body of men commenced to plunder the wealth of the country, and to destroy it. The inhabitants availing themselves of a fit opportunity made a sudden attack and in that action the brother and the son of Dilāwar Khān became martyrs. Dilāwar Khān with the help of the great and holy God collected his soldiers and dispersed the assailants; and made many men food for the blood-drinking swords. After repeated battles and much bloodshed, the Rāy of that district spread the bed of excuses; and sent his own daughter with a large quantity of tribute to Dilāwar Khān. The latter pardoned his offences; and returned to the presence of the Sultān; and was distinguished by kindnesses and favours. When the greatness and power of Dilāwar Khān reached their zenith, the disposition of the Sultān turned against him at the instigation of envious people; and so he withdrew his hand from the Sultān's service, and retired into a corner of safety.

As the Rāy of Bījānagar got information of this delicate state of affairs, and knew that the Sultān would not march in person, he in the [3] year 847 A.H. plundered certain *parganas* on the frontier and

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[1] The name looks like وايل, or دايل in the MSS. It is رايل in the lith. ed., Firishtah lith. ed. also has راهل; and I have accordingly retained راهل. Col. Briggs has Rairee.

[2] There are differences of readings here also. One MS. has صفدر خانرا و فولاد خانرا و جمعي كه در نهب اموال و غارت ارواح شروع كردند the other MS. has صفدر خان و فولاد خان و جمع كه در نهب اموال و غارت ازواج شروع كردند the lith. ed. has صفدر خان و فولاد خان و جمعي كه در نهب اموال و غارت ازواج شروع كردند The readings of the 2nd MS. and the lith. ed. appear to me to be nearly correct, but the word كه should be omitted, and a ، inserted before جمعي in the lith. ed.

[3] This campaign is mentioned both by Firishtah and by Mr. Sewell. The date given by Nizām-ud-dīn, 847 A.H., (1443 A.D.) is correct; but the campaign

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carried away cattle and other goods and chattles. The Sultān, having received information of this unfortunate occurrence, advanced

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took place, while the Malik-ut-tujjār was yet alive, and he took part in it as will be seen later on, so that although the date is correct, the chronological order of Nizām-ud-dīn's account is incorrect. Firishtah commences his account by saying that the Rāy of Bījānagar convened a council of chiefs and Brahmans, to consider how it was, that in spite of the fact that his country, the Carnātic, was larger in extent, and had more population and revenue than the Bahmanī kingdom, the ruler of the latter was always victorious in all campaigns. The Brahmans, like the Brahmans of Lakshman Sen's court at once quoted their Sāstras and said that according to these, they were to be subject to the Musalmāns for thirty thousand years. Others said that the Musalmāns had stronger horses and better archers; and the Rāy ordered that Musalmāns should be enlisted in his service, and *jāigīrs* should be granted to them, and a mosque should be erected in Bījānagar for their use; and no one should interfere with them in the exercise of their religion; and a copy of the *Qurān* should be placed in front of his throne, so that the Musalmāns might salute it. He also ordered his soldiers to be trained in archery, so that he soon had ten thousand Musalmāns and sixty thousand *kāfir* horsemen, who all had knowledge of archery, and three lakhs of infantry. He then crossed the Tungābhadrā, and conquered the fort of Mudkal and sent his sons to besiege Rāijore and Bankāpūr; and stationed himself on the bank of the Krishnā; and his soldiers raided as far as Saghir and Bijāpūr. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn ordered his forces to assemble, and when fifty thousand cavalry and sixty thousand infantry were ready, the Sultān at an auspicious moment marched out with artillery and other munitions of war. Deo Rāy advanced to the fort of Mudkal. The Sultān sent Khalf Hasan Basrī, Malik-ut-tujjār, with the army of Daulatābād against the sons of Deo Rāy; and Khān Zamān with the army of Bijāpūr and Khān A'azam with that of Berār against Deo Rāy himself. Khalf Hasan advanced to Rāijore and fought with the elder son of Deo Rāy, so that he was wounded and had to flee. He then advanced towards Bankāpūr, and he had not yet reached that place, when the younger son of the Rāy fled and joined his father. Then there was a great battle near Mudkal, and both sides suffered heavy losses, the Musalmāns suffering more than the Hindūs. Then a second battle was fought, and the Musalmāns were victorious; and the elder son of the Rāy, who had fled from Mudkal was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khān Zamān. The Hindūs fled panic-struck into the fort of Mudkal; and Fakhr-ul-mulk Dehlavī and his brother pursuing them closely, entered the fort, were captured, and were taken before Deo Rāy. The Sultān then sent a message to the Rāy, that if these two men were killed, he would slay two lakhs of Hindūs to avenge their deaths. Deo Rāy then sent a message to the Sultān that if he would in future refrain from attacking his country, he would send an annual tribute, and return

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towards the country of Bījānagar. He distributed large quantities of arms and many horses (among his soldiers); and advancing rapidly besieged the fort of Mudkal. As all appliances for the capture of the fort were prepared, and the garrison saw death before their eyes, the Rāy of Bījānagar, on account of great misery and wretchedness, sent an emissary and prayed for the pardon of his offences; and entered into an agreement, that he should send tribute every year, and [1] he should at once pay in cash whatever the Sultān should have expended on this expedition. The Sultān then drew the pen of forgiveness across his offences; and returned to his capital; and he (*i.e.*, the Rāy) paid whatever he had agreed to pay, and thus gained safety. The Sultān arranged a great entertainment, in the vicinity of the capital, and conferred distinctions on the *amīrs*, bestowing on them robes of honour and other favours. He then stayed for sometime at the seat of the empire.

[2] As Sikandar Khān Bukhārī had a great share in the rebellion of Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān; and although after that Sultān

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the two prisoners uninjured, and never transgress the rules of obedience. The Sultān agreed to these proposals. Deo Rāy sent the two *amīrs* and the arrears of tribute of some years, and valuable presents; and the Sultān also sent presents, and then returned to his capital.

This account abridged from Firishtah contains more facts than the vague narrative in the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs calls Fakhr-ul-mulk Mashir-ul-mulk. Mr. Sewell also mentions the incident, but he does not give their names, but calls them two chief Muhammadan officers (page 76). He also says that the campaign must have been of short duration, since while it began in 847 A.H. (May 1st, 1443 A.D. to April 19th, 1444 A.D.), according to Firishtah, it was over before December, 1443, when "Abdur Razzāk (who came as ambassador from Persia to Calicut and Vijayanagar) left Vijayanagar". (Page 77.)

[1] The words which I have translated "would pay in cash" are in the MSS. نقد جواب گوید and جواب گوید and in the lith. ed. بنقد جواب گوید the meaning of which I am told is "to pay cash on the spot".

[2] Firishtah's account of the rebellion of Sikandar Khān Bukhārī is as follows. In 857 A.H., the Sultān had an ulcer in his leg, which his physicians could not cure; and he therefore came very rarely out of the palace, and the report of his death was spread about. Upon this Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, son-in-law of Sultān Ahmad Shāh, who had *jāgīrs* in *sarkār* Nalkonda in Tilang, believing that the Sultān was dead, took possession of a large tract of country in his neighbourhood and wanted to make his son Sikandar Khān ruler of that

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'Alā-ud-dīn had, after his victory, pardoned his offences he was always afraid and had suspicions of the Sultān's anger; and could not be assured in the matter of the latter's favourable disposition towards him. At last some evil-disposed persons informed him in the months of the year 960 A.H., of some words which they told him had been uttered by the Sultān. Sikandar Khān now, having no other alternative, resolved upon acting ungratefully; and sent a message to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, ruler of Malwā, and persuaded him to attempt the conquest of the country of Berār. Sultān Mahmūd then advanced to Berār from Mandū; and Sikandar Khān advanced with one thousand

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tract of country. The Khān Ā'azam had also at that time died, and there was no one of high rank in Tilang; and the *amīrs* of that province wanted to make Sikandar Khān the Sultān there. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, in spite of his illness began to collect troops to march against him. Upon that Jalāl Khān held a council and decided that he should hold that country, while Sikandar Khān should march to Māhur, and take possession of it, so that the attention of the Sultān should be distracted between the two rebellions. The Sultān sent a *qaul-nāma* (or agreement) to Sikandar Khān; but as he had had a large share in the rebellion of Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān, and had committed the present acts of hostility, he could not in any way be assured of his safety, and so he sent a message to Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī of Mālwa, to the effect that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had become ill and was dead, but his *vazīrs* had for their own purposes kept the matter in concealment; and that if he would now march in that direction, Berār and Tilang would without any dispute come into his possession. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī after consulting the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr started in 860 A.H. on his march to Berār. Sikandar Khān advanced for a few stages and met him with a thousand horsemen. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn cancelled his expedition to Tilang, and sent Khwāja Mahmūd Gīlānī known as Gāwān against Jalāl Khān. He also sent the army of Berār to meet the ruler of Burhānpūr, who had advanced to support Sultān Mahmūd; and sent Qāsim Beg Saf-Shikan with the army of Daulatābād to meet Sultān Mahmūd; and himself, seated in a *palkī*, followed at a distance of five *karōhs*. Sultān Mahmūd finding that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was alive, and was advancing to meet him returned to his own country. He left an officer under the pretence of assisting Sikandar Khān, but with secret instructions to seize him with his treasures, and to bring him to Mandū, if he attempted to escape. Sikandar Khān however received information of this, and joined his father at Nālkonda, which Khwāja Gāwān was then besieging. Then both father and son obtained assurance of safety from the Sultān through the Khwāja; and surrendered the fort to the latter. They then came to the Sultān, and again obtained Nālkonda as their *jāgīr*.

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horsemen, for a few stages, and joined him. [1]They then besieged Māhūr, and when a long time passed, and the siege was protracted, Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn came with a large army, to help the garrison, and when he arrived in the vicinity of Māhūr, Sultān Mahmūd marched away at night, and retired towards Mandū. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn honoured the *thānadār* of Māhūr with the title of Fakhr-ul-mulk, and conferred many favours on him, and confirmed him in the government of Māhūr, and its dependencies, in accordance with previous custom. He made arrangements for the government of that part of his kingdom; and then returned towards the capital. On the way Sikandar came before him with his head hanging down in shame, and with a shroud tied to his shoulder. The Sultān on account of the great benevolence, which was ingrained in his nature, covered his offences with the skirt of pardon, and exalted him with a special robe of honour.

[2]They say, that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was extremely patient and forbearing; and he read the public prayer himself; and praised

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[1] This and some of the facts mentioned later have no place in Firishtah's account given in the preceding note.

[2] These incidents are mentioned by Firishtah also in his appreciation of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's character and attainments. He says "People say that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was fluent and eloquent, and knew Persian well; and he had also acquired some knowledge of the sciences. Sometimes on Fridays and the two *'Ids*, he went to the *Juma' masjid*, and ascending the pulpit he read the public prayers, and he praised himself with these titles;" (the titles agree with those in the text, but the name instead of being احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولي ابن علاء الدين بن عظم السلاطين احمد شاه ولي بهمني is محمد شاه بهمني). Firishtah goes on to say, that one day an 'Arab merchant, who had sold horses for the king's use, the payment for which had been delayed by the officers of the household, being present at the foot of the pulpit, when the Sultān spoke these words, immediately stood up, and said, "By God, thou art neither just nor merciful nor patient nor liberal, but art a tyrant, and a liar, who has slaughtered the Prophet's true and holy descendants, and yet darest to speak these words on the pulpits of the Musalmāns". The Sultān, being much affected wept aloud, and immediately paid the price of the horses; and said "those who have reviled me in this world and the next as being like Yezīd will never escape the fire of the wrath of God. He then went to the palace, and never came out of it, till his coffin was borne out. The fact of the Sultān's owing money to the 'Arab, and ordering its immediate payment, introduces an element of bathos,

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himself with the following title; *viz.*, the just, the forbearing, the merciful, the benevolent Sultān over the worshippers of God, the great 'Alā-ud-duniyā-wad-dīn Ahmad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh the Walī, son of Muhammad Shāh, Al-Bahmanī. Saiyyad Ajal, to whose great ancestors the position of the honourable *naqīb* of holy *Mashhad* had been entrusted, and who was much grieved at the slaughter of the Saiyyads at Jālna, rose on a day on which Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn recited these titles, in praise of himself, and said, "by God thou art a great liar, thou art not just, nor forbearing nor merciful but hast slaughtered the holy and pure descendants of the Prophet and thou darest to speak these words on the pulpits of the Moslems". Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn came out of the *masjid*; and made no protest of any kind. This story is a clear proof of his forbearance.

[1] In the year 862 A.H., in accordance with the Divine decree, a severe illness fell on the person of the Sultān. When he became hopeless of surviving, [2] he sent one day for Humāyūn Khān who was the most highly cultured and the eldest of his sons, and said, "Oh pupil of my eye! the time has come when I should, with an open brow, accept the summons of death; but there are some royal pearls which I have received as an inheritance from my great ancestors; and which I have treasured and kept concealed in the oyster-shell of my breast; and their beauty and elegance are such, that wisdom the appraiser of gems, who is possessed of perfection of intelligence, has to confess its ignorance in the matter of their price; and the speech of the word-stringing pen, in spite of its fluency and eloquence, has to acknowledge its impotence in describing their advantages and

into what would otherwise have been a scene of stern rebuke. This is absent from the version of the incident as told by Nizām-ud-dīn.

[1] According to Firishtah, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had an ulcer on his leg in 857 A.H., and it was of such a serious kind that reports of his death were circulated; and the rebellion of Sikandar Khān took place; and although the Sultān was able to proceed against Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, he had to do so seated in a *palkī*. The malady appears to have gone on, and brought on the Sultān's death in 862 A.H.

[2] Firishtah does not say anything about 'Alā-ud-dīn's precepts and advice to Humāyūn Khān. The latter received the title of *Zālim* or the tyrant, so Nizām-ud-dīn's description of him as ارشد among 'Alā-ud-dīn's sons, does not appear to me to be appropriate.

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benefits. My paternal affection, and my great love for my good and able son compel me that I should make heavy his ear of intelligence with those pearls of advice, and those gems of precept.

Couplet:

I tell thee with such eloquence as I have;
Thou mayest benefit from my words, or mayest be wroth.

[1] DIRECTIONS AND PRECEPTS.

Oh well beloved son! as the time has come, when you the light of my eyes, and of the empire, should sit on the throne of greatness, it is right that in matters connected with the people, you should not pass any orders without a valid reason and clear evidence; and should not grant a *farmān* without deliberation and examination of the policy, and certainty (about it); for the disadvantage of it would be greater than the advantage. You should also keep the affairs of rule and government pure and clean from the stains of the words or self-interested persons; for those peoples sometimes draw into the net of punishment, the gems of the good deeds of men, and show, on the platform of appearance, beneficent acts and virtuous deeds, in an ugly garb, and a sinister shape. You should always keep wicked and dishonest men and criminals and disturbers in subjection and misery; otherwise men would be bold in acting dishonestly and wickedly; and justice which is the foundation of all morality, and on which the laws of the *Shara'* and the rules of [2] government are based will be lost from amongst men. Further [3] you should not allow men who try to create disturbances to come near you; and should hold the words of these men who are destined to end in adversity to be entirely destitute of credence. You should

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[1] The reading in the MSS. is الوصايا والنصايح, as I have it in the text. In the lith. ed. it is نصيحت كه سلطان علاء الدين بپسر خود همايون خان كرده اند

[2] One MS. inserts the word وابسته, between حكومت and بران.

[3] There are different readings. One MS. has و ديگر تمام و ساعي بالفساد را بخود راه ندهد the other has و ديگر علو تمام و ساعي etc., as in the other. The lith. ed. has و تمام ساعتي بانقياد بخود راه ندهد. All three appear to me to be incorrect; but the first would be correct if وساعي is changed to ساعي.

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not also, for a few words or for a suspicion, which may enter your mind, throw an innocent man into the narrow places of danger and the ravine of fear.

You should also in matters of great and small difficulties consult men of intelligence and wisdom; and in the solution of intricate matters and the discovery of difficult things recognise them as just judges and impartial *Qāzīs*; for wise men have said: He who consults, will never repent, as two opinions are (always) better than one; and also you should always consider justice and equity to be the two wings of greatness, and the two arms of the empire. In all matters you should not miss the path of justice and the high way of equity. You should also try to draw the hearts of your subjects and *raiyyats*. In demanding revenue from the *raiyyats*, you should not be harsh; and should not cause pain to the retainers and soldiers by unreasonable demands. You should make every endeavour for the amelioration of the condition of *darwīshes*, and for keeping their hearts in peace and comfort. You should (in fact) so act that when the elemental body, and the limbs, which constitute it, come to extinction; and the physical form and the bodily arrangements pass away, the pages of the volumes of time remain full of descriptions of your good deeds, and praises of your acts.

Couplet:

He who after death leaves a name behind,
Be sure that in life he did great deeds.

Further you should beware (of causing) the lamentations of the oppressed, who have suffered at the hands of tyrants, and of the injured who have suffered privation and hardship; and you should know for a certainty that the[1] real favour of the great and holy God always watches over the condition of the oppressed ones".

When the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* received information of these directions,[2] Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, who was entrusted with the administra-

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[1] The meaning of the words عنایت عین which in one MS. are written as عنایت عین is not clear in the context.

[2] This is also mentioned by Firishtah, who explains the matter somewhat better than Nizām-ud-dīn. He says, that as contrary to their representation, Sultān 'Alâ-ud-dīn made Humāyūn Shāh Zālim (tyrant), whose manners were hateful to the people, his heir, Nizām-ul-mulk Daulatābādī, who had just

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tion of the kingdom, fled and went to his son, who had the title of Malik-ut-tujjār and was the governor of Junīr and from there both of them went away together to Gujrāt. When on the [1]21st of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, 862 A.H., Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn took his place from the throne (*takht*) on the plank (*takhta*) of the coffin, [2]Saif Khān, Mallū Khān and other *amīrs* rendered homage to Hasan Khān Shāhzāda, who was the younger brother of Humāyūn Khān and placed him on the throne, the common people plundered the palace of Humāyūn Khān and set fire to it. Humāyūn Khān determined on flight[3] with 80 horsemen. It so happened that on the way elephant drivers (*fīlbānān*) and officers of the bed-chamber and of the private apartment (*pardādārān*) and other retainers (*sāyer ahl-i-hashm*) saw him and hastened to join his service. Hasan Khān sitting on the throne saw Humāyūn Khān enter the palace, and fear overwhelmed him, and he could not sit firmly on that great place, and

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before that, been made the *vakil-us-saltanat*, and who was well known for his intelligence and knowledge of affairs, fled before 'Alā-ud-dīn's death, and went to his son, who after the death of Qāsim Beg Saf-shikan, had received the title of Malik-ut-tujjār, and was the Subahdār of Daulatābād and Junīr, and from there, before even the news of the death of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had arrived, they went away to Gujrāt.

The above is a translation from the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs does not mention Nizām-ul-mulk or his son by name, but says "Several of the nobles made their escape to Guzerat before the king's death, to avoid the tyranny of his successor".

[1] Firishtah does not give the date of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's death, but the year is 862 A.H. as in the text. Mr. Sewell (page 98) says "'Alā-ud-dīn died February 13th, A.D. 1458 (?)". He says in a note "Firishtah says that he reigned 23 years, 9 months and 20 days which gives this date. The Burhān-i-Ma'āsir fixes his decease at the end of Jamādī-ul-āwwal 862 A.H., which answers to April, 1458 A.D.". As will be seen a little further down, according to Nizām-ud-dīn, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn reigned for 23 years and 9 months and 22 days, *i.e.*, 2 days longer than the period mentioned by Firishtah.

[2] Firishtah's account agrees, but he says that the *amīrs* kept the fact of the death of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn concealed; and Shāh Habīb-ul-lah, son of Khalīl-ul-lah (who had come from Kirmān in Persia, on the invitation of Sultān Ahmad Shāh,—See note 1, page 55) and others also joined them.

[3] The words are عزیمت هزیمت نمود. Firishtah, however, says با غارت گران جنگ کرد, *i.e.*, gave battle to the plunderers; and the plunderers being defeated took shelter with Hasan Khān. Humāyūn pursued them and entered the palace.

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came down from it. [1]The *amīrs* and *vazīrs* and all the others then kissed the ground of service; and (Humāyūn Khān) sat on the throne. The first order that he gave was [2]this, that they should tie Saif Khān to the foot of an elephant; and drag him through the whole city. Mallū Khān, seeing this (barbarous) punishment fled, and took shelter in a corner.

The period of his (*i.e.*, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's) reign was twenty-three years, nine months and twenty-two days.

An account of the reign of Sultān Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn.

The *amīrs* and *maliks* with great unwillingness and reluctance placed their heads of loyalty and their foreheads of fealty on the ground of service. Sultān Humāyūn Shāh although he was well known for great bravery and manliness, and distinguished for eloquence of speech and sweetness of tongue, and bravery, and courage, yet was harsh and malevolent in his temper. He showed great excess in committing sins, and great deficiency in the payment of just dues. He was sound in wisdom and policy, but barbarous and cruel in the punishment of criminals and offenders. Although he was ferocious and wrathful, the sanity of his judgment was such, that every project that he sketched out on the board of his mind, with the pen of thought, resulted according to his anticipation. When he took his place on the throne of empire, he devoted all his energy to the appointment of a perfect and wise *vazīr*; and he laid down, that the ascent up the gradations of rule and the steps of empire is not possible, except with the help and assistance of a *vazīr*, of whose world-adorning wisdom, the structure of the empire and the amelioration of the condition of the *raiyyats* would be the result; and the increase of the revenue and the administration of the army would be the fruits

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1 The reading is the same in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but the sentence appears to me to be incomplete, as it does not say before whom the *amīrs* kissed the ground, and who sat on the throne.

2 According to Firishtah he ordered that Shāh Habīb-ul-lah and other should be cast into prison. Mallū Khān fought his way to the frontier of the Carnātic. Col. Briggs says that Hasan Khān's eyes were put out, but I cannot find this in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

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of whose mature deliberations. He entrusted the duties of the *vazīr* to [1] Khwāja Najm-ud-dīn Qāran Gīlānī, who was a wise and understanding man, experienced and God-fearing; and the reins of binding and loosening and the tying and untying of all matters of the government of the country were placed in the grasp of his power; and the title of Malik-ut-tujjār was conferred on him.

And in the spring time of his (*i.e.*, Humāyūn Khān's) rule, [2] Sikandar Khān Bukhārī, who had formerly rebelled against Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, and had joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī became ashamed and repentant, and forgetting the duties of allegiance, made the field of the government of Humāyūn Shāh dark with the dust of disturbance; and having raised the standard of rebellion, went away to [3] Mālkonda with a large force. Humāyūn Shāh determined to march to Mālkonda, and sent [4] Khān Jahān two stages in advance of himself. Sikandar Khān saw that Khān Jahān was weak, and attacked him with force and violence; and defeated him. [5] On the following

[1] This is the name in the MSS. In the lith. ed. it is خواجه نجم الدين قارن گيلاني, where Najm-ud-dīn is written by mistake as سنجم الدين Sanjam-ud-din. Firishtah, however, says that in accordance with the late Sultān's direction, Sultān Humāyūn made Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, the Malik-ut-tujjār, and the Vakīl-ush-shāhī, and the *tarafdār* of Bījāpūr. M. Hidayat Hosain has محمود after قارن in the text.

[2] Nizām-ud-dīn does not explain the reason of Sikandar Khān's new rebellion. It appears from Firishtah that Sikandar Khān, who was a companion of Sultān Humāyūn, when the latter was *yet shāhzāda*, fully expected to be made *sipāh-sālār* of Tilang, but when he found that Malik Shāh, who was a descendant of one of the great men among the Mughals, and according to some a descendant of the Sultāns of the family of Chengīz Khān was made Khwāja Jahān and *tarafdār* of Tilang; and a nephew of 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghurī was made a commander of a thousand horse, and received *jāgīrs* in Tilang; he was disappointed, and left the court, without asking for permission, and went to his father at Nālkanda; and the latter had no alternative, but to collect men to support his son.

[3] The name is Mālkonda or Balkonda in the MSS. and the lith. ed. Firishtah calls it نلكنده, Nalkanda, and Col. Briggs has Nowlgoonda.

[4] According to Firishtah, he was the governor of Berār, and had come to offer congratulations to the Sultān on his accession.

[5] The account of the expedition, and the battle as given by Firishtah is different from and more elaborate than that given by Nizām-ud-dīn. According to him Sikandar Khān met Khān Jahān and defeated him. Then Humāyūn

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day, when the standards of the dawn rose over the eastern horizon, Humāyūn Shāh arrayed his army, and advanced to the field of battle and slaughter. After the two armies had met, and the flame of battle had flared up, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the standards of Humāyūn Shāh, and the enemy fled into the desert of dishonour; and a number of them were crushed under the feet of the elephant of death. Sikandar Khān also fell down from the seat of his saddle on the bed of the ground. Jalāl Khān Bukhārī fled from the battle-field and shut himself up in the fort of Mālkonda. When the Sultān arrived in the neighbourhood of that place, he obtained a safe conduct, and carried his life away to safety from the danger-zone of the (Sultān's) wrath. The Sultān returned to his capital.

In the year 863 A.H., when the tyranny of Humāyūn Shāh became patent to all, the Rāys of Tilang placed their feet outside the circle of allegiance, and shortened their arms in the payment of the stipulated tribute. Humāyūn Shāh conferred the title of

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Shāh marched in person and encamped in front of Nalkonda. He waited for Jalāl Khān and Sikandar Khān to come and render him homage, when Sikandar Khān made a night attack on the Sultān's camp and did some damage. The next morning the Sultān advanced to seize the fort; but Sikandar Khān advanced with seven thousand or eight thousand horsemen and met him. Humāyūn Shāh sent him a message, that it would not be right for him to fight with his benefactor; and offered him any *pargana* he might choose in Daulatābād as his *jāgīr*, if he would only make his submission. Sikandar Khān replied that if Humāyūn Shāh was Ahmad Shāh's son's son, he was his daughter's son; if the Sultān would give him the country of Tilang well and good; otherwise he should be ready for battle. Then Humāyūn Shāh became angry, and prepared for battle; and Sikandar Khān did the same. Sikandar Khān fought bravely, and the battle continued all day, when Malik-ut-tujjār Gāwān and Khwāja Jahān Turk attacked Sikandar Khān from the right and left wing; and Humāyūn Shāh attacked him in the centre. Sikandar Khān like an infuriated tiger attacked Humāyūn Shāh, and routed his companions. As the elephant on which Humāyūn Shāh was riding was killing many warriors Sikandar Khān attacked it with his spear, when the elephant caught him by the trunk and threw him on the ground; and his own followers who were riding close behind him trampled on him and killed him. Humāyūn Shāh then sent men in pursuit of the routed enemy. Nalkonda was then besieged; and Jalāl Khān surrendered it with much treasure. His life was spared, but he was kept in imprisonment

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[1] Khwāja Jahān on Malik Shāh, a Turkī slave, and sent him to the country of Tilang, and Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī was sent with him; and the Sultān himself followed with twenty thousand horsemen and forty elephants. Khwāja Jahān besieged the fort of Deorkonda. The garrison prayed for help from the Rāy of Orissa, agreeing to pay him a large sum of money for it. The Rāy sent a grand army with one hundred elephants. Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī said "We should go away from the foot of the fort, and station ourselves in the open field, before the Rāy of Orissa arrives". Khwāja Jahān who had no experience, considered the opinion of Nizām-ul-mulk unreasonable, and remained where he was. The next day, when the light-giving sun rose over the eastern horizon, the Rāy of Orissa and the garrison attacked Khwāja Jahān from the two sides; and he was defeated. He fled eighty *karōhs* and joined Humāyūn Shāh. He represented to the latter that the defeat was due to Nizām-ul-mulk's

[1] As we have seen, Khwāja Jahān had already been employed in the war against Sikandar Khān. Firishtah's description of him has already been given in note 2, page 77. Firishtah says that Humāyūn Shāh attacked Deorkonda, because the Talangi *zamīndārs* who held it had been on friendly terms with Sikandar Khān. He sent the two officers named to attack it, and himself went to Warangal. (Warangal, however, appears to be a long way beyond Deorkonda.) The garrison made several sallies, but were defeated each time; and when they were in considerable distress, they prayed for help from the Rāy of Orissa. He sent a large body of men and also some elephants of war and sent an announcement of his own approach. Then Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī and Khwāja Jahān had a conference. Nizām-ul-mulk gave the advice which is mentioned in the text. Khwāja Jahān said that if they moved away the Talingas would pursue them, and they should therefore prepare for battle where they were. Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī had to remain silent. Then the battle took place, and both Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī and Khān Jahān fled to Humāyūn Shāh at Warangal. Khān Jahān falsely ascribed the defeat to Nizām-ul-mulk; and Humāyūn Shāh, without any inquiry, ordered him to be put to death; and his relations and adherents went and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī. Khān Jahān was imprisoned in a fort. Humāyūn Shāh was intending to send another army to Deorkonda, when news came from Ahmadābād that Yūsuf Turk had taken Hasan Khān and Shāh Habīb-ul-lah towards the city of Bīr.

There is a curious resemblance between the language of Firishtah in some of the above sentences to that of Nizām-ud-dīn; and it appears to me that he copied from the latter; though of course in other places his accounts are more logical and accurate.

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action; and Humāyūn Shāh's disposition turned against Nizām-ul-mulk, and he spoke unbecoming words to the latter; who fled and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī. Humāyūn Shāh also cast Khwāja Jahān from favour, and made him over to a jailor. And according to another statement, Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī was put to death with great contumely; and his associates and tribesmen went and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī.

In the year 864 A.H., Humāyūn Shāh again determined on the conquest of Tilang. On the way seven of the special associates of Amīrzāda [1] Muhibb-ud-dīn Habīb-ul-lah, who on account of some

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[1] There appears to be some confusion in the names. We know Shāh Habīb-ul-lah and Shāh Muhibb-ul-lah, but not Amīrzāda Muhibb-ud-dīn. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has Shāh Habīb-ul-lah. There is not much difference between Nizām-ud-dīn's account and that of Firishtah, as to the way in which the release of Shāh Habīb-ul-lah and Shāhzāda Hasan Khān was effected. But the seven adherents of Shāh Habīb-ul-lah, who are called his مختصان, intimate friends, in the Ṭabaqāt are called specifically his مریدان or disciples. Malik Yūsuf Turk is called Yūsuf Turk Kachāl. Then again the حصار citadel, in which the prison was located, is called the دربار شاهي by Firishtah, and the seraglio by Col. Briggs. It appears also from Firishtah's account, that the original intention of the conspirators was to effect the release of Shāh Habīb-ul-lah alone; and they released Hasan Khān and Yehayā Khān and Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, because they begged them to do so. Firishtah also says (contrary to Nizām-ud-dīn's account) that it was after these men had been released, that the seven thousand other prisoners were set free.

There is, up to this again, a curious similarity between the languages of Nizām-ud-dīn, and Firishtah; and the latter, as the later author, appears to me to have copied from the former.

The subsequent movements of Hasan Khān and Shāh Habīb-ul-lah, some of which are not mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn, are thus described by Firishtah. After leaving the city, they remained for six or seven days in the garden of Kamthānā, which was three *karōhs* from Ahmadābād Bidar. Then with three thousand horsemen and five thousand foot-soldiers they attempted to seize the citadel of Ahmadābād Bidar, but finding this to be difficult they went towards the town of Bīr, and took possession of the country around. Yūsuf Turk was made *Amīr-ul-umrā* and Shāh Habīb-ul-lah *vazīr*; and they commenced to collect troops.

Humāyūn Shāh now returned to Ahmadābād Bidar, and he put the three thousand soldiers, whom he had left to guard the city, to death with much torture; and he put the *kotwāl* in an iron cage and had one of his limbs cut off

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heavenly catastrophe had become dispersed like the constellation of the Bear again became united like the Pleiades; and as in the time of prosperity, they had been partakers of his wealth, they spoke among themselves, that as that moon of the sky of bravery was in eclipse, what use was there in life. It was right that they should think out a plan for his release. They went to Malik Yūsuf Turk, who among the slaves of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn was well known for his honesty and piety and famous for his good deeds and his devotion to God, and the cup of whose hopes had always been filled with the wine of the benefaction of the *Amīrzāda*; and lifted the veil from the face of their plan. That worthy man joined with them, and made some of the guards his confederates; and having waited for a proper opportunity, went with twelve horsemen and fifty foot-soldiers to the gate of the citadel. When the time of the afternoon prayer passed, he dismounted from his horse, and after performing the prescribed devotions, prayed to the great and holy God for success and help. About the time of sunset they went close to the gate. Most of the guards had gone away on their various businesses, and the few who remained stretched out their hands to forbid and stop them. Malik Yūsuf Turk acted with courtesy and gentleness; and showed them a *farmān* with a red seal, as is the custom with all *farmāns* in the Dakin, which he had prepared beforehand and had taken with him; and so they passed through the first gate. When they arrived at the second (*i.e.*, the inner) gate, the guards met them with hostility and resistance, and although the forged *farmān* was shown to them,

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every day. He was compelled to eat it, and he was taken round the city till he died. After that Humāyūn Shāh sent eight thousand horsemen and an enormous number of infantry against his brother Ḥasan Khān. A battle took place outside the town of Bīr, in which through the exertions of Shāh Ḥabīb-ul-lah, Ḥasan Khān was victorious. Then Humāyūn Shāh sent more troops. His natural ferocity now blazed up, and he sent the army, which had accompanied him to Tilang, to Bīr, keeping the wives and children of the officers as hostages, so that they might not join Ḥasan Khān. Another battle was fought; and Ḥasan Khān was defeated, and he went away with six or seven hundred soldiers to Bījāpūr. There Sirāj Khān Junaidī treacherously seized them. Shāh Ḥabīb-ul-lah suffered martyrdom, while resisting his capture; but Prince Ḥasan Khān and the others were sent prisoners to Aḥmadābād Bīdar.

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they did not accept it, and said that there should be a *parwāna* (an order or permit) from the *kotwāl*. Malik Yūsuf immediately cut off the head of the chief guard with his sword, and entered the citadel. There was great tumult, and in the first instance they went to the big prison and broke down the gate. About seven thousand prisoners including Saiyids and learned and wise men and men of the middle class who were confined in that prison considered it a great boon; and each one went to his own nook and corner.

They then went from that place, and releasing *Amīrzāda* Ḥabīb-ul-lah, and the sons of the Sulṭāns, and Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, each one went away in a separate direction. The *kotwāl* (Police Superintendent) of the city seized Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, who was eighty years of age, and Yaḥya Khān, a son of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, and put them to death with great torment and torture, Ḥasan Khān and *Amīrzāda* Ḥabīb-ul-lah went to the house of a barber, who had been in the service of the latter, and had their heads shaved off, in the manner of *qalandars* (*faqīrs*, mendicants). The *Amīrzāda* wished to retire into an obscure corner and cover his feet under the skirts of contentment; but as Ḥasan Khān said that the people of the city and the soldiers were on his side, on account of the tyranny and injustice of Humāyūn Shāh, and it was certain that when the falcon of his greatness should spread the wings of fortune he would be able to seize Humāyūn Shāh like a bird whose wings should have been cut, and a wild animal whose legs should have been broken, without trouble and difficulty. As the *Amīrzāda* always fashioned (lit. sewed) a *kulāh* (high cap) of this felt (*i.e.*, had such an ambition himself), he cancelled his original intention; and making strong terms of engagement with Ḥasan Khān, they both went out of the city. Soldiers came to them in large numbers. Humāyūn Shāh on hearing this put his sword into friend and stranger. When he arrived in the city of Bīdar, he perpetrated such acts of cruelty, that [1]Ḥajjāj became (in comparison with him) Naushīrwān, the just. His body has perished, but his bad name and the memory of his tyranny have continued in the world. One of his victims made this quatrain about it.

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[1] A cruel tyrant of Arabia.

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[1] Quatrain:

Ah tyrant! fear the sighs of the heart of sleepless men,
And fear thy bad deeds and thy evil-inciting spirit.
Look at the eyelashes, steeped in blood, of thy victim!
Fear that dagger sharp, that drips with blood!

When the news of the return of Humāyūn Shāh reached *Shāhzāda* Ḥasan Khān and *Amīrzāda* Ḥabīb-ul-lah, [2] they found themselves to be without the power of withstanding him; and turned their faces towards Bījāpūr. Sirāj Khān, who afterwards received the title of Mu'ẓẓam Khān behaved towards them with courtesy and flattery; and presented much tribute; and after taking oaths took them into the citadel. He then collected a force in the course of the night, and attacked them. The common people became dispersed. Ḥasan Khān and Mīr Ḥabīb-ul-lah and the seven friends, who had brought them out of prison, were besieged in a kiosk, in which they had been accommodated. Ḥasan Khān after receiving a safe conduct went to the besiegers; but *Amīrzāda* Ḥabīb-ul-lah, in agreement with his friends, said "We are all prepared for death; and the birds of our spirit will not lower their heads into the nest of your safe conduct". They fought and exerted themselves to the extent of their means, and their strength; and reached the end and object of their hope (*i.e.*, they heroically met their death).

[3] Humāyūn Shāh when he saw Ḥasan Khān, threw him in his

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[1] This quatrain is quoted with some variations by Firishtah also. He says that it was written by the poet Maulāna Naẓīrī, who had, according to him, got the title of Malik-ush-sh'arā or the king of poets, apparently in imitation of the Malik-ut-tujjār. In the version printed in the lith. ed. of Firishtah the second line is و از نفس بد شوم شر انگیز ترس, and the third line is مژگان دم الودهٔ مظلومان بیون. I think the third line as quoted by Niẓām-ud-dīn is better.

[2] But see note 1, page 80, from which it will appear that, according to Firishtah, they fought two battles with Humāyūn Shāh's army, near Bīr and were victorious in the first. Niẓām-ud-dīn omits all mention of what happened near Bīr.

[3] Firishtah mentions the atrocities which were perpetrated by Humāyūn Shāh on the companions of Ḥasan Khān, who were sent to Aḥmadābād Bīdar by Sirāj Khān. It appears from Firishtah that Shāh Ḥabīb-ul-lah alone attained to martyrdom; and the others including Yūsuf Turk, and down to

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own presence before a tiger. [1] Saiyid Ṭāhir, the poet has said the following chronogram on the date of the death of *Amīrzāda* Ḥabīb-ul-lah.

Quatrain:

In the month of Sha'bān, in India, to martyrdom attained,
Ḥabīb-ul-lah Ghāzī, may his tomb be sanctified!
The mind of Ṭāhir, sought the date of his death;
He found it in *rūh-i-pāk-i-Na'mat-ul-lah!*

(the holy spirit of Na'mat-ul-lah).

Saiyid Na'mat-ul-lah was Shāh Ḥabīb-ul-lah's great ancestor. They say that Sirāj Khān was afflicted with leprosy in the course of a short time.

Then, in short, in the year 865 A.H., when the tyranny of Humāyūn Shāh reached to such a pitch, that he stretched out his hands to wives and children of other men; and he became the slave of his lust. Sometimes he ordered that a bride should be seized on the road; and should be brought into his seraglio, and he after satisfying his lust, sent the woman to the house of her husband; and sometimes he put the members of the harem to death without any cause. The *amīrs* became suspicious of him to such a degree, that whenever they went to make their *salāms* (homage) to him, they first of all gave directions to their sons, before placing their feet on the road.

(At last) [2] Shitāb Khān who was the guardian of the seraglio

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even the menials such as *farāshes*, water-carriers and sweepers were sent to Aḥmadābād Bīdar; where they were put to death with cruel tortures; and their wives and children, and others in any way connected with Ḥasan Khān were also put to death with unheard-of and unnameable cruelties.

[1] Firishtah calls him Saiyid Ṭāhir Astarābādī, and he also quotes the chronograms.

[2] Firishtah has two versions of the circumstances of Humāyūn Shāh's death. One is that he became ill, and that when he had no hope of his surviving the illness, he made his eldest son, Niẓām Khān, his heir; and he released Khwājah Jahān Turk from prison, and sent for the Malik-ut-tujjār from Tilang; and appointed the former to be *vakīl-ush-shāhī*, and the latter to be the *vazīr*; and he directed his son always to act under the guidance of his mother. The other version is somewhat like that given by Niẓām-ud-dīn; but it is said that Humāyūn Shāh had been ill, and was murdered after his recovery. The guardian of the harem is called Shihāb Khān eunuch in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

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associated some *Ḥabshīs* with him, and on the night of the [1] 27th Dhīqa'dah of the aforementioned year, one of the female *Ḥabshī* slaves struck Humāyūn Shāh, when he was resting in the seraglio, on the head with a piece of wood and made him like those who had been dead a thousand years ago.

Couplet:

In this turquoise palace with calamities filled,
For evil, evil ever is the recompense sure.

The poet Naẓīrī, who was the friend and companion of *Amīrzāda* Ḥabīb-ul-lah, and who had been delivered from captivity by the kind exertions of Malik Yūsuf Turk, wrote this verse on the date of the death of Humāyūn Shāh.

[2] Verses;

Humāyūn Shāh is dead, the day has pleasant become;
God is great; oh happy and auspicious death!
The earth is full of flavour new. The date of the death,
Bring out e'en from *Dhauq-i-jahān*.

The word *Dhauq-i-jahān* (flavour of the world) becomes the date of his death.

The period of his reign was [3] three years and six months and five days.

It is also said that Humāyūn Shāh was killed when he was sleeping after drinking some intoxicating liquor. Col. Briggs gives the second version somewhat briefly, and does not give the name of the eunuch.

[1] Firishtah has 28th Dhīqa'dah, 865. Col. Briggs gives September 3rd, 1461, as the corresponding date of the Christian era. Mr. Sewell also gives the 28th Dhīqa'dah, of course from Firishtah; but he has the 5th September, 1461 A.D., as the corresponding English date.

[2] This verse has also been quoted by Firishtah, who, however, substitutes و رست عالم, *i.e.*, the world has been saved, for و روز خوش شد at the end of the first line; and تاریخ فوتش for تاریخ مرگش.

[3] Firishtah has three years six months and six days, as according to him the death took place on the 28th and not on the 27th Dhīqa'dah. See note 1, above.

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An account of the reign of Niẓām Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh.

When Niẓām Shāh in his eighth year sat in his father's place, the establishment of the rules of government and the strengthening of the acts of administration were entrusted in the hands of [1] *Makẖdūma-i-Jahān*; and that [2] veiled one behind the curtain of chastity directed all her energies in furnishing the bed of equity and justice; and shortened the hand of the tyrant from the skirt of his victim. But as owing to the great oppression of Humāyūn Shāh, the hearts of men were wounded and lacerated, the work of government could not be regulated and organized.

At this time, the [3] Rāy of Orissa, having received information of

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[1] The widow of Humāyūn Shāh and the mother of Niẓām Shāh, whom Firishtah describes as a عاقلة زن or a wise woman.

[2] Firishtah describes how, every morning, the two ministers Kẖwājah Jahān and Malik-ut-tujjār Gāwān went to the palace and through the intervention of a woman of the name of Māh Bānū, they had a conference with the queen-mother; and then they took the young Sulṭān and placed him on the turquoise throne, and carried out the administration on the lines which had been determined upon in consultation with the queen-mother.

[3] Firishtah says, the Rāy of the اوڑیسہ و اوڑیا ملک in concert with *zamīndārs* of Tilang came to conquer the country of the Dakin, by way of Rājahmandrī; and they laid waste all the country as far as Kulās. I cannot say exactly what the word after اوڑیسہ, which looks like اوڑیا Auriyā or Uriyā is, and whether the Rāy of Orissa and Auriyā represent one Rāy or two Rāys. Firishtah has the two words all through his account, but Col. Briggs does not mention Auriyā. Firishtah's account agrees with Niẓām-ud-dīn's as to the main incident, namely the attack of Shāh Muḥibb-ul-lah on the vanguard of the Orissa army. But before coming to that he says that, Niẓām Shāh's advisers proceeded with great calmness to collect troops, and they got together forty thousand horsemen and marched to the camp of the Rāy of Orissa and Auriyā, taking the young Sulṭān with them. The Rāy intended to take possession of the territories, and then after extorting tribute to return to his own kingdom. But Niẓām Shāh's ministers sent word to him that they intended to invade and conquer Jājnagar and Orissa and Auriyā; but that as he had now invaded the Dakin, matters had become easy for them; and unless he paid tribute, and restored whatever his men had seized, not one of the latter would be allowed to return in safety. Immediately after this Shāh Muḥibb-ul-lah, who had come to carry on a *jehād* (religious war), fell on the vanguard of the Orissa army. The action is

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the state of things, came forward with a large body of cavalry and infantry to plunder and ravage Bīdar; and by successive marches came within thirty *korōhs* of the city. The *amīrs*, in spite of the fact that they were unprepared, marched out for the campaign, taking the eight-year old Niẓām Shāh with them. When the distance (between the two) was only eight *korōhs*, *Amīrzāda* Muḥibb-ul-lah with only one hundred and sixty brave and well-armed men separated himself from the army of Niẓām Shāh, and advancing forward fell upon the vanguard of the Rāy of Orissa, which consisted of ten thousand infantry and four hundred horsemen. From morning till the time of midday they fought with courage and bravery, till in the end, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the standard of the Ghāzīs; and the vanguard of the Orissa army fled and joined the main army. The Rāy of Orissa marched away at night, and returned to his dominion. The *amīrs* carried out the customary thanksgiving to God, and returned at the stirrups of Niẓām Shāh.

They had not yet settled down at Bīdar when Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī at the [1]instigation of Niẓām-ul-mulk Ghūrī invaded the

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described by Firishtah in almost the same words as Niẓām-ud-dīn, but Firishtah goes on to say that the Dakin army pursued the Orissa army, which lost two or three thousand men daily. So the Rāy took shelter in a fort, and sent messages expressive of his distress; and finally agreed to pay five lakhs of silver *tankas*. Col. Briggs says in his translation that the threatening message was sent with Shāh Muḥibb-ul-lah "but his escort being stopped by the infidels he charged the Rāy's advanced picquets so boldly, that supposing the whole army was in motion the Hindoos fell back on their main body". I cannot find anything in the lith. ed. of Firishtah which agrees with this. There is nothing in it about the message being taken by Shāh Muḥibb-ul-lah. In fact it appears that Shāh Muḥibb-ul-lah only joined the army to carry on a *jehād* or religious war. Col. Briggs also says in a note that Firishtah hastily adopted the language of Moolla Dawood of Bidur and other historians of the Bahmuny dynasty, and "has not exercised any discretion or even much research in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindoos". I do not quite agree with Col. Briggs. There were many instances of such panic and sudden retreat in the case of the Rāys of Bījānagar and others.

[1] This is mentioned by Firishtah, but not by Col. Briggs. Firishtah also says that Sultān Maḥmūd advanced with twenty-eight thousand horsemen and the Rāy of Orissa and Auriyā and the Rāys of Talingāna advanced at the same time. Niẓām Shāh's ministers sent the Talingāna army against the Rāy of

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Deccan, and began to advance by successive marches. The *amīrs*, taking Niẓām Shāh with them, advanced to meet the army of Mandū. When there was a distance of three *farsukhs* (between the two armies) Niẓām Shāh nominated ten thousand horsemen to the right wing and placed them in charge of Khwājah Maḥmūd Gīlānī, who had the title of Malik-ut-tujjār. The left wing was made over to Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk; and he himself took up his stand in the centre with eleven thousand horsemen; and one hundred elephants. The superintendence of the centre of the army was made over to Khwājah Jahān Malik Shāh Turk. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī divided his twenty-eight thousand horsemen into three detachments, and advanced to the field of battle and bloodshed. After the two armies had met, Malik-ut-tujjār advancing rapidly fell upon the left wing of the Khaljī army. Mahābat Khān, the governor of Chandērī, and Ẓahīr-ul-mulk, the *vazīr*, who commanded the left wing of that army were killed on the battle-field; and a great defeat fell on the army of Mandū; so that Malik-ut-tujjār pursued it for two *korōhs*, and plundered the Khaljī camp.

Orissa and Auriyā and the Rāys of Talingāna; and themselves advanced with the armies of Bījāpūr, Daulatābād and Berār, at the stirrups of Niẓām Shāh against Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The two armies met at the neighbourhood of the fort of Qandahār. Firishtah mentions the attack by the Malik-ut-tujjār, whom, however, he calls Maḥmūd Gāwān, on the left wing of the Mandū army; and says that although Mahābat Khān and Ẓahīr-ul-mulk fought bravely, they were at last compelled to retire and were killed. He also mentions the attack of the left wing of the Dakinī army under Niẓām-ul-mulk Turk, on the right wing of the Mandū army which was led by Shāhzāda Ghiyās-ud-dīn. This is not mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn. They fought bravely, but the *Shāhzāda* was wounded and was thrown from his horse, and was about to be killed when he was rescued. This wing of the Mandū army was thus defeated and was pursued by the Dakinī army; and the camp was looted, and fifty elephants were seized. Sulṭān Maḥmūd seeing both wings of his army routed, determined on retiring to Mandū but one of the *amīrs* dissuaded him. At this time Niẓām Shāh wanted bravely to attack the centre of the Mālwa army. Khwājah Jahān stopped him, but after a time he advanced with ten thousand horsemen to attack the centre of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, which consisted of twelve thousand horsemen. At this time Sulṭān Maḥmūd hit the forehead of an elephant, which Sikandar Khān a Turkī slave of Khwājah Jahān was riding. The elephant became furious, and trampled on many men belonging to the Dakinī army; and it was likely

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At this time, when the men were engaged in plundering, Sulṭān Maḥmūd appeared before Niẓām Shāh's army with twelve thousand horsemen. Khwājah Jahān Turk, who was the leader of the centre of the army, turned round, and seizing the bridle of the Sulṭān's horse turned towards Bīdar; and in spite of the fact that Malik-ut-tujjār had been victorious over the Mālwa army, the army of Niẓām Shāh was defeated; and the men who were engaged in plundering were slain at the spot where they were. Malkah-i-Jahān being apprised of the [1] treachery and deceit of Khwājah Jahān, entrusted the defence of the fort of Bīdar to Mallū Khān, and took Niẓām Shāh with her to Fīrūzābād. Sulṭān Maḥmūd pursued the army of the Deccan as

that Niẓām Shāh himself should receive some injury. Then Sikandar Khān, either through foolishness or through some enmity which he had against Khwājah Jahān, did not exhort the army to fight, but carried away Niẓām Shāh, whether he liked it or not, placing him behind himself on the same elephant and they stood a short distance behind the army. The *amīrs* not seeing the standard of the Sulṭān in its place turned round one after another, and taking Niẓām Shāh, who was standing in a corner, with them went back to the capital.

The above is Firishtah's version of the engagement in the lith. ed. It will be seen that the account of the latter part of the battle, and of the way in which Niẓām Shāh was taken away from the field, differs materially from that given by Niẓām-ud-dīn.

[1] According to Firishtah there was no doubt at least at that time about the good faith or behaviour of Khwājah Jahān. The only question was about the conduct of Sikandar Khān. Firishtah says that the queen-mother at first praised him for having brought her son out of danger; but when he went to see Khwājah Jahān, the latter ordered him to be imprisoned, for having brought Niẓām Shāh away at such an inopportune moment. The other Turkī slaves however went to the queen-mother, and defended the conduct of Sikandar Khān. She sympathised with them, but expressed her inability to do anything just then. Khwājah Jahān hearing of this, sent Sikandar Khān to her, and he was ordered to be set at liberty.

Firishtah, however, goes on to say that the queen-mother had suspicions of the treachery and deceit of Khwājah Jahān, and knew the defeat was due to his want of firmness and courage; and therefore with the advice of Malik-ut-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān (or Gilānī), she placed the defence of the citadel of Aḥmadābād Bīdar in charge of Mallū Khān. Firishtah goes on to say that Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa took the fort of Bīdar after a siege of seventeen days, and took possession of the greater part of Berār and Daulatābād; so that people thought that the power of the Bahmanīs should pass to the Khaljīs, when the news of the approach of the Gujrāt army came.

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far as the gate of Bīdar, and having devastated the country outside the fort, occupied himself with providing the necessary apparatus for its capture.

Niẓām Shāh had, at the time of starting on the campaign, written a letter in the language of sincerity, giving an account of what was happening to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Now when he was [1]recovering at Fīrūzābād; and the men who had fled had assembled again, he sent Khwājah Jahān with a large army to fight with Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Khaljī). About this time information came that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī had arrived at the frontiers of the Deccan, with eighty thousand horsemen. Sultān Maḥmūd Khaljī, finding that he had not the strength to withstand him, started on the seventeenth day for Mandū, by way of [2] Gōndwāra. Khwājah Jahān

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[1] The actual words are در فیروز اباد نفس درست کرد. Firishtah whose language at this part of the narrative resembles that of Niẓām-ud-dīn has نفس راست کرد.

[2] The name is گوندوارہ in one MS., گوندوانہ in the other, and کوندوانہ, in the lith. ed. Firishtah has گوندوارہ, but Col. Briggs has Gondwana. Firishtah's account agrees with Niẓām-ud-dīn's, almost *verbatim*, up to the mention of the arrival of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. After that he goes on to say that Makhdūma-i-Jahān sent Malik-ut-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān with five or six thousand horsemen by way of Bīr, to meet the Sulṭān of Gujrāt. The latter sent twenty thousand horsemen, with many of his great *amīrs* to co-operate with Malik-ut-tujjār. More soldiers joined him, and then Malik-ut-tujjār advanced with forty thousand Dakinī and Gujrātī horsemen towards Aḥmadābād Bīdar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī who was engaged in the siege of the citadel, and was fighting daily with Mallū Khān, now started for Mandū in great distress. Malik-ut-tujjār sent ten thousand horsemen to Berār to stop the road; and himself with ten thousand Dakinī, and twenty thousand Gujrātī horsemen, advanced to a point between Qandahār and Bīr, where the encampment of the Mālwa army was located, and prevented the importation of grain and other provisions into the camp. Sultān Maḥmūd Khaljī had thirty thousand horsemen ready for battle, but Malik-ut-tujjār did not meet him, and went on carrying out his own plans, till there were signs of a famine in the Mālwa camp. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī then blinded (کور کردہ, Col. Briggs has: killed) the elephants he had with him, and set fire to all his heavy baggage. He then started well-armed and in light marching order having washed his hands of his life (*i.e.*, almost despairing of arriving safely at Mandū). He told the headman of Gōndwāra, who has with him, to take him along a good road. The

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returned after pursuing him for three or four stages. At the time of his return, as the road through Gōndwāra was uneven, the Gōnds harassed him at every stage, and some thousand of men and animals perished on account of scarcity of water. It is stated that at the first stage (of the journey) about six thousand men died for want of water; and the price of one *kāsa* (cup) of water was cheap at two *tankas*. In truth as the act of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī was in reality outside of rectitude and justice, the result of such unrighteous conduct could not be anything but misfortune and wretchedness.

Couplet :

Plant such a branch that it bear fortunate fruit ;
Sow such seed, that a harvest thou mayst reap.

When he got out of the desert, he ordered the [1] Rājas of Gōndwāra, who had performed meritorious services and were innocent, to be put to death.

[2] In the year 867 A.H., Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī again advanced, with ninety thousand horsemen, to attempt the conquest of the

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headman who wanted to have his revenge (it does not appear for what injury) said that there was no broad road in that part of the country along which the army might march; but there was a road along a waterless desert. The Sulṭān said, it was better to escape along that road than to be killed by the Dakinīs and marched forward. They suffered great privation from heat and scarcity of water, and also from robbers and thieves. When they at last got out of the desert, the Sulṭān knowing that the crowd of robbers and the concealment of wells, had all been brought about at the instigation of the headman ordered him to be put to death. The Gōnd said he had had his revenge and he was not afraid of death, because he had sons living; and he expected to be born again, from which Firishtah infers that the Gōnds, like other Hindū *kāfirs* believed in the transmigration of souls.

[1] But see the later part of the preceding note for Firishtah's version of the behaviour of the Gōnd chief or headman.

[2] Firishtah's account of this second invasion does not differ materially from that in the text. In fact Firishtah says that he was indebted for an account of this invasion to Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad; but he apparently adds one or two touches of his own, for instance he says that on arrival in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād, Sulṭān Maḥmūd made some display of his grandeur (کرو فري نمود); that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī sent a well-equipped army without delay or hesitation towards Sulṭānpūr; and also that the two Sulṭāns, *i.e.*, those of Gujrāt and the Dakin, who were bright as the sun, and beautiful as Joseph, bade adieu to

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Deccan. Niẓām Shāh also advanced after making preparations for war; and asked for help from Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. When Sulṭān Mahmūd Khaljī arrived on the frontier of Daulatābād, his scouts brought the news, that Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt was approaching. The army of Mandū then left the road (to Bīdar); and marched away towards Mālkonda; and returned to Mandū by way of Gōndwāra. [1] Niẓām Shāh sent a letter to Maḥmūd Shāh (Gujrātī) containing his thanks, and praised him for his help; and [2] Sulṭān Maḥmūd, turning back from the way, went to Aḥmadābād in Gujrāt.

[3] In the month of Dhīqa'dah of the same year Niẓām Shāh became ill, and on account of that illness, he passed away to the vicinity of the great God.

Couplet:

Into the dust, was thrown that flower of state, which the garden of empire
With a hundred thousand caresses, in its bosom, had nourished.

The period of his reign was [4] two years.

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each other from a distance, and sent gifts and presents for each other, and then went back to their respective capitals.

[1] According to Firishtah, Niẓām Shāh sent besides the letter, many wonderful presents and many elephants and horses in charge of some trusted servants, and made many excuses for the trouble which he had given him.

[2] The readings in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. are incorrect. One MS. has و سلطان محمود از راه برگشته ببلدهٔ احمد اباد رفت the other MS. has the same reading, but leaves out the name محمود. The lith. ed. omits the initial و, and also the name محمود. The first reading is correct, but I have inserted the word گجراتي Gujrātī after Aḥmadābād to make the meaning quite clear.

[3] Firishtah also does not say what Niẓām Shāh died of; but he says that the queen-mother arranged great festivities for the marriage of Niẓām Shāh, when suddenly at midnight, when the marriage ceremony was taking place sounds of wailing and lamentation were heard, and it was known that Niẓām Shāh was dead.

[4] The period of his reign is given as one year and eleven days in one MS., and one year and eleven months and one day in the other; while the lith. ed. has two years. Firishtah says that Niẓām Shāh died on the night of the 13th Dhīqa'dah, 867 A.H., 29th July, 1463 A.D., and he reigned for two years and one month.

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[1]AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF HUMĀYŪN SHĀH.

When Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, sat on the *masnad* of sovereignty, in his [2]10th year, he in spite of his youth exerted himself in performing the duties of equity and justice. During the period of his rule, all the people had repose in the cradle of peace and safety.

Couplet :

To a tribe to whom God prosperity grants,
He gives a sovereign just and wise and good.

In all matters of government he had the custom of holding conferences with men of wealth. When physical greatness was combined with mental greatness, he gave himself the title of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī ; and he entrusted the arrangement of all affairs and the execution of all business to his own wise opinion and his penetrating intellect. He considered that to be the best and wisest, which the inspiration of his own greatness imprinted on the page of his mind ; and carried it into execution. Consequently the government of the kingdom and the greatness of the paraphernalia of power, in the period of his rule, reached to such a pitch that nothing higher than it could even be conceived. He enlisted a thousand Turkī slaves among his servants, and advanced the grandees of that tribe to high ranks and great positions. Among these he [3]granted

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[1] This is the heading in the lith. ed. The MSS. leave out the word سلطنت. Firishtah has a rather grandiloquent heading, *viz.*, ذكر شاهي شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر الغازي محمد شاه بهمني لشكري, *i.e.*, an account of the reign of Shams-ud-dunyā-wad-dīn (the sun of the world and of religion) Abul Muẓaffar Al Ghāzī Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī Lashkarī. The date of his accession appears to have been the 13th Dhī-qa'dah, 867 A.H., July 30th, 1463 A.D.

[2] Firishtah says he was the second of the three sons of Humāyūn Shāh by Makhdūma-i-Jahān. The three were Niẓām Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh. He also says that Muḥammad Shāh succeeded his brother in his ninth year.

[3] The grant of these fiefs is not mentioned by Firishtah, nor does he say, like Niẓām-ud-dīn, that the government was carried on by the nine or ten years

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Kāwīl to 'Imād-ul-mulk and Junīr to Niẓām-ul-mulk and Māhūr to Khudāwand Khān, in *jāgīr*.

[1] Unlike former Sulṭāns in the matter of the capture of forts, and the conquest of towns, he did not consider it sufficient merely to have a show of obedience and submission, and the sending of gifts and presents; but he devoted all his attention to measures by which strong forts might come into his possession. In fact the *farmāns* of the rule of the Bahmanī dynasty ended with his great name; [2] and all disturbances and rebellions which had found their way into the kingdom during the reigns of Sulṭān Humāyūn Shāh and Niẓām Shāh were remedied by the grandeur of the personality of Muḥammad Shāh; and all weaknesses and troubles which had crept into the affairs of the kingdom and empire were cured by his attention. After the regulation of the affairs of the empire, he commenced to gratify the hearts of the pillars of the state. He had Khwājah Jahān, who in the invasion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had determined to undermine the foundation of the greatness of this dynasty, and had besides stretched out his hands for taking and misappropriating the government money, [3] executed in front of the palace.

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old Sulṭān. On the other hand, he says that Khwājah Jahān Turk had all the power in his hands. He dispossessed all the ancient *amīrs* of their fiefs; and made them over to new men, who were his own creatures. He even stretched his hands into, and embezzled the government funds. He kept Malik-ut-tujjār Muḥammad Gāwān constantly employed on the frontier; and did not allow him to have any share in the great affairs of state. It was the queen-mother, who impressed the dishonesty and disloyalty of Khwājah Jahān on the Sulṭān's mind; and arranged for getting rid of him. It appears, moreover, that according to Firishtah, Muḥammad Shāh could not even give the order for the execution of Khwājah Jahān, when everything had been previously arranged, without being specially reminded by his mother, through two old women.

[1] The meaning and logical sequence of these sentences is not very clear.

[2] There is some difference in the readings. I have retained that in the lith. ed. but the MSS. have instead of بفر شکوه وجود محمد شاه to بتوجه او صلاح پذیرفت simply بتوجه او صلاح پذیرفت.

[3] See the latter part of note 2, above.

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[1]He appointed [2]Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk the governor of Jūnīr to conquer the fort of Kehrla which now belonged to the rulers of Mandū, after giving him a special robe of honour. Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk arranged his army, and then with a large body of men traversed the various stages, and encamped on the bank of the river which flows at the foot of the fort. [3]The Mandū army sallied out of the fort, and commenced the battle; but afterwards again fled into the fort. Niẓām-ul-mulk's soldiers pursued them to the gate of the fort. The garrison finding the grandeur and great strength of Niẓām-ul-mulk's army prayed for safe conduct. Niẓām-ul-mulk granted it, and when they were brought out of the fort he gave *pān*

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[1] According to Firishtah this expedition did not take place till the year 872 A.H., 1467 A.D., *i.e.*, nearly four years after Muḥammad Shāh's accession; and in the meantime, Malik-ut-tujjār Muḥammad Gāwān was made Khwājah Jahān and *amīr-ul-umrā* and *vakīl-us-salṭanat*; and when Muḥammad Shāh was fourteen years of age the queen-mother arranged for his marriage, which was celebrated with great grandeur and eclat. After this the queen-mother retired from active participation in the affairs of the state; and devoted herself to devotional duties. But even now Muḥammad Shāh did not put his hand to any important affair, till he had consulted her; and went every morning to offer his respects to her.

[2] He was made the سپہ سالار, commander of the army of Berār; but Col. Briggs makes him the governor of that territory.

[3] Firishtah's account is different. According to him Niẓām-ul-mulk defeated the army, which had come from Mandū, to aid the garrison on the last occasion, when twelve thousand Afghāns and Rājpūts fought a great battle with the Dakinīs in front of the fort; but were signally defeated when the garrison which had sallied out to join in the fight attempted to re-enter the fort, Niẓām-ul-mulk and a small number of his soldiers pursued them, and got into the fort, and seized it. According to another version, the garrison being disheartened surrendered the fort; and were allowed to leave it in safety. At this time, some of the Dakinīs abused and taunted the Mālwa soldiers. Two Rājpūts who were in the garrison determined to show their courage. After the fort had been evacuated, they went near the crowd that surrounded Niẓām-ul-mulk, and said that they had never seen a great man like him; and they wanted to show their respect by kissing his feet. Niẓām-ul-mulk seeing that they had no arms, allowed them to approach him, when they snatched a dagger and a sword with great activity; and each of them inflicted a wound, and slew Niẓām-ul-mulk. They attacked and slew others also, and fought till they were both slain.

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(betel) to each one of them with his own hand. When this was going on, a man after taking the *pān*, struck Niẓām-ul-mulk with his dagger, and made him a martyr. [1] 'Ādil Khān and Daryā Khān, who were his two accomplished sons, slew the governor of the fort and the entire garrison; and placing a man in whom they had every trust, in the fort, and taking the dead body of their father with them, went to render homage to Muḥammad Shāh. After they had had

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[1] Firishtah calls them Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān Sawaī, who became the ancestor of the 'Ādil Shāhī Sulṭāns, and Daryā Khān Turk; and says that they were his adopted brothers, and not sons; and also says, that they believed that the Rājpūts had killed Niẓām-ul-mulk at the instigation of the commandant of the fort; and sent men in pursuit of the garrison, who had encamped one *korōh* from the fort, and were altogether unprepared; and every one of them, young and old, was killed.

Firishtah goes on to say that the Sulṭān of Mālwa sent a man of the name of Sharīf-ul-mulk, with valuable presents, to represent that Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī and Sulṭān Hūshang had entered into an agreement, that Berār should appertain to the Bahmanī kingdom, and Kehrla and its dependencies to Mālwa, so that there might be no further disputes. Now the *amīrs* of the Dakin had seized on Kehrla. If the matter be so arranged that there might be no breach of the previous agreement, there would be friendship and brotherliness between the two kingdoms. Sulṭān Muḥammad sent Shāh Shaikh Aḥmad the *Ṣadr*, with Sharīf-ul-mulk to Mandū; and pointed out that the Bahmanī Sulṭāns were not in need of any fort like Kehrla, as there were many such forts in the Carnātic, which were in the possession of the *kāfirs*, and which they could easily conquer. Besides, the first breach of the agreement was not committed by them but by Sulṭān Maḥmūd himself, who had invaded the Bahmanī kingdom, when the late Sulṭān was a boy, and there was dissension among his principal officers. When Shāh Shaikh Aḥmad arrived near Mandū, he was met by the principal officers of the Mandū government, who took him with all respect and honour to the Sulṭān. When he delivered his message the learned men of Mandū, who were present, and the Sulṭān himself admitted, that the first breach had been committed by Sulṭān Maḥmūd himself. An agreement was then concluded and attested by the learned men and the representatives of the two Sulṭāns, that neither party should henceforward interfere with the other's territory, and the relations between them should be the same as had been agreed upon in the time of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī; and that Kehrla should be restored to Mālwa; and that for future expansion of their kingdoms, there were the territories of the *kāfirs*, which the contracting parties might with divine aid conquer by the sword of *jehād*. These transactions have not been mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn.

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the good fortune of rendering service the rank and fiefs of their father were confirmed to them.

[1] After some days, he conferred a robe of honour and a jewelled belt to the Malik-ut-tujjār; and sent him with some other *amīrs* to conquer the territory of the Rāy of Sonkar (Sangēsar) and Kokan. When the Malik-ut-tujjār arrived in the town of [2] Kolāpūr, As'ad Khān advanced with his own men from Jūnīr and Kishwar Khān from Gulbargah and Dābal, and joined him. He started from that place, in concert with them, and when they arrived at the head of the [3] defile of Kaikanīa, they came to a great forest, where on account of the dense growth of the trees, it appeared to be difficult even for ants and snakes to pass through. Malik-ut-tujjār's army cleared every day, a distance of one *farsakh* in breadth, and one bow shot in length. When they arrived in the vicinity of (the foot of) Kaikanīa, the height and strength of which were such that the arrow of the plan of no conqueror of forts could reach to the [4] ambition of its conquest, they encamped there. There was a great fight, and the enemy (متمردان), *i.e.*, the refractory people fled and

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[1] According to Firishtah this expedition was sent in the beginning of 874 A.H., 1469 A.D., for the punishment according to the lith. ed. of Firishtah of رای سنگیسر و کهینه و تسخیر دیگر قلاع کوکن, *i.e.*, of the Rāys of Sangesar and Khīna and the conquest of other forts in the Kokan (Conkan). Col. Briggs says that the expedition was "against the Shunkur Ray of Kehlna and other refractory rajas in the Concan". As to Sankar or Sangesar see note 2, p. 61.

[2] Firishtah, lith. ed., has the *pargana* and not the town of کهولا پور and Col. Briggs the district of Kolapoor. The name of As'ad Khān is doubtful. It is so in the lith. ed.; but one MS. calls him استعداد خان Ista'dād Khān and the other omits the name altogether. Firishtah has سعید خان گیلانی Sa'īd Khān Gīlānī, but Col. Briggs has Assud Khān. According to Firishtah after Malik-ut-tujjār had taken possession of the *ghāt* or pass, seeing that the cavalry would not be of any use in that country, he sent back the troops whom he had brought from the capital; and took with him only Sa'īd Khān Gīlānī, who was of his own tribe, with the army of Junīr, and Khush Qadam Khān his own slave, with the army of Dābul and Kalhar.

[3] I cannot find any mention of the تنگی کیکنیه, or the defile of Kaikanīa in Firishtah. It may be identical with جنگل کهینه mentioned there.

[4] The actual words are هوای تسخیر, which means "the ambition of its conquest" as I have translated it.

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entered the fort. The army was delayed at the foot of the fort for a period of [1] five months. As the rainy season came on, the *amīrs* after consulting among themselves, returned to Kolāpūr and on their arrival there, they cast the shadow of their good fortune on the capture of the fort of [2] Rangta, and seized it in a short time.

When the rainy season was over, the *amīrs* again directed their attention to the punishment of the Rāy of Sonkar, and when they arrived at the fort of [3] Māchal, they attacked it, and conquered it at the first onset, and many of the rebels were slain, and some of their leaders were seized. When the overwhelming strength and power of the Malik-ut-tujjār became known, the Rāy of Sonkar sent a body of intelligent men to him, and prayed that he would pardon his offences, and he would [4] surrender the fort of Kaikanīa to him. The Malik-ut-tujjār pardoned his offences; and having [5] placed the fort in charge of some trusted adherents, and made a

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have fifty days. The other MS. and Firishtah have پنجماہ, five months.

[2] The name of the fort is رنگتہ in one MS. and رنگنہ in the other. In the lith. ed. it is رنگیہ. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has رامنگر, and Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 484) has Ramgur.

[3] The fort is called ماچل, Māchal, in one MS., and ماچیل probably Māchīl in the other; and ماحال, Māhāl, in the lith. ed. It does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah.

[4] Firishtah's account is rather vague. He says در این کرت بتدبیر و حیلہ بسیار و پاشش درم و دینار بیشمار قلعہ کہینہ کہ در هیچ روزگار کمند خسروان رفیع مقدار بکنگرۂ تسخیر ان نیفتادہ بود مسخر ساخت which may be translated as, "This time with many plans and stratagems and the scattering of many *dirams* and *dināṛs*, the fort of Khīna, to the turrets to the capture of which, the lasso of the mighty emperors had not reached, in any (former) age, was taken." Col. Brigg's (vol. II, page 484) translation is less literal, but he also mentions the stratagems and gifts of money.

[5] Firishtah says that after the capture of the fort Malik-ut-tujjār again left the *ghāṭī* and the fort in charge of men accustomed to the climate; and stayed for four months, as in the previous year (apparently at Kolāpūr), and then again invaded the territory of the Rāy, and took possession of it without difficulty; and having taken revenge from the *sardārs* for the outrage committed by them on Khalf Ḥasan Baṣrī, the former Malik-ut-tujjār, he started towards the island of Goa.

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pecuniary allowance from the revenue of the country, which might be sufficient for the subsistence of the Rāy, he without any hesitation or delay advanced towards the island of [1] Goa, which is a famous port of Bījānagar. He sent by water 120 [2] ships filled with [3] warlike men and in a short time the island came into his possession. When he returned (crowned with victory), and (loaded with) plunder, to the capital, his services were considered to be meritorious, and were acceptable to the Sulṭān; and the reigns of binding and loosening were placed in his hands of power, and the title of A'ẓam Humāyūn Khwājah Jahān was conferred on him.

As the armies of Muḥammad Shāh [4] Lashkarī were successful wherever they went; and it had been repeatedly heard that in the kingdom of [5] Jai Singh Rāy, proprietor of the fort of Birākar, a mine

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[1] Written as كووة in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, the name is printed as كوة. Mr. Sewell (*see* page 99 of his book) says, that "In the middle of the year 1469, when Rājasekhara or Virūpāksha I was the king of Vijayanagar, Mahmūd Gawān, Muhammad's minister marched towards the west, and after a fairly successful campaign attacked Goa, then in the possession of the Rāya of Vijayanagar, both by sea and land. He was completely victorious and captured the place."

[2] The reading in one MS. is يكصد و بيست جهاز 120 ships, and in the other يكصد و بيست و چهاركشتي 124 boats. The lith. ed. has يكصد و چهار كشتي 104 boats. Firishtah has the same reading as the first MS., and I have accepted it. Firishtah also says that he himself marched by land with his victorious troops and that he returned to Aḥmadābād Bīdar after the conquest of the Concan and Goa after an absence of three years. The title conferred on Malik-ut-tujjār as described by Firishtah was much longer than that given by Niẓām-ud-dīn. At the same time the Malik-ut-tujjār's slave Khush Qadam had the title of Kishwar Khān conferred on him; and the forts of Goa and Banna (Briggs has Poonda) and Kondwāl and Kolāpūr were added to his former fief.

[3] There is a difference in the readings here. The MSS. have و مملو مشحون از مردم جنگي نيز راهی ساخت which appears to be correct; but the word راهی is rather indistinct. The lith. ed. has تيز راى instead of نيز راهی.

[4] Lashkarī was one of the titles of Muḥammad Shāh; and is appended to his name in the heading of the chapter about his reign, in Firishtah. See note 1, page 93.

[5] The name is doubtful. It is written as جيسنگه راى والي قلعه بيراكر or جبسكه in the MSS., and حسكه راى in the lith. ed. Firishtah also gives him this name, but Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 489) calls him Ray Beejy Sing.

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of diamonds had been found; ʻĀdil Khān was sent with a body of *amīrs*, after a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt had been conferred on him. ʻĀdil Khān in consultation with the other *amīrs* besieged the fort; and active and enterprising warriors advanced the batteries day after day, and made repeated assaults. In the end Jay Singh Rāy having no more strength left asked for an assurance of safety. ʻĀdil Khān having drawn the pen of forgiveness across the page of his action, brought him out of the fort, and placing it in charge of his trusted adherents returned to the capital. Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī [1] conferred that territory on him as his fief. [2] After

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I cannot find any mention of the diamond mine in Firishtah; but he says that Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khan received many honours and distinctions from Muḥammad Shāh; and was made the commander of the army of Daulatābād, and was appointed to conquer the fort of ویراکهرا, Wairākharā (Col. Briggs has Wyragur, and says in a note, probably Woshagur, lying between Antoor and Ajunta), which appears to me to be identical with Birākar; and the recovery of the fort of انتور, Antūr, which had in the course of the troubles with Mālwa (the lith. ed. has فتوات لودهیان, but probably the last word is a mistake for مالوهیان) come into the possession of a Marhatta. When Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān arrived at Daulatābād he nominated Qāsim Beg Ṣafshikan to besiege Antūr; and sent Daryā Khān, whom he had given the name of brother (برادر خوانده خویش) to Wairakhara. The Hindū who held Antūr surrendered it without any contest; but the Rāja of Wairākharā whose name was Jainak Rāy (جینک رای), after fighting for five or six months, and finding himself unable to contend any longer, sent a message to Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān offering to surrender the fort with all he had in it, if he was allowed to go out with his family in safety. Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān agreed and sent an order accordingly to Daryā Khān, who allowed Jainak Rāy to leave the fort in safety. Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān then came there post haste, and took possession of the fort, and all the treasures in it, and conciliated the chief men of the country with assurances of his protection. He then marched to the fort of لانهی, Lānhī (Col. Briggs, vol. II, page 489, has Ranjny and says in a note, probably Ranjungam, the chief town of the district of the same name); and the *rāizāda* of the place also surrendered it. This is, however, not mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn.

[1] There is a difference in the readings. The MSS. have ان ولایت را باقطاع او مقرر داشت; but the lith. ed. has ان ولایت را که باقطاع او مقرر کرده بود بر قرار داشت.

[2] The meaning is not at all clear, and the readings are doubtful. It is not clear to whom and why Malik-ut-tujjār Khwājah Jahān spoke. The

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a time Malik-ut-tujjār Khwājah Jahān said that Birkāna Rāy had placed his foot outside the path of allegience, and having collected a very large army had advanced to the port of Goa. The Sulṭān advanced (against him), and besieged the fort of Birkāna. This fort was so strong that the idea of taking it had never entered the mind of any conqueror of forts. It was built from its foundation to its turrets with chiselled stone, and the breadth of each slab was three yards and its length was one yard, and the height of its wall was

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readings in the MSS. are بعد از مدتی ملک التجار خواجه جهان گفت که رای برگشته قدم از جاده اطاعت بیرون نهاده لشکر عظیم بهم رسانیده متوجه بندر گووه شد و قلعه . . . and بعد از مدت ملک التجار خواجه جهان گفت که رای برکینه قدم از جاده اطاعت بیرون نهاده لشکر عظیم بهم رسانیده متوجه بندر گووه شد سلطان متوجه شده قلعه برکینه را محاصره کرد. I do not think that either of the readings is strictly correct. I have adopted a reading which appears to me to be the best after comparing those in the MSS., and the reading in the lith. ed. Firishtah's version is that in 877 A.H., 1472 A.D., برکینه رای قلعه نلگاوان بتحریک حمرای فرمانده بیجانگر عازم تسخیر جزیرهٔ گووه گردید. Col. Briggs says "In the year 877 A.H. Birkana Ray (he says in a note 'the Oriental Scholar will recognize in this penult the language of the southern part of the peninsula'; but not knowing the Dravidian languages, I cannot find out the meaning of this), Raja of the fortress of Belgam, at the instigation of the Ray of Beejanuggur marched to retake the island of Goa." As regards Belgam, Col. Briggs says that it is now occupied by British troops, and is deemed one of the strongest on the plains in that part of the country. The name of the Rāy as given by Niẓām-ud-dīn has some resemblance to that in Firishtah; but Niẓām-ud-dīn does not give the name of the fort; though in one place he gives it, the same name as that of the Rāy. Mr. Sewell, on page 100 of "A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar," gives another translation of the part of Firishtah relating to this matter. In it the Rāy is called Parkna, and the fortress Bālgaon, which is nearer the Persian than the name in the translation by Col. Briggs. Mr. Sewell goes on to say that "the Burhan-i-Maāsir calls the chief of Belgaum "Parkatapatah", and Major King, the translator of the work, gives a large variety of the spellings of the name, viz.: "Birkanah," "Parkatabtah," "Parkatiyah," "Parkitah," "Barkabth" (Ind. Ant., Nov. 1899, page 286, note). Briggs gives it as Birkana. It has been supposed that the real name was "Vikrama". Mr. Sewell does not say from whom and on what authority the supposition emanated. It appears to me that the real name may be Pratāp, or some derivative from that word.

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thirty yards, and the breadth of the moat forty yards. [1] In short, Birkāna Rāy bravely waited in the fort with three thousand horsemen for battle and bloodshed. Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī built a second wall around the fort, in order to shut up all ingress and egress; and distributed the batteries (amongst his *amīrs*). The batteries were advanced every day, till after filling up the moat with rubbish and grass, they were taken close to the wall; and the victory became a matter of to-day or to-morrow. Birkāna now, owing to his great exhaustion and weakness sent a *vakīl*; and agreed to render allegiance, and pay tribute. Muḥammad Shāh having drawn the pen of pardon across his offences, gave him assurances of safety, and brought him out of the fort. He entrusted that part of the country to Khwājah Jahān, and returned (to the capital).

[2] In the year 880 A.H., news came that the [3] Rāy of Orissa had marched into the Deccan from his own country, with an enormous

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[1] Firishtah's account differs from that in the text, inasmuch as he says that the Rāy at once offered his submission, but Muḥammad Shāh refused to accept it, and carried on the siege with great vigour. The moat was filled up, and mines were blown up, and the fort was taken. There are different accounts of how the Rāy appeared before the Sulṭān just before the fort was taken; and asked for quarter; and the Sulṭān "pardoned his offences", and enlisted him in the band of his *amīrs*. According to Firishtah, it was after he had taken this fort, that Muḥammad Shāh gave himself the title of "*Lashkharī*".

[2] Niẓām-ud-dīn altogether omits to mention the great famine, which depopulated the Bahmanī kingdom during the next two years. Firishtah says, that on his return journey after taking Belgāun, the Sultān wanted to pass the rainy season in Bījāpūr; but there was, during that year, want of rain in the Dakin, and all the wells in Bījāpūr were dried up; so the king was compelled to move to Aḥmadābād Bīdar. The next year also there was no rain, and town and city and village all became depopulated, and men died; and those who survived took shelter in Mālwa and Gujrāt and Jājnagar. For two years no seed was sown in Tilang and Mālwa and Marhat and the whole of the Bahmanī kingdom; and in the third year, when "The breezes of Divine favour blew, and there was rain, there was none left who might engage in the work of cultivation." In his translation Col. Briggs leaves out the name of Mālwa in the last sentence, apparently to avoid a seeming contradiction with the preceding sentence. He explains Marhutt by the word "Maharashtra," in a note.

[3] Firishtah's account is different. He says that when the Dakin was recovering from famine and pestilence, news came that the garrison of كندنير (Kandnīr, in the lith. ed.; Condapilly in Briggs; and Kondapalle in Sewell)

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force; and had plundered and devastated portions of it; and had gone back to his own country. Muḥammad Shāh sent Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk with a large army to chastise and punish the Rāy, but after some days intelligence arrived, that Niẓām-ul-mulk had

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had slain the ruler, who was a vicious tyrant, and who violated the honour and the property of his subjects; and made the fort over to هميرا ورايا (Hamīrā Orīā in the lith. ed.; Bheem Raj Oorea, according to Col. Briggs), who had been a *protegé* of Muḥammad Shāh. Hamīrā sent men to the Rāy of Orissa and incited him to invade the Dakin, and told him that there were no troops in that country on account of the famine, which had lasted for two years, and he would be easily able to conquer Tilang; and if he made it over to Hamīrā, the latter would surrender the fort of Kandnīr and its dependencies to him. The Rāy of Orissa was deceived, and with one thousand horsemen and six or seven thousand infantry, and taking the Rāja of Jājnagar with him, invaded Tilang. Niẓām-ul-mulk Basrī, the governor of Rājamandrī, being unable to meet him, shut himself up in the fort; and sent a representation of the facts to the Sulṭān. The latter paid a year's wages to the soldiers, and started immediately. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the enemy, the latter did not think it advisable to fight; and Hamīrā shut himself up in the fort of Kandnīr. The Rāy of Orissa crossed the Rājamandrī river (*i.e.*, the Godāvarī), and encamped on the bank of the river on the side of his own territory. The Sulṭān arrived near the river, and Niẓām-ul-mulk joined him. He could not, however, at once cross the river, and when he had got the boats, etc., the Rāy marched away and went back to his capital. The Sulṭān, however, was highly incensed at his conduct, and left Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Khān and the Khwājah Jahān there; and himself advanced with twenty thousand horse to punish that *kāfir*. Towards the end of 882 A.H., he arrived at the capital of Orissa and plundered and ravaged the country. The Rāy had left the central part of his territory unprotected, and had fled to the extreme end of it; so the Sulṭān stayed in the capital for six months, and obtained much treasure and wealth both by peaceful means and by violence. He then wanted to summon the Shāhzāda and the Khwājah, and to make the country over to them. The Rāy hearing this sent presents and elephants to him; and said that he would not again help the *zamīndārs* of Tilang. The Sulṭān demanded twenty-five other elephants, which had belonged to the Rāy's father, and were very valuable. The Rāy had to comply; and the Sulṭān then returned towards his own kingdom. On the way he besieged a fort belonging to the Rāy, because the people of the neighbourhood told him, that no one had ever before dared to attack it; but he raised the siege on the Rāy having apologized for the rudeness of those ignorant and boorish people. Then he besieged Kandnīr for five or six months when Hamīrā in great distress surrendered it to him.

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fled from him, and had gone towards [1] Zīrbād. The spirit of the Sulṭān being now excited he marched out of the city, and advanced by successive marches in the direction of Rājmandrī; and [2] when he arrived near it, he left Khwājah Jahān in attendance on the Shāhzāda; and advanced himself with twenty thousand selected horsemen and marching rapidly went to Rājmandrī. When he arrived near it, he found a wide expanse of water, the breadth of which was about one *farsakh*, before him. Muḥammad Shāh was compelled to draw rein there. The Rāy of Orissa had encamped on the opposite bank of the river with seven *lakhs* of infantry and a number of elephants. When he found that Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī had arrived there in person, he left Rāy Mān, who was one of his principal chiefs, in the fort of Rājmandrī, and fled. The following day the Sulṭān nominated Daryā Khān to pursue the Rāy of Orissa; and himself encamped around the fort of Rājmandrī. He built a second wall round the fort to stop the entrances and exits of the fort; and having distributed the batteries amongst his commanders, planned the erection of covered ways. After four months, when the covered ways had been completed, and the soldiers were able to overlook the garrison, Rāy Mān seeing his own death with the eye of certainty, asked for protection, in great humility and distress, and surrendered the fort, and sent an elephant, which he had in the fort, as tribute; and enlisted himself among the servants (of Muḥammad Shāh). The latter confirmed him in the possession of the fort and its neighbourhood, and returned to his capital. He raised the men who had performed great deeds in the expedition to high ranks and noble positions. It is however mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt Bahādurī, that the fort of Rājmandrī was not conquered; but the Rāy of Orissa paid tribute, and turned Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī off from all thought of him.

And the intoxication and madness of warfare had not passed from the head of the Sulṭān, when news was brought that the men

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[1] The name of the place is زیربار in one MS., and زیرباد in the other and in the lith. ed.

[2] This agrees with Firishtah. See note 24, pp. 151 and 152. The wide expanse of water is apparently the Godāvarī.

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of Orissa had come back, and had overrun some villages and *parganas*; and had taken the fort of [1]Bakīr by fraud and deceit. Muḥammad Shāh started from the vicinity of his capital, at the moment which was chosen by the astrologers, and by repeated marches proceeded to the country of Tilang. He besieged the fort of [2]Kandār, when the *thānadār* of the place after much distress and lamentation sought the Sulṭān's protection, and [3]surrendered the fort. The Sulṭān started from there to view the sea and proceeded to the [4]ports of Narsingh Rāy; and after amusing himself with a sight of the sea, he took tribute from Narsingh Rāy and started for the capital. He ordered the erection in those parts of a high and strong fort, in the course of one month, for the *thānadārs*. At the time of his return, in the year 879 A.H., the *vazīrs* told him, that there was a city on the border of Tilang, which was celebrated as [5]Kanjī, and which was full of gold and gems, and was one of the

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[1] The name of the fort appears to be بکیر, Bakīr in the MSS. In the lith. ed., it is گیر Gīr. In the text-edition the name of the fort is not mentioned.

[2] The name is کندار Kandār in one MS., کند Kand in the other, کندہ Kandah in the lith. ed., and گول‌کندہ in the text-edition.

[3] There are some variations in the readings. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best.

[4] Firishtah does not refer indefinitely to the ports of Narsingh Rāy; but mentions one of them, Machhlīpatan, which he says belonged to the kingdom of Narsingh Rāy and which he says Muḥammad Shāh conquered. As for Narsingh Rāy, or Nara Simha, as he, taking the Sanskrit form of the name calls him, Mr. Sewell (p. 102) says that he "Owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Talingana and Vijayanagar" and "Had established himself in the midst of the country of Kanara and Talingana, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coasts and interior of Vijayanagar". Mr. Sewell's account appears to have been taken from the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir.

[5] This city is known in Sanskrit books as Kānchī or Kānchīpuram, and is now known as Conjeevaram. Firishtah's account of the way in which the existence of Kānjī came to the notice of the Sultān was that, when he arrived at Kondpūrpallī, some people of that place reported to him, that there was a temple, at a distance of ten days' journey from there, which was called Kānjī, and the doors and walls and roofs of which were adorned with gold and jewelled ornaments, and decorated with rubies and other fine gems, and not one of the Musalmān kings had up to that time set eyes on it, and had not even heard

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great places of worship of the Hindūs ; and it was ten days' journey from [1]Nilwāra. Muḥammad Lashkarī selected one thousand men and started for Kanjī by forced marches. When he arrived there, there were only forty horsemen in attendance on him. The soldiers galloped into the city, and plundered and ravaged it. The Sulṭān stayed there for ten days ; and then returned to the capital.

In the year 886 A.H., [2]some interested persons, in Golkonda, said that the coming of the Rāy of Orissa into the Sulṭān's dominion

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its name. Sulṭān Muḥammad detached six thousand horsemen adorned with daggers, and started on a rapid march to the place ; and ordered Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Khān to remain there ; and it appears from the concurrent testimony of all the historians, that the Sulṭān rode so fast that not more than forty horsemen could remain with him.

[1] The name is نیلوارہ, Nīlwāra, in both MSS. and تیکوارہ, Tīkwāra, in the lith. ed. As will be seen from the preceding note, Kānjī was, according to Firishtah, ten days' journey from Kondpūrpallī, which Col. Briggs calls Condapilly. Firishtah's account of what happened at Kānjī is somewhat different. According to him there was some hand to hand encounters between the Sulṭān and the members of his guard, and some Hindūs of gigantic stature, who were the guardians of the temple. These went on till the Hindūs were compelled to retire into the temple ; and when the rest of the Sulṭān's escort arrived, the Sulṭān entered the temple, and looted it, and slew the men who were inside it. Mr. Sewell quoting from Firishtah says (p. 101) that "the Sulṭān went to Kondapalle (which he says in a note, Scott, I, p. 166, calls Ghondpore and Briggs, II, p. 500, Condapilly) ; and there was told that at a distance of ten days' journey was the temple of Kunchy, the walls and roof of which was plated with gold and ornamented with precious stones". In a note he says, "this evidently means Kānchi or Conjeeveram, but the story is exceedingly improbable. The distance was 250 miles, and the way lay through the heart of a hostile country". Further on quoting the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, he says (p. 102) that "when Sultān Muhammad was at Mālūr which belonged to Narasimha, who was the greatest and most powerful of the rulers of Talingana and Vijayanagar, he was informed that at a distance of fifty *farsakhas* from his camp was a city called Gangi, containing temples, etc., to which he promptly marched, arriving before the place on the 13th March, A.D. 1481 (11th Muḥarram, A.H. 886). He sacked the city and returned".

[2] According to Firishtah, Malik-ut-tujjār Khwājah Jahān introduced various reforms, as regards the subdivision of the country, and the government of the forts, and the payment of the troops. They were all excellent, but they caused much discontent. The minister knew it, but he disregarded it, having great confidence in himself and his friends. The chief among the latter was Yūsuf

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was at the summons and incitement of Malik-ut-tujjār Ḵẖwājah Jahān. In support of their statement, they produced a letter, which bore the seal of the Ḵẖwājah, (and which they said) he had written to the Rāy of Orissa. As a matter of fact, they had given a piece of gold to the seal-bearer of the Ḵẖwājah Jahān, and had got his seal impressed on a piece of white (blank) paper. They wrote the matter on that paper, and brought it under the eye (of the Sulṭān). When someone went to summon the Ḵẖwājah; although his slaves told him, that as on account of his wealth, there were ten thousand horses in his stable, and there were ten thousand Turkī slaves in attendance on him, it was right and proper that he should go away to Gujrāt; the Ḵẖwājah said "I have committed no offence, why should I run away? I have every hope that the right should be separated from the wrong, and the truth from falsehood". As the hand of death brought the simple-minded Ḵẖwājah, by the nape of the neck to attend on Muḥammad Lashkarī, that letter was shown to him; and without any enquiry being made in the matter, he was put to death on the

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'Ādil Ḵẖān, his adopted son, and he knew that while the latter was with him his enemies would not be able to do anything against him. Then Yūsuf 'Ādil Ḵẖān was sent against Narsingh Rāy; and the minister's enemies entered into a conspiracy to effect his destruction. The details of the conspiracy are the same as in the text; but the names of the conspirators and some other particulars are mentioned. The chief conspirators were Ẓarīf-ul-mulk Dakinī and Miftāh Ḥabshī and Malik Ḥasan Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī. The two former and other Hindī slaves became intimate with a Ḥabshī slave of the minister, who was his seal-bearer, and bribed him with money and gems and delicate articles of food and different kinds of Arab horses, etc.; and one day in a convivial assembly, when the slave was inebriated, Ẓarīf-ul-mulk and Miftāḥ Ḥabshi produced a piece of paper which was twisted up, and said it was an account of one of their friends, to which most of the ministers or heads of departments had affixed their seals, and they asked him to affix the Ḵẖwājah's seal to it also. The slave very foolishly affixed his master's seal without unfolding and looking at the paper. A letter purporting to be written by the minister to the Rāy of Orissa was forged on this paper, and it was produced before the Sulṭān, and he without making any enquiry in the matter sent for the minister. What the latter said and did on receiving the summons, what his adherents suggested, and what happened after he had come to the Sulṭān's presence are narrated in somewhat greater detail and with more picturesqueness by Firishtah, but there is no real difference in the substance. The date of the execution is give n as 5th Ṣafar, 886, by Firishtah.

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3rd of Ṣafar of that year. He lived nobly and died a martyr; may the mercy of God be on him! Khwājah Jahān Khwājah Maḥmūd Gīlānī was among the most learned men of the age, and was distinguished for great perfection in literary work. He wrote an elegant book on letter-writing, and included in it the letters which he had written to the great and noble men; and named it the [1] *Riyāḍ-ul-inshā*. He also sent presents and gifts to the men of his age in Khurāsān and 'Irāq and 'Arab and 'Ajam; more specially he sent letters to His Holiness Maulānā 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Jāmī, may his tomb be sanctified; and gave expression to his veneration and respect for him. His Holiness the saint also believing in his sincerity and faith in himself sent him epistles which are extant in his correspondence. Among the *qaṣīdas* in his collected poems, there is a *qaṣīda*, which he specially composed in the name of the Khwājah. The opening couplet of it is:

[2] Couplet:

Welcome! oh messenger of the land of the heart, welcome!
Welcome, for I have devoted my life and heart to thee welcome!

He has also said in it:

Couplet:

To the world he is Khwājah, to *faqr* (poverty with contentment) he is the preface
There is the secret of *faqr*, but under the veils of wealth;

and in a *ghazl* (ode) he has said:

Jāmī! thy heart-stirring verse is an article fine:

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[1] Firishtah calls the book, the Rauḍat-ul-inshā.

[2] These and the following lines are all quoted by Firishtah also; but in the second line of the first couplet نزل is substituted for بدل. نزل means a present placed before a guest when he first comes, and may be correct. At the end of the first line of the second couplet the words اوست are added; and in the beginning of the second line ایت, sign or mark, is substituted for قلت. In the lines from the *ghazl*, which is called a *qiṭ'ah* by Firishtah, the second line is بودش از حسن و لطف معاني نارش; and in the fourth line عز is substituted for مهر.

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Of that article, the charm is from the sweetness of the spirit;
Send it with the caravan to India, that it may receive
The honour of the seal of acceptance of Malik-ut-tujjār.

[1]In short the execution of that victim the Khwājah was not auspicious for Muḥammad Lashkarī. After a few days he became ill; and although his physician, Sharf-i-Jahān, attended on and treated him, it was of no avail; and on the first day of Rabī'-ul-āwwal he passed away. The period of his reign was nineteen years four months and fifteen days.

An account of the reign of Shihāb-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī.

Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, who was the rightful son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Lashkarī, ascended and sat on the throne

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[1] Firishtah's account of the reign after the execution of the Malik-ut-tujjār is not so short as that of Niẓām-ud-dīn. There is not much of interest in what he says; but he mentions the fact that there were many remains of the great minister in Aḥmadābād Bīdar, specially a college built by him. A note by Col. Briggs says, that a great portion of this building was demolished by an explosion of gun-powder, which was stored in it, after Aurangzīb had captured Bīdar, but what remained still attested to its grandeur. Firishtah gives an account of the life of the minister as given by Mullā 'Abd-ul-karīm Hamadānī. Col. Briggs changes Hamadānī to Sindy. Firishtah also gives an account of the attempts made by Muḥammad Shāh to get hold of the wealth which the minister was supposed to have left behind, but it was found that he had left none, having spent all his revenue in charity, etc. When he became convinced of the innocence of the minister, Muḥammad Shāh ordered that his remains should be conveyed to Bīdar for interment. Firishtah goes on to say, that after this, the nobles all separated from Muḥammad Shāh; and the latter, knowing that an attempt to enforce his authority would end in civil war, refrained from doing so. He halted for three months at Fīrūzābād, endeavouring to beguile the time in pleasure. He proclaimed his son Shāhzādah Maḥmūd to be his successor. After that he grew weak, and his illness was increased by frequent indulgence in intoxicating liquors. He died, according to Firishtah, on the 1st Ṣafar, 887 A.H., 24th March, 1482, *i.e.*, about eleven months after the date mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn; and the period of his reign was twenty years. Mr. Sewell gives 11th Muḥarram, 886 A.H., 21st March, 1482. The Hijrī date is more than a year anterior to that given by Firishtah

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of sovereignty and rule, after the death of his father. They say that in the keenness of his intellect, and the nobility of his spirit, and in other perfection, he was distinguished among the Bahmanī Sulṭāns. When his government attained to stability, the duties of the post of *vazīr* were allotted to [1]Malik Qiyām-ul-mulk Turk, and Malik

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and about twenty days anterior to that mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn; while the English date differs from that given by Col. Briggs, by only three days.

[1] He is called ملک قوام الملک by Firishtah. The latter describes the coronation ceremony in some detail. It is rather difficult to unravel the plots and intrigues which took place immediately afterwards. According to Niẓām-ud-dīn, Niẓām-ul-mulk was the villain of the piece, and Qiwām-ul-mulk a simple-minded man, who was easily duped by him. Firishtah's account is not so simple. It appears that there was considerable by-play between Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān on the one hand and Niẓām-ul-mulk on the other. Then it was settled that Niẓām-ul-mulk would become the *Vakīl-us-salṭanat*, and his other appointments should be made over to other nobles; and for a time there was peace and amity. But after two or three months Niẓām-ul-mulk and Qiwām-ul-mulk broke the engagement which they had entered into, and intended to remove Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān from Bījāpūr, and place 'Ādil Khān Dakinī, who was the deputy governor of Warangal there. They then summoned 'Ādil Khān Dakinī and Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk to the capital on the pretext of their coming to congratulate the Sulṭān; and they came with their troops, and encamped outside the city. Two or three weeks after this, Niẓām-ul-mulk told the simple-minded Qiwām-ul-mulk that he would that day send for the Dakinī troops, and he would remove (از میان برداریم) Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān; and they would then be freed from all apprehension from him; and they would send away all his partisans to their respective *thānas*. He also represented to Qiwām-ul-mulk that the Dakinī *amīrs* were afraid to come out of their houses (نمي توانند بدر خانه امد) the meaning of which is not clear. It may mean what I have said in the text, or it may mean that they could not come to the palace), for fear of the Turkī *amīrs*. If he considered it desirable, an order should be issued, that the Turkī *amīrs* should not come out of their houses that day. Qiwām-ul-mulk accepted this suggestion. The next day the young Sulṭān was placed on a bastion of the citadel; and a message was sent to Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk Dakinī that they should parade their troops in front of him; and should then receive permission to go away to their fiefs. Farḥād-ul-mulk, *kotwāl*, getting information of this, intimated to Qiwām-ul-mulk that Niẓām-ul-mulk had traitorous designs against him and all the Turkī *amīrs*; and was merely making the destruction of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān a pretext; and it would be foolish for them to sit inert and negligent in their houses. Qiwām-ul-mulk had enmity towards 'Ādil Khān, and had perfect faith in the

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Niẓām-ul-mulk ; but as the Turkī *amīrs* were many in number, their party was the stronger of the two. Owing to this, the fiery furnace of the envy of Niẓām-ul-mulk and all the Indian nobles was inflamed. At last by the exertions of the great and the noble, they entered into agreements with one another, and confirmed them with strong oaths. But the perfidious Niẓām-ul-mulk, taking the thread of flattery in his hand, and having made the simple-minded Qiyām-ul-mulk careless and negligent, stated one day, that ʻĀdil Khān and Daryā Khān and Mallū Khān and certain others wanted that they should, after receiving permission, go back to their respective *thānas* or posts. They were, however, owing to a fear which they had in their hearts, in respect of the Turkī *amīrs*, unable to come out of their houses. It would be advisable that on the day they should receive permission to leave, the Turkī *amīrs* should remain in their houses. Malik Qiyām-ul-mulk agreed to this proposal; and on the following day

friendship of Niẓām-ul-mulk ; and as his destruction was at hand, did not attend to the *kotwāl's* warning. ʻĀdil Khān Dakinī and Fatḥ-ul-lah ʻImād-ul-mulk then came into the city with their respective troops from Tilang and Kāwīl ; and were honoured by being allowed to salute the Sulṭān. The latter, who was a puppet in the hands of Niẓām-ul-mulk's party, sent for the chiefs of the two troops to the top of the bastion and told them that the Turkī slaves were committing excesses, and should be punished. Fatḥ-ul-lah ʻImād-ul-mulk, who was on terms of sincere attachment to Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān guarded him in the *melée* ; and ʻĀdil Khān Dakinī and his troops were ordered to massacre the Turks. Qiwām-ul-mulk was first murdered and Farhād-ul-mulk the *kotwāl* was put into prison ; and other Turks were killed. Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān and his followers fought their way to the city gate, and brought in Daryā Khān, who had twenty-two thousand troops according to one statement, and ten thousand according to another ; and there were skirmishes in the city for twenty days between the two parties ; till the learned and wise men intervened, and proposals were made for peace. Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān with his adherents went away to Bījāpūr.

It will be seen from the above, the Qiwām-ul-mulk or Qiyām-ul-mulk was not so simple-minded as Niẓām-ud-dīn makes him out to be. Firishtah also calls him simple-minded (سادہ لوح) in one place ; but it appears that he had treacherous designs against Yūsuf ʻĀdil Khān. Firishtah goes on to say, that after peace had been established, the whole power rested with Niẓām-ul-mulk for a period of four years, during which time, he and ʻImād-ul-mulk acted in concert with the queen-mother. Firishtah also gives the names of the nobles on whom *jāgīrs* and offices were conferred.

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Daryā Khān and 'Ādil Khān and all the Khāns, having made all preparations, entered the fort with their troops. Farhād-ul-mulk Turk, the *kotwāl*, sent information to Malik Qiyām-ul-mulk, that the *amīrs* had come with treacherous designs; but as the latter was doomed to die, he did not listen to it. The traitorous *amīrs* first seized Farhād-ul-mulk the *kotwāl*, and then put Qiyām-ul-mulk to death. After that they shut up the Turkī *amīrs* in their houses; and brought them out one by one, and murdered them. After Qiyām-ul-mulk Turk had been killed Niẓām-ul-mulk and Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk took up the duties of the post of the *vazīr*, and attended to all affairs in concert with Malka-i-Jahān, the mother of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The duties of the *kotwāl* of the capital were entrusted to Malik Barīd, who was a Turkī slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

[1]When some time had passed in this way, one day Dilāwar Khān Ḥabshī submitted privately to Maḥmūd Shāh that Maliks Niẓām-ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-mulk still considered the Sulṭān to be too young; and settled all matters themselves. He then obtained the permission of the Sulṭān to assassinate both the ministers; and waited for an opportunity. It so happened that the two *vazīrs* went one night to wait on the Malka-i-Jahān for the arrangement of certain matters connected with the government. When they were coming out, Dilāwar Khān with another man attacked them with swords at the gate of the palace. Niẓām-ul-mulk was wounded; but as both had great skill in swordsmanship they came out of the

[1] The account of the attempt of Dilāwar Khān on the lives of Niẓām-ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-mulk as given by Firishtah is very similar to that in the text. But Firishtah says that Dilāwar Khān was envious of the ministers' power. Firishtah does not say where Niẓām-ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-mulk went. He only says that they went out of the city; and they informed Malik Barīd, that the Sulṭān had designs against his life; and Malik Barīd shut up the gates of the citadel, so that no one could get any access to the Sulṭān. The latter in great distress repented of the orders he had passed; and sent men to apologize to the ministers, and to ask them to return. They refused to do so, unless the Sulṭān ordered the execution of Dilāwar Khān. The latter on hearing this fled to the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr (*i.e.*, Khāndesh). After that Niẓām-ul-mulk and his son Malik Aḥmad came back to the city; but Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk went away to Berār. These events have not been mentioned by Niẓam-ud-dīn.

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mêlée with the strength of their arms. They sent for Malik Barīd the same night (and informed him); that Dilāwar Khān wanted also to murder him. Early the next morning, both the *vazīrs* came out (of their houses), and bade adieu to each other; and Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk started for Junīr and 'Imād-ul-mulk for Kāwīl, which were their fiefs and remained there. On hearing this news the *amīrs* became dispersed; and great irregularity and weakness crept into the Sulṭān's affairs; and gradually Malik Barīd kept him as if in imprisonment. His, *i.e.*, the Sulṭān's, power was weakened and the men of the city made an attack on him. On the [1] night

[1] The meaning of the text is not quite clear. The rebels are said to have made the elephant-keepers, etc., join them; and yet the elephant-keepers are said to have made themselves the shields or defenders of him (وی), which being in the singular would refer to the Sulṭān and not to the rebels. Besides, it is said that from amongst them (ازانجمله), 'Azīz Khān and four others resolved to devote their lives to save him. Firishtah's account is that from the year 890, the flames of envy and jealousy of the Mughals and Turks were burning in the hearts of the Abyssinians and the Dakinīs. They tried to induce the Sulṭān to cast them out of his favour, but it was of no avail. Then Dilpasand Khān (Col. Briggs calls him Pussund Khan) conspired with all the Dakinīs and Ḥabshīs, that they would assassinate Maḥmūd Shāh, and would place another prince of the Bahmanī dynasty on the throne. With this object they got all the residents of the fort, namely, the elephant-keepers, the chamberlains or ushers, the guards, the men-in-charge of the furniture and the gate-keepers to join them. Then at nightfall on the 21st Dhīqa'dah, 892 A.H., the same date as that given by Niẓām-ud-dīn, about a thousand of them, fully armed, some on horseback, and some on foot, entered the citadel of the fort, where the Sulṭān had his abode; and shut the gates of the fort from inside, for fear of the Turks and Mughals coming to help the Sulṭān. Then before the Sulṭān could guard himself, some of them came to the place, where he was reposing; but 'Azīz Khān and four other Turks, and Hasan 'Alī Khān Sabzwāri and Saiyid Mīrzā-ī-Mashhadī threw themselves between the Sulṭān and the rebels; and offered their lives in his defence. The Sulṭān then got away on the terrace of the *Shāhburj*; and the fight continued in somewhat like the manner of Niẓām-ud-dīn's narrative, till the rebels were driven out. Firishtah in some places uses the same phraseology as Niẓām-ud-dīn; but his narrative is more consistent and logical.

Col. Briggs's translation is defective. He gives the year as 896 A.H., calls Dilpasand Khān, Pussund Khan and does not say that the men inside the fort were in conspiracy with the rebels outside, except that he mentions incidentally that the rebels were admitted by the porters who were privy to the plot.

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of the 21st *Dhīqa'dah* in the year 892 A.H., a body of the ungrateful wretches, having united all the people in the fort, including the elephant-keepers and the [1] chamberlains or ushers, and the guards or sentries and the men in charge of the furniture (*parda-dārān*) with themselves, treacherously attacked their own sovereign prince. They did not know that:

Couplet:

Those whom God's protection doth guard,
No danger comes from the revolution of the skies!

At that time Maḥmūd Shāh had spread the bed of pleasure when a great tumult arose in the fort. All the men taking up their arms hastened towards the palace. The elephant-keepers started after equipping their mounts, and they made the men in charge of the furniture their confederates. 'Aziz Khān Turk and Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Saiyid Mīrzā-i-Mashhadī who had the title of Mallū Khān came into the field of conflict, and made themselves his shields. From amongst them, a brave young man of the name of 'Azīz Khān, who was distinguished for his great bravery and courage, offered to sacrifice his dear life, with four other Turks for the Sulṭān's safety. The latter taking advantage of this opportunity took shelter on the roof of the *Shāhburj* (bastion). The seraglio and the *Shāhburj* and the whole of the fort fell into the hands of the rebels, who fastened all the doors, so that the loyal and faithful adherents could not enter the fort. Some of the soldiers, however, climbed to the top of the *Shāhburj* from the surrounding moat by means of ropes; and drove away the rebels from its [2] neighbourhood, wounding them with their life-destroying arrows. [3] Some men set fire to things, and

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[1] The word is باجيان in one MS., and in the lith. ed. and ناحپان in the other MS. The word in the corresponding passage of Firishtah is حاجبان chamberlains or ushers. The next word in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. is كوتوال, but in Firishtah it is كوتوالان. I have adopted حاجبان, and كوتوالان.

[2] The word is حويلي in the MSS., though in one of them there is what looks like a dot near the top of the ح so that the word looks like خويلي. In the lith. ed. the word is حويلي or a house, and حول neighbourhood. I think the reading in the lith. ed. is correct.

[3] This is explained by Firishtah, who says that the sweepers and *farrāshes* (men in charge of carpets, etc.) and other menial servants (Col. Briggs groups

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the elephants fled in panic out of the fort. When the tumult and the disturbance ceased in the fort (he, *i.e.*, I suppose, the Sulṭān), gave order that [1] Jahāngīr Khān, who was Malik Nīẓām-ul-mulk, should guard the gate ; and Khān Jahān, leaving the fort, should guard the city and the bazar, with his own men. When half the night was over, and the moon rose, troops came from all sides, and gathered together in the courtyard of the *Shāhburj*. He then ordered that the Arabian horses, which were bred in the royal stables, should be distributed among the men, and they, mounted on them, should completely destroy those men of evil destiny. When the auspicious morning dawned, some of the latter threw themselves into the moat, and broke their necks ; and some became food for the sword. Some concealed themselves in the rat-holes ? (موش خانها), but after two or three days they were dragged out and got the meed of their deeds.

[2] It is written in history that one day a messenger came from 'Ādil Khān, and submitted a representation from him to the effect, that the *amīrs* of that *ṣūba* had, at the instigation of Dastūr-ul-mulk, raised the standard of disturbance and rebellion ; and that that slave (*i.e.*, he himself) relying on the grandeur of the good fortune of His Majesty, had with the help of Fakhr-ul-mulk dispersed them.

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them all as the servants of the palace) who had first joined the enemy, and had got them into the fort, at this time showed their loyalty and devotion and set fire to some fodder. Col. Briggs says they set fire to the straw roofs under which numbers were concealed.

[1] This man is called Sulṭān Jahāngīr Khān Turk who had the title of Malik-ul-maut, in the lith. ed. of Firishtah ; and it is said there that he was ordered to guard the gate of the fort. Col. Briggs calls him Sooltan Jehangeer Khan Toork. He says nothing about his having any title ; and says, "now took charge of the palace gates" (vol. II, page 534).

[2] I cannot find any reference to this in Firishtah ; but probably what is narrated below refers to the same events, but the account is brief, and the names do not agree. I am quoting from Col. Briggs, (vol. II, page 529), "In the year 891, Adil Khan Deccany, governor of Wurungole died, when Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior, came by forced marches from Rajmundry to that city, and established himself in Tulingana. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by the King marched towards Wurungole ; on which Kowam-ool-Moolk, falling back on Rajmundry, wrote secretly to the King, warning him against the minister."

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It was however, now, reported again that they had collected together; and 'Azīz-ul-mulk had joined them.

Couplet:

They have nothing in their heads except rebellious thoughts,
There is no remedy, except marching against them for war.

Immediately on receiving this intelligence, the Sulṭān ordered the *amīrs* who were on his side that they should march in concert for the punishment of that body of evil destiny; and he himself with one thousand Turkī slaves (guards) marched on the wings of speed. At each stage of the journey, the *amīrs* came and joined them. When they arrived in the vicinity of Rājmundrī, he on the next day made over the arrangement of the right and left wing to Malik Fakẖr-ul-mulk; and marched to the field of battle; and the evil starred rebels also advanced to meet them; and arrayed their ranks. 'Ādil Ḵẖān, who was the commander of the right wing, fought bravely, and defeated the rebels. Dastūr-ul-mulk who was the head and leader of the rebels was seized; and the warriors pursued the enemy and cast most of those wretches on the dust of destruction. Some of the men, however, carried half a life away with great difficulty. When Maḥmūd Shāh came back to the camp, from the battle-field, with victory and triumph, he at the request of 'Ādil Ḵẖān pardoned the guilt and offence of Dastūr-ul-mulk, who had absurd thoughts in his head; and giving him back all his property, which had been escheated to the government, confirmed him in the rank, which he had formerly held. Then he arranged all the affairs of state with the advice and concurrence of the *amīrs*, and returned to Gulbarga.

After some days news came that a body of the men, who had fled, had shut themselves up in the fort of Sunkar. Maḥmūd Shāh, in concert with the loyal *amīrs*, proceeded by successive marches, and besieged the fort; and enterprising warriors at the first onset captured the lower fort (حصار اول). The garrison then betook themselves to the upper citadel; and when they saw that they had not the strength to make further resistance they prayed for safety and surrendered the fort. Maḥmūd Shāh left one of his trusted men in the fort, and returned to the city of Bīdar. According to the custom of former Sulṭāns, he made the different ranks of the great and noble men fortunate by the granting of rewards.

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In the year 896 A.H., [1] Bahādur Gīlānī, who was one of the servants of Ḵẖwājah Maḥmūd Ḵẖwājah Jahān, and was also in charge of the *thāna*, had raised the dust of rebellion, and had taken forcible possession of certain *parganas*, and also of the port of Dābul. He had equipped some ships, and had stretched hands of oppression and tyranny over the ports of Gujrāt, so that the passage over the sea was closed. It so happened also that some ships belonging to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī had fallen into his hands; and he had plundered everything that was contained in them; and had cast Sulṭān Maḥmūd's men into prison. Another version of the incident is that as merchants and the servants متردديں of merchants complained of Bahādur Gīlānī's acts, Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent Kamāl Ḵẖān and Ṣafdar Ḵẖān with some troops, some of whom were to go by water and some to march by land (with order), that they should cast the boat of his (*i.e.*, Bahādur's) life in the whirlpool of destruction. As Kamāl Ḵẖān and Ṣafdar Ḵẖān went on horses that travelled on the wind (*i.e.*, ships), the bridle of (their) power fell into the wind (*i.e.*, I suppose they were caught in a storm); and contrary winds carried their ships to a great distance from one another. Bahādur sent a man to express his allegiance. When Kamāl Ḵẖān and Ṣafdar Ḵẖān came and joined him with a small body of men, he at once meditated treachery towards them; and there was a great battle. So much blood and water got mixed together that the water took the colour of a bright ruby. In the end Kamāl Ḵẖān and Ṣafdar Ḵẖān received wounds and fell into Bahādur's hands; and he sent them to Dābul.

When this news reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he appointed Qiwām-ul-mulk with fifty thousand horsemen to attack Bahādur. When

[1] Firishtah gives the following account of the antecedents of Bahādur Gīlānī; he was a servant of Malik-ut-tujjār Ḵẖwājah Maḥmūd Gīlānī. After the latter's martyrdom, he became a servant of Najm-ud-dīn Gīlānī; and when the latter was in charge of the port of Goa, he became the *kotwāl* of that town, and became known for his bravery and courage. When Najm-ud-dīn died, the thought of hostility (مخالفت), or more correctly rebellion, entered his mind; and in the year 889, he took possession of Goa and the entire fief of Kishwar Ḵẖān; and in a short time he seized Dābul and Chaul and Kalhar and Panāla and Kolāpūr and Sarvāla and Nīlgawān and Mirich.

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Qiwām-ul-mulk arrived at Mahīm, he made enquiries about the different roads. It was at last found out that it would be difficult to reach their destination unless they marched over a part of the [1] Deccan. So after attacking certain villages, he came alone to the court, marching with great rapidity, so that he might represent the true state of things, and obtain permission to trespass into the Dakinī kingdom.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Gujrātī, owing to his innate kindness, sent a letter to Maḥmūd Shāh (Bahmanī), to the purport that it was a life-time, since the chain of friendship and attachment between the two parties had been strengthened; and this noble alliance between them had come to them in the form of an inheritance and from this side (*i.e.*, from himself) there had been no default in the discharge of the rights of friendship. "When," he went on to say, "Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī had seized the Deccan from the late Sulṭān Niẓām Shāh, if I had not helped the latter with my army he would have lost his kingdom. At this time, it has come to my knowledge that Bahādur Gīlānī, the governor of the port of Dābul, had plundered twenty vessels belonging to my government and to merchants which were filled with valuables and pearls and various rich stuffs, and had sent two hundred ships to Mahīm, and had invaded and ravaged that country, and had burnt down mosques and other places of worship. As I had and have regard for our old friendship, it appears, under the orders of the judge of wisdom, that I should bring the circumstances to your knowledge. If the light of sovereignty (*i.e.*,

[1] The meaning is not at all clear. If Qiwām-ul-mulk was sent by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī, as the context would indicate, there would be no objection to his marching over a part of the Deccan, which was in the Bahmanī kingdom. In Firishtah's account, it appears that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī wrote to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī complaining of the depredations committed by Bahādur Gīlānī, and pointed out, that the army of Gujrāt could not march to attack him by the land route, unless a part of the Dakinī kingdom was laid waste and trodden under foot (and ruined) by his soldiers. It would appear that Niẓām-ud-dīn has mixed up things a little. In fact, it appears from Firishtah that Kamāl Khān and Ṣafdar Khān came with a brave army by sea, under the orders of the Sultān of Gujrāt; and that Bahādur had fought with them and seized them and kept them in imprisonment. This is, however, not mentioned in Col. Briggs's translation.

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you yourself) should not advance to crush him, I would give him such punishment, that it would be a warning to him." Maḥmūd Shāh gave assurances to the ambassador, and summoned the *amīrs* who were in agreement with him, and told them that "The return of the rights of benefits is incumbent on all, and more specially on Sulṭāns. Besides, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī is a sovereign possessing much power; and it is conceivable that injury may be caused by him to this country; and as discourteous and wrongful acts have been committed by Bahādur Gīlānī, it is right and proper that the *amīrs* should collect their armies, and turn their attention to his discomfiture and destruction." Then according to the advice of the *amīrs* a *farmān* was sent to Bahādur; and he was informed of the purport of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's letter. He was also directed to send to the court all that he had taken from the ships and to send the ships also by way of the sea; and also to send Kamāl Khān and Ṣafdar Khān and every one connected with them to his presence. He was also informed of the purport of these couplets:

Couplets:

Why dost not thou to thy own good attend?
Make not the face of thy fortune black.
Place not thy foot outside the measure right,
For thou wilt headlong fall into the well of danger dire.

When Bahādur heard that a servant of Maḥmūd Shāh was bringing the *farmān*, he wrote to his guards of the road, that they should not let him pass beyond the fort of Mirich. He loosened his audacious tongue to give expression to boasting and bragging, and wrote an improper reply, and forwarded it. When (the news of) the temerity and audacity of Bahādur, and of his preposterous reply reached Maḥmūd Shāh, [1] he, with the advice and concurrence

[1] Firishtah's account of the expedition agrees mainly with that in the text; but he says in addition that Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān sent five thousand horsemen under his *Sar Naubat* (*Sar* or rather *Meer Nobut*, according to Briggs, p. 527, means Commander of the bodyguard) Kamāl Khān Dakinī; and Malik Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, the same number under Mubāriz Khān (Col. Briggs calls him Moetibar Khan); son of Khwājah Jahān Turk, and Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk also sent a small body of horsemen under one of his trusted servants, to reinforce him, Bahādur Gīlānī had had fights with the first two, and

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of the *amīrs*, advanced against him by successive marches ; and after traversing many stages arrived in front of the [1] fort, which Bahādur had been engaged for a long time in strengthening ; and in which he had collected an immense number of cavalry and infantry. The garrison on seeing the number and grandeur of the Sulṭān's army, turned their ill-starred faces towards flight. The Sulṭān remained there for three days, in order to arrange the affairs of the place ; and then advanced towards [2] Bōrkal, where Bahādur had fortified himself. Before, however, the (royal) troops arrived there, Bahādur abandoned the fort and fled. The Rāy or *zamīndār* of the place came to attend on the Sulṭān, and enlisted himself among his loyal adherents. When Bahādur fled from Bōrkal, the commander of his army took up his position in the fort of Mirich. The *amīrs* then decided on the capture of Mirich, and taking Maḥmūd Shāh with them, they advanced against it. When they arrived there (they found), that the governor of the neighbourhood had come to the help of Bahādur's men, and had strengthened the fort. They came forward to meet, and fight with, the invading army. The latter surrounded the fort from all sides, and attacked Bahādur's men. When most of those who had sallied out of the fort with the desire of fighting were mixed with the dust of destruction ; and the

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they had not been able to defeat him ; and they therefore considered it fortunate that the Sulṭān should undertake his chastisement. When they arrived at the fort of Jāmkhandī (which, it appears, Bahādur had by his good policy, (حسن تدبیر) wrested from the possession of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān), Quṭb-ul-mulk Dakinī, who was the *ṭarafdār* of Tilang, was ordered to attack it; but he was killed by an arrow shot from the fort. The Sulṭān conferred the title of Quṭb-ul-mulk on Sulṭān Qulī Khawāṣ Hamadānī with certain territories in Talingāna as his *jāgīr*. This man later became the founder of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. When Jāmkhandi was taken, it was made over to the servants of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. The Sulṭān then marched towards Manklīr (in the lith. ed.—Mangalore (?), but Col. Briggs has Sunkeswar) where Bahādur had taken up his residence. Before, however, the Sulṭān's troops arrived there, Bahādur fled from that place. It was taken in the course of three days, after which the Sulṭān marched towards Mirich. The garrison came out and gave battle ; but most of them were slain, and the survivors retired into the fort.

[1] The name of the fort is not given in the text, but probably Jāmkhandī is referred to. See the preceding note.

[2] Bōrkal does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah.

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governor of that country, who was the head and leader of the rebels, was killed; the remainder fled, and like snakes got into holes, Maḥmūd Shāh and the *amīrs* considered it advisable that they should distribute the batteries (among the leaders of the army), and dig mines on various sides of the fort, so that the water in the fort might flow into the moat, and the garrison might be in great straits for want of water. It was also decided that opposite to each bastion, a bastion should be erected outside the fort.

When the commandant of the fort saw that the path of flight was closed, he came in great humility, and prayed for quarter Maḥmūd Shāh, with the consent of the *amīrs*, gave him promise of protection; and notified to the soldiers of Bahādur, that to such of them as might wish to enter his service, the men in charge of his treasury would give subsistence allowance and *jāgīrs*; and as regards such of them as might wish to go to Bahādur the guards of the roads would not prevent them taking away with them their horses and equipment. After his mind had been set at rest about the fort of Mirich, the Sulṭān turned his attention towards the forts of Kalhar and Dābul. When he arrived at the village or place called [1] Mālwa a son was born to him on the 27th Rajab in the year 899 A.H. In gratitude for this great gift, he opened his hand for giving benefactions and largesses; and placing the crown of Aḥmad Shāh on the head of that light of his eyes, gave him the name of Aḥmad Shāh.

When Bahādur heard of the conquest of the fort of Mirich, and of the advance of the Sulṭān towards Kalhar and Dābul, he fell into the chasm of amazement and the gulf of bewilderment. He knew that with meagre plannings, he had attempted a great feat. On whatever side he looked, he found the door of flight closed. Then in distress and humility he sent Khwājah Na'amat-ul-lah Tabrīzī to wait on the *amīrs*; and to ask for pardon of his offences. Sulṭān

[1] The name is Mālwa in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah the name cannot be made out; the sentence being از مرج کوچیدہ پیادہ رفت where the word پیادہ appears to be a mistake for the name of the place, but it will be seen from note 2, p.122, Firishtah has Piāda as the name for a place, Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 541) calls the place Walwa. The birth of the son is mentioned in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but I cannot find any reference to it in Col. Briggs's History.

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Maḥmūd Shāh, in accordance with the prayers of the *amīrs*, drew the pen of forgiveness across the offences of Bahādur Gīlānī, and pardoned all his faults. He ordered that if Bahādur would hasten to render homage to him, and would send two elephants, and the tribute, which had been fixed, to the treasury, the forts and towns, which have been taken out of his possession, would again be restored to him. Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah wrote to Bahādur that his prayers had been accepted, and he should come with all haste. When the Khwājah's letter reached Bahādur, [1] the crow of pride again laid the egg of conceit and exultation in his head. He cast down the honour which he would have acquired by his (forth-coming) engagements and promises into the dust of wretchedness. The *amīrs*, taking Maḥmūd Shāh with them, advanced in the direction of the fort of [2] Jākīr. When they arrived on the bank of the river of Kalhar, they distributed the batteries (among themselves), and besieged the fort. When the morning raised the veil of darkness from the cheek of the sky, the whole army at once galloped into the battle-field, and whoever came out of the fort to give them battle, became at once food for their swords. When the greatness and grandeur of Maḥmūd Shāh's army were impressed on the minds of the enemy, and night came on, they gave up all idea of fighting, and took to flight; and owing to their evil destiny [3] the town of Kalhar was sacked.

On hearing this news, Malik Shams-ud-dīn Ṭārmī, *thānadār* of Muṣṭafābād, came with the residents of that city to see the Sulṭān. The latter after waiting for two or three days in the town of Kalhar, and arranging the affairs of that territory, advanced towards [4] Kālāpūr

[1] This agrees generally with Firishtah; but he adds that Bahādur boasted that he would have the *Khuṭba* (public prayers) read in his own name, that same year, in Aḥmadābād Bīdar, and the next year in Aḥmadābād Gujrāt Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 541) says that Bahādur "made an attack on the King's baggage", but I cannot find any mention of this in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[2] The name is جاکیر Jākīr in the MSS. and جایگیر Jāygīr in the lith. ed. Firishtah does not mention the place, but says that the Sulṭān on hearing Bahādur's bragging, came from Pīyāda to Kalhar.

[3] Firishtah also says the town was sacked, but Col. Briggs does not mention the fact.

[4] The town is called Kālāpūr in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and Kālānūr in the other MS.; but evidently both names are incorrect; the correct name is Kolāpūr, and is used later on.

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When he arrived in the village of [1] Salāla, news was brought that Bahādur having come out of the fort of [2] Panāla had marched towards Kolāpūr ; and had with a mistaken idea got a body of men to join him, and was preparing for strife and bloodshed. After receiving this news, when (the Sulṭān) by successive marches arrived in the vicinity of Kolāpūr, most of Bahādur's troops separated from him, and joined the service of Maḥmūd Shāh. Bahādur then fled, and betook himself to a corner. Maḥmūd Shāh, with the advice of the *amīrs*, sent Malik [3] Fakhr-ul-mulk and 'Ain-ul-mulk to take charge of the fort of Panāla and its neighbourhood ; and decided that he would spend the rainy season in Kolāpūr, till the bushes of the enmity and tree of the rebellion of Bahādur should be totally uprooted. When Bahādur received information of this, his eye of hope became blind, and he fell from the zenith of pride down to the nadir of humility. He then again sent a petition by the hand of Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah Tabrīzī, and prayed that an [4] agreement

[1] Apparently not mentioned by Firishtah.

[2] It was according to Firishtah the strongest fort in that part of the country ; and Bahādur had taken shelter in it, when he was frightened on hearing the news of the capture of the forts of Mirich and Kalhar. He now came out, because the Sulṭān did not at once proceed to besiege it ; but went to view the sea, and the port of Dābul. Firishtah says that when Maḥmūd Shāh went to see the sea and the port of Dābul, Bahādur came rapidly to Kolāpūr with the intention of blocking the road and giving battle ; but when he saw the pomp and grandeur of Maḥmūd Shāh's army, he again became frightened and fled. Bahādur's belief that the Sulṭān was too weak to engage him is apparently referred to by Niẓām-ud-dīn by the use of the words بتصور باطل .

[3] Firishtah calls him فخر الملک دکنی المخاطب خواجه جهان حاکم نوبده, in the lith. ed., but Col. Briggs calls him Khwajah Jahan, governor of the fort of Purenda. Firishtah also joined مینه خان بو لشکر احمد نظام الملک بحری, with Fakhr-ul-mulk and 'Ain-ul-mulk, but Col. Briggs does not mention either 'Ain-ul-mulk or Main' Khān.

[4] Firishtah says that the *qaulnāma* was to bear the sacred seal (مهر اقدس *i.e.*, of the Sulṭān) and also the seals of Malik Qāsim Barīd Turk, and other chief men. It may be mentioned that throughout the narrative of the expedition against Bahādur Gīlānī, and in fact of the whole reign, both in the accounts of Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah, there are indications of Maḥmūd Shāh being a puppet in the hands of Qāsim Barīd and other nobles. There are attempts made to show that he had great power and grandeur, but it appears also that he could do nothing without the concurrence of Qāsim Barīd and his associates

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(*qaulnāma*) might be sent to him by the hand of the *vazīrs*, so that [1] he might, with assurance of safety, come and attend on His Majesty; and for the remainder of his life never transgress the path of obedience. Maḥmūd Shāh accepted the prayer in order to put down the flames of disturbance; and sent the *qaulnāma*. Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah again represented that if [2] Sharf-ul-'Ulamā Ṣadr Jahān and Qāḍī Zain-ud-dīn Ḥasan should also go with the [3] learned men, it would be the cause of greater faith in the wild (وحشی) Bahādur. (The Sulṭān) ordered that these revered men should accompany the [4] *vazīrs*. When the *vazīrs* and noble men arrived near Bahādur (they found) a deep river (in front of them). First of all Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah and [5] Khwājah Majd-ud-dīn crossed the river, and described the graciousness of the Sulṭān, and the coming of the *vazīrs*.

Bahādur's resolution was again changed, and his evil destiny did not permit that he should keep his feet of grace straight in the path of goodness. The two Khwājahs came back, and stated to the *vazīrs* how the matter stood. [6] Khadam Khān who had the reins of the affairs in his grasp of authority, and Quṭb-ul-mulk then crossed the river, and went to Bahādur; and they did everything that was possible in the way of advice. Bahādur welcomed the arrival of the Khāns with all honour and respect, but as his mind had become darkened, it did not at all become clear by the polishing of

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[1] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has از روی اطمینان باتفاق وزرا عازم حضور گردید. The other has از راه اطمینان عازم حضور گردید. The lith. ed. has از بر اطمینان باتفاق وزرا عازم حضور گردید. The first appears to me to be the best, and I have accepted it.

[2] He is called شرف العلما in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; but in the other MS. he is called شرف العمل or اشرف العمل. Firishtah calls him مشرف العمل.

[3] Both MSS. have علما, but the lith. ed. has وزرا.

[4] The MSS. have با وزرا همرا بروند وزرا و شرفا چون قریب بهادر رسیدند but the lith. ed. has با وزرا و شرفا بروند چون وزرا قریب بهادر رسیدند.

[5] According to Firishtah he had come with Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah, bearing Bahādur's petitions.

[6] This name is doubtful. It is حدمخان (apparently a mistake for خدم خان) in one MS., and خدمت خان in the other. It is خدم خان in the lith. ed., and قدم خان in Firishtah.

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their precepts. When they returned [1]Makhdūm A'zam, Ṣadr Jahān and Qāḍī Zain-ud-dīn Ḥasan also went, and did not refrain from giving him advice. But as he had fallen a hundred *farsakhs* away from the path of truth, good fortune did not come to his aid; and wishing only to waste time, he said that if Maḥmūd Shāh should march towards the fort of Mirich, this slave (that is he himself) would come there and render him homage.

[2]After the *vazīrs* had returned, the Sulṭān summoned Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk from the fort of Panāla, and having, with the consent of the *amīrs* conferred on him a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt, sent him to effect the destruction of Bahādur. Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk proceeded by successive marches; and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bahādur, he on the following day marched forward with his army arrayed for battle. Bahādur met him with great pride and self-confidence, and began to act with great gallantry. But suddenly an [3]arrow, discharged from the bow-string of destiny struck him on the side; and Zain Khān with the blood-letting blade of his lance, hurled him from the saddle to the ground; and cut off his head which had been filled with so much pride, and sent it to the Sulṭān. This victory was the result of the skilful work of Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk and Zain Khān; and it gave much pleasure and happiness to all

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[1] He is called مخدوم اعظم صدر جهان in one MS., and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. he is called, apparently by mistake, only اعظم صدر جهان. He was called something else before; see note 2, page 124. Firishtah, however, calls him مشرف العمل in both places.

[2] Firishtah's account agrees generally, but he says that Maḥmūd Shāh, (ناچار, *i.e.*, having no other alternative, or being unable to induce Bahādur to submit) sent for Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk. He also says that Quṭb-ul-mulk and others accompanied Fakhr-ul-mulk from Panāla; but Maḥmūd Shāh sent Quṭb-ul-mulk back to go on with the siege of Panāla, for fear that Bahādur might advance in that direction and the trouble might be prolonged. Firishtah also says that Bahādur had two thousand horsemen, most of whom were Gīlānīs and Mazandarānīs, and 'Irāqīs, and Khurāsānīs, and fifteen thousand infantry, and many cannon and muskets.

[3] Firishtah says he died (در گذشت) on being struck by the arrow, but somewhat inconsistently adds, that Zain Khān, brother of Fakhr-ul-mulk, and according to another statement Main Khān cast him down from his saddle by striking him with his lance.

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classes, high and low. At the time of the return of Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk, the Sulṭān sent the *amīrs* and the troops and all the retainers to welcome him ; and [1] conferred on him the title of Khwājah Jahān ; and in the same *majlis*, a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt and an 'Arab horse and an elephant were bestowed on him ; and the horses and weapons which Bahādur had brought as tribute were conferred on Zain Khān.

Two or three days after the victory (the Sulṭān) entered the fort of Panāla and sent [2] Malik 'Ain-ul-mulk from there to the island (of Goa), so that he might take possession of it by transfer from Bahādur ; and send all Bahādur's property and equipage ; and bring Malik Sa'īd his brother to the court, after giving him assurance of royal favour. After some days, 'Ain-ul-mulk came back, bringing Malik Sa'īd with him. He also passed before the eyes of the Sulṭān fifty elephants and three hundred 'Arab horses and much money and other things belonging to Bahādur. As marks of loyalty were patent on the forehead of Malik Sa'īd he received the title of Bahādur Malik in the same *majlis* (*i.e.*, in the *majlis* in which he was presented before the Sulṭān). The properties and territories of Bahādur were, with the advice and concurrence of the *vazīrs*, entrusted to 'Ain-ul-mulk ; and the Sulṭān returned towards the capital. When he arrived in the town of Bījāpūr, he halted in a [3] garden house which had been built by Khwājah Jahān Fakhr-ul-mulk ; and spent two or three days there in pleasure and enjoyment. The Khwājah offered as tribute handsome and valuable things and 'Arab horses,

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[1] Both Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah had been giving him the title of Khwājah Jahān from a time anterior to this. Firishtah does not say that the title of Khwājah Jahān was conferred on him after this victory, but the word Makhdūm, which appears to be an entirely Dakinī honorific, was added to his title.

[2] He is called Malik 'Ain-ul-mulk Kan'ānī in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 543) calls him Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany. He is said to have been sent to the port of Goa.

[3] Firishtah says the garden was called Kālābāgh, and it had been planted by Malik-ut-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān Khwājah Jahān, and not by Fakhr-ul-mulk Khwājah Jahān, as stated by Niẓām-ud-dīn. He also says that the Sulṭān visited it at the invitation of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, after sending the camp on to the capital ; and the tribute was offered by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān.

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more than can be contained in the desire of anybody, and was exalted by the gift of a special robe of honour and a jewelled belt.

On his arrival at the capital, the Sulṭān on the advice of the *amīrs* showed favour to the ambassadors of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, and bestowed 'Arab horses on them. He also conferred on them double of what was the customary (remuneration) of ambassadors. He also made over to the *vakīls* [1] five maunds of pearls of the weight of Delhī, and five elephants and one jewelled dagger as presents (to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī). He sent for Kamāl Ḵẖān and Ṣafdar Ḵẖān and all the adherents of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, whom Bahādur had kept in imprisonment, to his presence, and granted favours and benefactions to them, and gave them permission to go back to Gujrāt. He also ordered that the twenty ships belonging to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, which Bahādur had looted should be made over to the Sulṭān's servants, so that the chain of inherited friendship and alliance might be strengthened.

[2] It has been narrated before, that in the early days of the Sulṭān's reign, all freshness and beauty had departed from the trees

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[1] Firishtah also mentions these presents.

[2] It appears from Firishtah, that the defeat and death of Bahādur Gīlānī, and the events connected with them, took place on or before 901 A.H., 1495 A.D.; and Niẓām-ud-dīn says that Sulṭān Maḥmūd died in 927 A.H., while Firishtah says that he died in 928 A.H. Col. Briggs has 924 A.H., 1518 A.D., so that there was a period of 23 or 26 years between these events. Niẓām-ud-dīn passes over the account of what happened in the course of these years in about fifteen lines of the lith. ed. Firishtah gives a more detailed account. According to him, Quṭb-ul-mulk Ḥamadānī, who became the founder of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty was made *ṭarafdār* of Warangal, and got Ḥasanābād Gulbarga and Saghīr with their dependencies as his fief. At the same time the Sulṭān was informed that the *manṣabdārs* were the cause of the strength of the great *amīrs*, and of the latter rising in rebellion; and therefore except the *manṣabdār amīrs*, all other *manṣabdārs* were taken away from Dastūr Dīnār and were joined to the royal army. It may be mentioned, in explanation, that all commanders of less than five hundred were *manṣabdārs*; and those of five hundred and more were *amīrs*. Dastūr Dīnār was aggrieved at the *manṣabdārs* being taken away from him, and raised the standard of revolt, and took forcible possession of a part of Tilang, which was contiguous to Gulbarga. The Sulṭān demanded help from Yūsuf 'Ādil Ḵẖān, and he came and joined the Sulṭān and Qāsim Barīd; and they fought with Dastūr Dīnār and 'Azīz-ul-mulk and all the Ḥabshīs and Dakinīs who had joined him, near the town of Mahindrī

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of the garden of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, owing to the assassination of Qiyām-ul-mulk Turk, and the flight of Niẓām-ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-

(Col. Briggs calls the place Myndurgy; and says, in a note, that it is situated near Akulkote); and Dastūr Dinār was defeated, chiefly by the manly exertions of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. He was taken prisoner, and was ordered by the Sulṭān to be put to death; but he was not only pardoned, but restored in his government, at the intercession of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. Some of the rebels took shelter in the fort of Saghīr, but it was seized, and made over to Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān.

In 902 A.H., Yūsuf Ghulām Dakinī and Tughrish Khān Dakinī and Mīrzā Shams-ud-dīn (the first two are called Yoosoof Deccany and Yoorish Khan by Col. Briggs) entered into a conspiracy to destroy Qāsim Barīd; but the latter coming to know of it put them all to death. The Sulṭān also helped to extinguish the flames of slaughter and pillage; but he was so angry with Qāsim Barīd and the other Turks, that he would not, for one month, take their *salāms*; and at last, at the intercession of Shāh Muḥibb-ul-lah, he was induced with great reluctance to pardon them. After this the Sulṭān sank again into drunkenness and debauchery, so that his greatness and grandeur completely passed away from the minds of the people.

In 903 A.H., Maḥmūd Shāh asked the daughter of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, Bībī Satī, by name, who was one year old for his son Aḥmad who was four years of age. This was child marriage *in excelcis*. Col. Briggs does not give the age of the bride, but calls her "the infant daughter of Yoosoof Adil Khan". The age of the bridegroom, he says, was fourteen years. The marriage, it was arranged, would take place at Ḥasanābād Gulbarga; and it was arranged that when the bride would attain the age of ten years she should be sent to the Shāhzāda. While the marriage festivities were still in progress, Dastūr Dīnār and Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān had a dispute about the fief of Gulbarga, the former arguing that Bījāpur up to the bank of the Bithura (Bīmā) should belong to Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, and Gulbarga and Annatgir as far as the boundary of Tilang should belong to him (Col. Briggs has Koolburga, Sagur and Etgeer); and the latter that Ḥasanābād, Gulbarga, Aland, Ganjautī and Kaliān should belong to him, so that his territory should abut on that of the Sulṭān. A battle was fought between the two contestants, and their partisans, in the neighbourhood of Ganjautī. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān was victorious, and became very powerful, so that even the Sulṭān could not sit on the throne in his presence. Then the nobles retired to their fiefs; and Qāsim Barīd returned, and became *vakil* as before; and now his power became so great that the Sulṭān without his permission could not get even a drink of water when he was thirsty.

In 904 A.H., Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān led an army against Dastūr Dīnār; and the latter fled from Ḥasanābād Gulbarga; and at the suggestion of Qāsim Barīd went to Malik Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk, who rendered him much help. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān being unable to withstand them hastened to Aḥmadābād Bīdar. The Sulṭān wrote to Malik Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk and directed him not to assist

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mulk ; and the hearts of the *amīrs* had become estranged from him. At this time, when he returned from camp, and took up his residence

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Dastūr Dīnār. Malik Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk complied with this, but prayed that the Sulṭān would direct Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān not to molest Dastūr Dīnār. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, at a hint from the Sulṭān forbore from causing further molestation to Dastūr Dīnār.

In 910 A.H., Qāsim Barīd died; and his son Amīr Barīd dispossessed the Sulṭān of the little power which he still possessed. In the same year Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān fought a battle with Dastūr Dīnār; and defeated him, and put him to death. He then took possession of all his fiefs, and had the *Khutba* read in his own name, according to the tenets of the *Shi'a* faith in Bījāpūr. This made him very unpopular with all the people of the Dakin ; and Maḥmūd Shāh wrote letters through Amīr Barīd to Malik Quṭb-ul-mulk Hamadānī and Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Khudāwand Khān Ḥabshī, about Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān's rebellion, and his acceptance of the tenets of the *Rawāfiz* (Shi'as) ; and asked them to come immediately to help to destroy Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. Quṭb-ul-mulk Hamadānī came with all the *amīrs* of Tilang ; but the others sent excuses. The Sulṭān and Amīr Barīd wrote in some anxiety to Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, and asked for his help. He and Malik Fakhr-ul-mulk Dakinī Khwājah Jahān came very quickly with a large army. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān did not think it advisable to meet them. He made Sāghir Ḥasanābād and Aland over to Daryā Khān and Fakhr-ul-mulk Turk ; and sent his infant son Ismā'īl with Kamāl Khān and other trustworthy nobles, with elephants and treasures to Bījāpūr so that they might govern the country from that fort. He himself with five thousand horsemen started for Berār. The Sulṭān and Amīr Barīd, with those who had come to their assistance pursued him, till Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān reached Kāwīl, where Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk was encamped. The latter said that it would not be advisable to fight with the Sulṭān ; and advised Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān to go for a time to Burhānpūr, till he could arrange matters. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān accepted this advice, and went to Burhānpūr. Then Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk wrote to Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, etc., that Amīr Barīd wanted to destroy Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, and if he succeeded in doing this, he having the Sulṭān with him would become very powerful and would crush them all. They should therefore go away to their own territories. They accepted this advice and started. The next day Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk submitted a representation to the Sulṭān and advised him to pardon Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, and to go back to the capital. The Sulṭān at the instigation of Amīr Barīd did not accept this advice, but wanted to march with Amīr Barīd to Bījāpūr. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, hearing all that had happened, came with lightning speed and joined Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk. They then marched against the Sulṭān's camp. Amīr Barīd, seeing that he would not be able to withstand them, returned with the Sulṭān to Aḥmadābād Bīdar.

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in Bīdar, and the *sardārs* went to their respective places, even the little power and the small grandeur which had been left passed away.

In 912 A.H., Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fatḥ-ul-lah 'Imād-ul-mulk and Fakhr-ul-mulk Dakinī Khwājah Jahān died and their sons succeeded them. Amīr Barīd tried to seize Bījāpūr but all his efforts were unsuccessful.

In 918 A.H., Quṭb-ul-mulk Hamadānī declared his independence, and removed the name of the Sulṭān from the *Khuṭba*, but he secretly sent five thousand *hūns* every month to the Sulṭān.

In 920 A.H., Amīr Barīd raised a large army with the royal treasures, and taking the Sultān with him, marched to Gulbarga, and took it from the possession of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān; and made it over to the adopted son of Dastūr Dīnār, who had the name of Jahāngīr Khān and whom he gave the title of Dastūr-ul-mulk. The latter collected an army, and recovered all the forts on his side of the Pithōra (or the Bīma river), from Sāghīr to Naldrug which had been in the possession of his father. Amīr Barīd then crossed the river with reinforcements from Malik Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī and Quṭb-ul-mulk, and marched to Bījāpūr. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān gave him battle near Bījāpūr; and completely defeated him, so that he fled from the battlefield. The Sulṭān fell from his horse, and remained helpless on the battlefield with his son, Aḥmad Khān. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, however, treated him with great respect, and wanted to take him to Bījāpūr; but he remained in the town of Aland, where he was treated for his wounds. After a short time he went with Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān to Ḥasanābād Gulbarga, the latter made over his sister, who had already been betrothed to him, to Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān. The Sulṭān then marched with three or four thousand Mughal horsemen, whom he obtained from Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, to Aḥmadābād Bīdar. Amīr Barīd evacuated the capital, and retired to the fort of Urisa (Col. Briggs has Ousa). But soon after that, the officers of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān heard that Amīr Barīd had combined with Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, and was advancing with a great army; and they returned to Bījāpūr in all haste. Amīr Barīd then came back to the capital; and treated the Sulṭān with even greater strictness and harshness than before, on account of his alliance with Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān. The Sulṭān being unable to bear this treatment fled to 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk at Kāwīl (Col. Briggs says he went to Gavul in Berar). 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk received him with respect, and marched with him to crush Amīr Barīd. The latter took shelter in the fort; and sent men to Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk, who sent Khwājah Jahān to assist him. Amīr Barīd then sallied out to give battle; and 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk met him, but the Sulṭān was bathing at the time. 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk sent one of his principal men to summon the Sulṭān; and the latter told the Sulṭān that a man who engages himself in bathing at such a time becomes a subject of ridicule to his people. The Sulṭān became very angry at this rebuke, and galloped off to Amīr Barīd's army. 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk then retired to his own country; and Amīr Barīd re-entered the capital

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Malik Barīd became so powerful, that he left no one before (پیش او نمیگذاشت) him, (*i.e.*, probably to attend on him); and having strengthened the entrances and exits, did not permit that he should come out of his harem. He took the management of affairs into his own hand; and left Maḥmūd Shāh nothing but the name of Sulṭān. Maḥmūd Shāh wrote something about this to 'Imād-ul-mulk. The latter sent a reply to the effect that if His Majesty would come to Kāwīl, this slave (*i.e.*, he himself) would perform the duties of service, and would give a fresh splendour and currency to the affairs of the *salṭanat*. Mahmūd Shāh then, with such pretexts as he could think of, fled to Kāwīl. Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk welcomed his arrival, with respect and honour; and advanced with a large following to crush [1]Malik Barīd. [2]When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city of Bīdar, Malik Barīd, having equipped his army came forward to meet him. At the time when the armies were facing each other, the slave, who was the head of 'Imād-ul-mulk's tribesmen sent a message to the Sulṭān, that His Majesty should now mount, as the time of the battle had come. It so happened that at that time Maḥmūd Shāh was engaged in washing his head. 'Imād-ul-mulk's slave said that when the Sulṭān was so negligent at the time of the battle, there was no doubt that it was a sign of misfortune.

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with the Sulṭān, and placed the latter in such strict confinement that it was impossible for him again to attempt to escape. Firishtah is rather inconsistent in describing the last days of Maḥmūd Shāh. He says first that he نه درمیان مردها نه درمیان زندها محسوب بود, *i.e.*, he was not counted among the dead or among the living; but later on he says that he and his son, who were both weak in intellect and indolent, were contented with شراب و شاهد و ساقی و تختگاه و قصر, *i.e.*, with wine and mistresses and cup bearers and their throne and palace.

Firishtah places the death of Maḥmūd Shāh on the 4th Dhil Ḥijjah, 924 A.H., (Col. Briggs has 928 A.H., October 21, 1518), and says that he reigned for 37 years and 20 days.

This is a very long note; but I have thought it necessary to give some account of the last years of the reign.

[1] Both the MSS. have ملک برید. The lith. ed. has برید, without any prefix. It appears however from Firishtah that Malik Qāsim Barīd died in 910 A.H., and was succeeded by his son, Amīr Barīd.

[2] This is mentioned by Firishtah among the incidents of the year 920 A.H.

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Couplet:

Whoe'er doth ignorance and indolence adopt,
His foot from the ground will fall, and his work from his hand.

These words appeared to be insolent to the Sulṭān. He then mounted his horse, and rode over to the army of Malik Barīd; and made a complaint about the slave of 'Imād-ul-mulk. 'Imād-ul-mulk seeing what had happened returned to Kāwīl. After this, life became so miserable to the Sulṭān, that the maid-servants of Malik Barīd carried his water and food to him, till in the year 927 A.H., he departed from this difficult lower world. The period of his reign was forty years and two months and three days.

An account of the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

[1] In the year 927 A.H., Malik Barīd placed Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, on the throne, in the city of Bīdar, with the concurrence and advice of the *amīrs* and *khāns*; but he left only the name of *bādshāh* to him; and kept him (confined) in his house. The *amīrs* all took up their residences in their *jāgīrs*; and were all independent of one another. The name of *bādshāh* was given to

[1] Firishtah says that Amīr Barīd placed Aḥmad Shāh on the throne, because he had only a small territory and only three or four thousand horsemen; and he was afraid that otherwise the rulers of the neighbouring countries would be tempted to seize Aḥmadābād Bīdar. He also says that the Sulṭān, like his father, was satisfied with sensual pleasures. As the stipend given to him by Amīr Barīd did not suffice for his expenses, he broke up the jewelled crown of the Bahmanīs, which was valued at four hundred thousand *hūns* (Col. Briggs says in a note £1,60,000); and sold the gems secretly. When Amīr Barīd became aware of this, he put many musicians and others, who were in the palace, to death; and tried to get back the jewels; but was unsuccessful, as the men who had bought them, had fled to Bījānagar and other places.

The Sulṭān sent men secretly to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, and complained of the hardships he suffered at the hands of Amīr Barīd. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān sent an ambassador with presents, and sent some verbal messages, but the Sulṭān died before the ambassador could arrive.

Firishtah says that Aḥmad Shāh died in 927 A.H., after a reign of two years and one month. Col. Briggs (vol. II, page 554) has the same year, but he reduces the duration of the reign to two years only.

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poor oppressed Aḥmad Shāh for a period of two years and one month. He died in the year 929 A.H.

An account of the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn,[1] son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

When the poor and helpless Aḥmad Shāh died, Malik Barīd, with the concurrence of the *amīrs* took 'Alā-ud-dīn, the brother of Aḥmad Shāh by the hand; and made him the *bādshāh*. He kept him (confined) in the house as he had kept his brother. The nobility of the nature and the high spirit of the prince, however, incited him to collect men round him, and to give fresh life to the ancient customs and rules; and like his great ancestors to conquer fresh territory. Malik Barīd coming to know of this in concert with Niẓām-ul-mulk, son of Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk and 'Imād-ul-mulk, son of 'Imād-ul-mulk and 'Ādil Khān, son of 'Ādil Khān Sawāī, took away the name of *salṭanat* from him. He in truth released him from bondage and confinement; and raised his brother in his place. The period of his reign, which was passed in confinement and imprisonment, was one year and eleven months.

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[1] He is called the son of Maḥmūd Shāh in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. In the heading in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, he is described as the son of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. There is nothing said about his parentage in the account of his reign. In Col. Briggs's translation there is no mention of King Alla-ood-Deen's father. It appears however that Maḥmūd had three sons, Aḥmad Shāh, 'Alā-ud-dīn and Walī-ul-lah, and they were raised to the throne one after the other, but none of them had any real power.

According to Firishtah Amīr Barīd kept the throne unoccupied for fourteen days; but after that, for the same reason as before, he did not himself mount it, but placed 'Alā-ud-dīn on it. The latter, who was brave and intelligent and knew that his predecessors had ruined themselves by indulgence in wine and sensual pleasures, abstained from them; and exerted himself to effect the destruction of Amīr Barīd and the others, who had seized his ancestral dominion. With this object he flattered and conciliated Amīr Barīd. At the same time he collected a body of men for the assassination of Amīr Barīd; and kept them concealed in the palace. They were to seize Amīr Barīd and his associates when they came to offer their salutations on the morning of the first day of the month. When they came near the Sulṭān's apartment, one of the men who was hiding happened to sneeze. The plot was discovered. The conspirators were tortured and put to death; and the Sulṭān was imprisoned and soon after put to death. His reign extended to two years and three months.

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An account of the reign of Sulṭān Walī-ul-lah, son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

When[1] Malik Barīd, son of Barīd, gave Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn freedom from the imprisonment of sovereignty, he brought his brother, who had the name of Walī-ul-lah, and appended the name of Sulṭān to him. He however without hesitation entered the Sulṭān's harem, and no one had the power to forbid him. Going there he conceived a passion for the Sulṭān's wife; and his evil passion led him to administer poison to Walī-ul-lah; and to take the latter's wife to himself. The period of his (*i.e.*, Walī-ul-lah's)[2] imprisonment did not reach a year.

An account of the reign of[3] Kalīm-ul-lah, son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

After Sulṭān Walī-ul-lah had drunk the *sharbat* of martyrdom from the hand of[4] Malik Barīd; and after this nefarious deed had been perpetrated, the helpless Kalīm-ul-lah was made Sulṭān; and he was kept under guard like his brother in the city of Bīdar.

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[1] Both MSS. leave out the word *Malik* before the second Barīd. Of course the father was Qāsim Barīd, and the son Amīr Barīd.

[2] According to Firishtah Walī-ul-lah reigned as a puppet in Amīr Barīd's hand for three years. He also like his brother tried to secure freedom. After this, Amīr Barīd confined him in his harem. The latter then conceived a passion for the Sulṭān's wife; and effected his death; and then took his wife to himself.

[3] Firishtah also in the heading of his account of Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah's reign calls the latter the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī; but at the end of his account of the reign of Sulṭān Walī-ul-lah, calls Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah, daughter's son of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh. This is incorrect, because it was Aḥmad Shāh the eldest son of Maḥmūd Shāh, and not Maḥmūd Shāh himself, who married the daughter of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh. Col. Briggs makes the same mistake at the commencement of the account of Kulleem Oolla Shah Bahmuny where he describes the latter as "The son of Ahmud Shah by the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah". It will be seen from the account of the events of the year 903 A.H. in footnote, page 128, and also from Col. Briggs's History (vol. II, page 558) that it was Ahmud Shah who was married to the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah.

[4] Both MSS. have از دست ملک برید, without any reference to Malik Barīd's parentage; but the lith. ed. has از دست ملک برید بن برید.

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[1] When the curtain of agreement was raised from the face of the affairs of the *amīrs*, 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāwīlī went to the aid of Muḥammad Khān son of 'Ādil Khān the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, and, after fighting with Niẓām-ul-mulk and Malik Barīd and Khudāwand Khān and all the *amīrs* of the Deccan ran away. Three hundred elephants and a hundred horses and a large quantity of arms fell into the hands of the Dakinī armies. 'Imād-ul-mulk fled to Asīr and Burhānpūr. But in the end, with the help of Sulṭān Bahādur (of Gujrāt), he regained possession of his dominions. In the year 935 A.H., he read the *Khuṭba* in the name of Sulṭān Bahādur in the towns and *parganas* of his territories. Again at the invitation of 'Imād-ul-mulk, Sulṭān Bahādur invaded the Deccan. As Niẓām-ul-mulk and Malik Barīd and the other *amīrs* were not strong enough to withstand him, they in their helplessness, read the *Khuṭba* in the name of Sulṭān Bahādur in Aḥmadnagar and all the provinces of the Deccan. The provinces of the Deccan then came into the possession of [2] four *amīrs*; *viz.*, Niẓām-ul-mulk, 'Ādil Khān, Quṭb-ul-mulk and

[1] Firishtah does not mention these conflicts among the *amīrs* at all. His account of the reign of Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah is entirely different from that of Niẓām-ud-dīn. He says that in 932 A.H. Bābar came from Kābul; and took possession of Delhī. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, Burhan Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī and Qulī Quṭb Shāh all sent petitions to him expressing their attachment to him. Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah on hearing this also sent an ambassador in disguise to Bābar, offering the territory of Berār and Daulatābād to him if he would free him from the bondage in which he was kept. Bābar was too busy elsewhere, and could not pay any heed to this petition. When the news of his having sent the petition became known, Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah, considering it necessary for his safety, fled in 934 A.H. to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, who at that place is described as his خال (maternal uncle), at Bījāpūr. The latter, according to the lith. ed., attempted to seize him. (Col. Briggs, however, says that he was received honourably.) He then escaped with eighteen horsemen to Burhān Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī at Aḥmadnagar. Burhān Niẓām Shāh received and treated him with royal honours, till Shāh Ṭāhir (on whom be the mercy of God) forbade him to do so; and explained that such conduct was highly impolitic for him. After that Burhān Niẓām Shāh discontinued receiving Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah, who after that died at Aḥmadnagar, either by poison being given to him, or by a natural death.

[2] Firishtah mentions five dynasties instead of Niẓām-ud-dīn's four; *viz.*, 'Ādil Shāhī, Niẓām Shāhī, Quṭb Shāhī, 'Imād Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī. Mr. Sewell (page 106) also mentions five dynasties, *viz.*, the "Ādil Shāhs of Bijāpūr , . . .; the Barīd Shāhs of Bīdr or Ahmadabad; the Imād Shāhs of Bīrār; the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar and the Qutb Shāhs of Golkonda".

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Malik Barīd ; and up to this day which is in the year 1002 A.H., the rule of the Deccan is vested in these four dynasties. And something of their conditions will now be narrated.

SECTION II. [1] THE NIẒĀM-UL-MULKĪ LINE OR DYNASTY.

AN ACCOUNT OF NIẒĀM-UL-MULK BAḤRĪ.

He was a slave of Brahman descent. His name had been [2] بهر يو (Bhareu) ; and by change of letters, he was called Baḥrī. [3] His son Aḥmad, who had in his head an ambition to rule, commenced hostilities, the *vazīrs* of Sulṭān Ḳalīm-ul-lah made Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī a prisoner, and drawing a pencil across his eyes, ulti-

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[1] Firishtah begins with an account of the 'Ādil Shāhī line, and then goes on with the Niẓām Shāhīs. The title of the section is not given in the text-edition.

[2] Bhareu may be a corruption of Bhairo, which again is a corruption of Sanskrit Bhairava (lit. terrible) one of the names of the god Siva. Firishtah (lith. ed.) says that Malik Nāyib Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī's name was تيمابهت Tīmābhat and his father's name was بهريو Bhareu. Col Briggs (vol. III, p. 189) says his name was Timapa, son of Bhairoo. It is not clear to me why he was called Bhareu or Baḥrī which was his father's name, and not Tīmābhat which was his own name. According to Firishtah, Tīmābhat and Bhareu were taken prisoners by the Musalmāns in Bījānagar in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī; and Bhareu's name was changed to Ḥasan when he was enlisted among the Sulṭān's slaves or guards. He was very intelligent, and so was sent to school with the prince who later became Muḥammad Shāh. In a short time he became well-known as Malik Ḥasan Bhareu ; but Muḥammad Shāh in his boyhood being unable to pronounce Bhareu changed it to Baḥrī ; and he became known as Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī. When Muḥammad became the Sulṭān, he made Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī a commander of one thousand horse ; and the latter gradually rose to be Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī ; and by the favour of Ḳẖwājah Jahān Gāwān was made *ṭarafdār* of Tilang. In the text-edition it is بهيرلو.

[3] This is a very brief and incomplete and confused account. Firishtah's account of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty begins with the reign of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh. The murder of Niẓām-ul-mulk is only incidentally mentioned in it, where it is said that when Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, after capturing a number of forts such as Jaund and Lahagar and Tangī, etc., was engaged in the siege of the fort of Dandī Rājpūrī, that he heard of the murder of his father. As this happened before 895 A.H., it could not have been the act of the *vazīrs* of Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah, as stated erroneously in the text ; but must have occurred in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh which extended from 887 A.H. to 924, 927 or 928 A.H., according to different accounts.

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mately put him to death. His rule had no stability, and has been narrated in the history of the Bahmanīs.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF AḤMAD, SON OF NIẒĀM-UL-MULK BAḤRĪ.

[2] After the death of his father, Niẓām-ul-mulk, he declared his independence, and having taken possession of the whole of the country of Junīr, he laid the foundation of a grand city in the middle of it; and called it Aḥmadnagar. He died after having ruled for forty years. As no comprehensive work containing particulars of the conditions of this dynasty, has come before my eyes, I am confining myself to this much.

[3] AN ACCOUNT OF BURHĀN NIẒĀM-UL-MULK, SON OF AḤMAD.

When Burhān sat in his father's place,[4] Shāh Ṭāhir who was one of the wisest men of the age, came from Sulṭāniya' in 'Irāq to the

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[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn very frankly acknowledges that he did not come across any comprehensive history of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty; and he has, therefore, made a very brief statement about Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk. The latter, however, ruled for forty years and an account of his reign extends over about ten pages of the lith. ed. of Firishtah and about twenty-one pages of Col. Briggs's translation. It would be impossible for me to add much to Niẓām-ud-dīn's account without unduly increasing the volume of this work. I may say, however, that Aḥmad Niẓām-ul-mulk died in 914 A.H., 1518 A.D., leaving his son Burhān, a boy seven years of age, as his successor.

[2] The words بعد از فوت نظام الملک پدر خود are in one MS. only, but not in the other or in the lith. ed. I have, however, inserted them in the text.

[3] Niẓām-ud-dīn's account of the reign of Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk or Burhān Niẓām Shāh, as Firishtah calls him, is very brief and incomplete. The reign extended, according to Niẓām-ud-dīn, to forty-eight years; and yet his narrative is confined to about nine lines of the lith. ed. Firishtah's account extends over eighteen pages of the lith. ed., and Col. Briggs's translation to about twenty-five pages. It is impossible for me to give even a brief summary of the events which occurred during this long period. I have, however, given a fairly comprehensive translation of the narrative in the lith. ed. of Firishtah (in the next note) of the conversion of Burhān Shāh and most of his subjects to the Shi'a form of the religion which appears to have taken place in 944 A.H., 1539 A.D.; as this is mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt. The translation in Col. Briggs, vol. III, page 228, is rather short and does not mention many very curious and interesting particulars.

[4] Firishtah begins with a long and detailed account of the previous history of Shāh Ṭāhir. According to that Shāh Ṭāhir established himself in 926 A.H.

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Deccan ; and became a companion and courtier of Burhān ; and making him adopt the *Imāmīa* religion became his guide in religious matters.

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at Sultāniya as a religious teacher. Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafvī, however, ordered him to be put to death. He then left Sultāniya in all haste ; and arrived at the port of Goa. From there, he went to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh at Bījāpūr; but that ruler had no use for anyone except swordsmen and warriors ; and so he did not show him any favour. Shāh Ṭāhir then started for the port of Chaul, in order to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīna. On the way he halted at the fort of Parinda, where Makẖdūm Khwājah Jahān Dakinī received him with great honour and respect. It so happened that at this time Burhān Niẓām Shāh had sent his teacher Maulāna Pīr Muḥammad Shīrwānī, on an embassy to Khwājah Jahān ; and he remained there for about a year as a pupil of Shāh Ṭāhir. By this time the fame of Shāh Ṭāhir's learning had spread all over the Deccan ; and when Pīr Muḥammad came back to Aḥmadnagar, and explained the reason of his long stay at Parinda, and dilated on Shāh Ṭāhir's learning and wisdom Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk, who was fond of the society of learned men, invited Shāh Ṭāhīr to come to Aḥmadnagar. He came, and was received with great honour, and began to give lessons to the learned men of the capital. Soon after this Shāhzāda 'Abd-ul-qādir, eldest son of Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk fell ill, and all the physicians were unable to effect his cure. Then Shāh Tāhīr suggested that he would be able to cure the prince, if Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk would make offerings to the twelve Imāms. Burhān agreed to do so, but Shāh Ṭāhir said that he did not suggest the making of offerings alone. He had something else in his mind, but he would disclose it only if Burhān would promise, that in the event of his suggestion not meeting with Burhān's approval, he would allow him and his sons to depart to Mecca. Burhān at once agreed, and bound himself by solemn oaths. Then Shāh Ṭāhir inquired that if the prince was cured that night, would Burhān agree to read the *Khuṭba* in the name of the twelve Imāms, and endeavour to give currency to the Shi'a form of religion. Burhān agreed. That night Burhān sat by the side of the bed of 'Abd-ul-qādir ; and fell asleep, placing his head on the edge of the bed. Then he saw Muḥammad and the twelve Imāms in a dream ; and the next morning 'Abd-ul-qādir was cured. After that 'Abd-ul-qādir and his mother, Āmīna Bībī, and all the members of the royal family accepted the Shī'a faith. Burhān wanted that the names of the twelve Imāms should be inserted at once in the *Khuṭba* ; but Shāh Ṭāhir suggested that it would be better if he should convene an assembly, when the merits of the four religious sects of Islām could be discussed. The discussion continued for six months without much effect. Burhān Shāh spoke to Shāh Ṭāhir ; and said, he was unable to ascertain the superiority of any of the religious sects discussed. After further discussions, Burhān Shāh described his dream at the time of prince 'Abd-ul-qādir's illness. Then most of the members of the royal family and the great officers, etc., accepted the Shī'a

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In the year 945 A.H., Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrātī advanced to conquer the Deccan ; and having arrived in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar, encamped at a place, which is known as Kālāchabūtra. Burhān came forward in the way of sincerity and service ; and did homage to him. The latter showed him favour ; and gave him an umbrella, and other *insignia* of royalty. They say that Sulṭān Bahādur said to Shāh Ṭāhir, " Do not you accompany Burhān when he comes to me, so that there may be no derogation to your honour, for whenever Burhān comes to wait on me, he has to remain standing ; and as you are connected with him, you have also to follow his example, and remain standing ". Sulṭān Bahādur held Shāh Ṭāhir in great respect.

As Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk received strength and support from Sulṭān Bahādur, he had the public prayer read, and coins struck in his own name. He ruled for forty-eight years.

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form of religion. Mullā Pīr Muḥammad and other learned men were angry and left the assembly. They then had a conference at Mullā Pīr Muḥammad's house, where some one suggested that Shāh Ṭāhir should be seized and put to death ; but Mullā Pīr Muḥammad said that as long as Burhān Shāh should be alive, they would not be able to effect their purpose. He suggested that Burhān Shāh should be deposed ; and prince 'Abd-ul-qādir placed on the throne ; after which Shāh Ṭāhir could be executed. Then they surrounded the fort, in which the palace was located. Burhān Shāh took measures for defending it ; but at the same time went to Shāh Ṭāhir, and explained the state of things. Shāh Ṭāhir who was versed in divination told Burhān Shāh to march out of the fort, when the rebels would at once submit. Burhān Shāh did so. Then Shāh Ṭāhir read a verse of the Qurān over a handful of earth ; and threw it in the direction of the enemy ; and told the heralds to go close to the latter, and call out that all loyal subjects should immediately come under the shadow of the royal umbrella ; and those who were disloyal (*harāmk̲hwār*) should follow Mullā Pīr Muḥammad. Immediately the *amīrs* and the commanders of the army and the soldiers came over to Burhān Shāh ; while Mullā Pīr Muḥammed with a small number of soldiers went to his own house. He was seized by men who were sent by Burhān Shāh, and the latter ordered his execution ; but, at the intercession of Shāh Ṭāhir, the order of execution was cancelled, and he was kept in imprisonment in a fort for four years, after which, again at the intercession of Shāh Ṭāhir, he was restored to favour.

This is a long note, but I have inserted it, as it is very interesting in many ways. Col. Briggs has left the matter of the conversion of Burhān Shāh and his subjects entirely out of his translation.

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AN ACCOUNT OF ḤUSAIN NIẒĀM-UL-MULK, SON OF BURHĀN.

After his father [1] he sat in the latter's place. It is related traditionally that Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk became enamoured of a [2] prostitute, and married her. One day he asked her in private, what persons she had liked best, and pleased most, among the men who had visited her during the time that she had lived in her former way. She named four persons. He had all four of them seized, and gave orders for those helpless persons being put to death. That prostitute was called Āmīna and Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk was born of her.

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[1] According to Firishtah the succession was not without a contest. Ḥusain Shāh, who was thirty years of age (Col. Briggs says incorrectly that he was in his thirteenth year), succeeded Burhān Niẓām Shāh as being his eldest son, But Shāhzāda 'Abd-ul-qādir, who had much honour in the sight of his father, did not agree to Ḥusain Shāh's succession. He and the other princes left the palace, and two factions were formed, the foreigners and the Ḥabshīs joined Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh; and the Dakinīs, Hindūs and Musalmāns, were on the side of the other princes. There was every likelihood of a civil war; but Qāsim Beg Ḥakīm succeeded in detaching four hundred or five hundred *silahdārs* and *ḥawāladārs* from 'Abd-ul-qādir's party. Others joined Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh; and 'Abd-ul-qādir with some of his partisans fled to 'Imād-ul-mulk in Berār. He died there. The other princes fled to Bījāpūr; and 'Ādil Shāh espousing the cause of one of them, Shāh Ḥaidar, who was the son-in-law of Khwājah Jahān ruler of Parinda marched to recover Sholāpūr; but Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh attacked and captured the fort of Parinda.

Afterwards 'Ādil Shāh espoused the cause of Mīrān Shāh 'Alī who was his cousin (*'ammzāda*); but Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh advanced with seven thousand horsemen, whom he obtained from Daryā 'Imād-ul-mulk, to Sholāpūr, which 'Ādil Shāh was then besieging, and after a severe battle the Bījāpūr army was defeated.

[2] She is called a فاحشه by Niẓām-ud-dīn. She is امنه نام مولی in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and in Col. Briggs's History (vol. III, p. 215), "Ameena a dancing girl". Firishtah says, Burhān made her the chief of his harem; and from her he learned to drink intoxicating liquors; and, owing to this, Mukammal Khān who was his *vakīl* and *vazīr* during his minority, and had worked with zeal and ability, resigned his office. It is also mentioned by Firishtah that when in 931 A.H. Burhān Shāh married Bībī Marīam, the sister of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, Bībī Āmīna did not treat her well; and she complained to her brother; and there was a war between Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk and his allies. Amīr Barīd, and 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk on the one hand and Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh on the other in which 'Imād-ul-mulk was defeated and retired in precipitation to Kāwīl; and Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk became unconscious, through heat and thirst; and was carried away in a *pālkī* to Aḥmadnagar.

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At that time [1] Rām Rāj of Bījānagar, which in the Hindī language is known as [2] Bedbānagar, had acquired much strength and power. Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk with ʻĀdil Ḵẖān and Quṭb-ul-mulk and Malik Barīd attacked him. [3] Rām Rāj advanced to meet them with

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[1] It appears from Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar," p. 109, that Rām Rāj or Rāma Rāya, as Mr. Sewell calls him, was not the titular Rāja of Vijayanagar. Sadāsiva, who succeeded Achyuta in 1542 A.D., was the Rāja *de jure*, but he " was virtually a prisoner in the hands of Rāmā Rāya, the eldest of three brothers, at first nominally his minister, but afterwards independent ". * * " These three men held the government of the kingdom till 1565, when the empire was utterly overthrown by a confederation of the five Muhammadan kings of the Dakhan, already mentioned, at the battle of Talikota—so-called—and the magnificent capital was almost wiped out of existence." It appears also from Mr. Sewell's History, p. 184, note 1, that Rāmā Rāya was married to a daughter of Krishna Deva, who was king of Vijayanagar from 1509 to 1530, A.D.

[2] The name is بید بانگر and بید مانگر in the MSS. and بیدا نگر in the lith. ed. In text بید نانگر.

[3] This is a very brief and incorrect account of the relations between the Niẓām Shāhī rulers and those of Bījānagar and the final defeat and death of Rām Rāj. It appears from Firishtah, that the relations between Burhān Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh were strained; and in 950, Burhān Shāh sent Shāh Ṭāhir to congratulate Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh on his accession; and on that occasion he instigated Rām Rāj and Quṭb Shāh to invade and conquer a part of the ʻĀdil Shāhī dominion. ʻĀdil Shāh, however, conciliated both Niẓām Shāh and Rām Rāj. Some time after that, Burhān Shāh at the instigation of Rām Rāy advanced to Gulbarga. ʻĀdil Shāh went forward to meet Rām Rāy and a great battle ensued in which Burhān Shāh was at first victorious; but in the end he was attacked by ʻĀdil Shāh, when his troops were engaged in plundering; and was signally defeated, and fled to Aḥmadnagar, leaving behind his royal umbrella and standards and elephants and artillery.

After various other operations and after the death of Shāh Ṭāhir, Burhān Niẓām Shāh again resolved to attack the Bījāpur territory and sent ambassadors to Rām Rāj. The latter was put to great straits by the Marhatta cavalry under Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh. Burhān Niẓām Shāh attacked ʻĀdil Shāh's camp, when he and his nobles and soldiers were engaged in celebrating the *ʻId*, and slew many of them and compelled the rest to run away in all haste. After this Kaliān was surrendered by the garrison. In the mean time, ʻĀdil Shāh marched into the Niẓām Shāhī territory, and devastated Bīr and other *parganas*; and laid siege to Parinda and captured it. After that ʻĀdil Shāh went back to Bījāpūr and Burhān Niẓām Shāh marched towards Parinda. The *thānadār*

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one hundred thousand horsemen and two thousand elephants, and arranged them in order of battle; and it was likely that the four

being panic struck left the place and Niẓām Shāh recaptured it, and made it over to Khwājah Jahān, and returned to Aḥmadnagar.

He again opened negotiations with Rām Rāj; and passing through the Bījāpūr territory, met him in the neighbourhood of Rāichūr; and they settled that Rāichūr and Mudkal should be seized, and should belong to Rām Rāj; and Sholāpūr and Gulbarga to Burhān Shāh. They accordingly seized these forts. In 960, Burhān Shāh and Rām Rāj again invaded the Bījāpūr territory, and settled that they should besiege the fort of Sāghir and Etgar, and should seize the whole of the neighbouring territory up to the river Bīmā; and then seize Bījāpūr and Gulbarga. In 961 when they advanced towards Bījāpūr, 'Ādil Shāh being unable to meet them retired to Panāla. Burhān Shāh was engaged in the siege of Bījāpūr and was about to seize it, when he fell ill and going back to Aḥmadnagar died there. Firishtah points out that Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrāt and Salīm Shāh Sūr died in the same year.

After the accession of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and the death of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh the former sent ambassadors to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh; and they marched from their respective capitals, and met at Gulbarga, and laid siege to it; and were about to capture it, when Muṣṭafa Khān Ardistānī, the minister of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh persuaded the latter to detach himself from Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh; and the latter had to return to his capital without attaining his object. 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh who had succeeded Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh now entered into an alliance with Rām Rāj and Quṭb Shāh, in order to retaliate the injury done to him. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh sent Mullā 'Alī Mazandarānī to Daryā 'Imād-ul-mulk of Berār; and the emissary succeeded in bringing about an interview between his master and 'Imād-ul-mulk near Sōnpat (the lith. ed. of Firishtah says on the bank of the Ganges, but Col. Briggs says, more correctly, on the bank of the Godavari); and a marriage was arranged and celebrated with great splendour between the daughter of 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh.

Sometime after, in the year 967 A.H., 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh with Rām Rāy and Quṭb Shāh advanced towards Aḥmadnagar. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's minister suggested that he should surrender the fort of Kaliān to 'Ādil Shāh and make peace with the latter. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh did not agree, and said that it would be a matter of discredit to him, if he would surrender a fort which his father had conquered with the sword. The allies arrived at Aḥmadnagar with one *lakh* of horsemen and two *lakhs* of foot-soldiers. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh left Aḥmadnagar in charge of his officers, and retired towards Pattan, so that he might get Daryā 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Mīrān Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī and 'Alī Barīd to unite with him. It so happened, however, that Khān Jahān, brother of Amīr Barīd, who was in charge of 'Imād-ul-mulk's affairs, not only dissuaded the latter from helping Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, but proceeded himself with five

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rulers should meet with a defeat, when by an act of fate, a cannon ball, shot from the army of Niẓām-ul-mulk, hit Rām Rāj and killed

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thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers to devastate Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's territories. He was, however, defeated by Shāh Mullā Muḥammad Naishāpūrī, whom Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh sent against him. In the meantime the allied sovereigns laid siege to Aḥmadnagar; but Quṭb Shāh thinking that it would be unwise, that 'Ādil Shāh would have too great a power over Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, allowed free passage for provisions and emissaries of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to enter the fort, through his lines. 'Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj, coming to know this, demanded an explanation from Quṭb Shāh, who without giving it, left in the night and went back to Golkonda. Rām Rāj and 'Ādil Shāh finding it difficult to maintain their position retired to the town of Āshtī; and there planned that they should first seize the fort of Parinda, and afterwards return and capture Aḥmadnagar. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh then made overtures to Rām Rāj for peace. Rām Rāj agreed on three conditions, all of which Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh found it necessary to accept, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh made over the keys of Kaliān to Rām Rāj in fulfilment of one of the latter's conditions; and he sent them to 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh.

In the beginning of 970 A.H., Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and Quṭb Shāh met in the neighbourhood of Kaliān, and proceeded to lay siege to it, and were about to capture it, when Rām Rāj and 'Ādil Shāh arrived in that neighbourhood, with a large army. Burhān 'Imād-ul-mulk, who had succeeded his father, and 'Ali Barīd joined 'Ādil Shāh. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh then raised the siege and sent away his heavy luggage and his son and other members of his family towards the fort of Aūsa; and he himself intending to give battle to the enemy encamped at a distance of six *karōhs* from them. The next day Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh advanced to carry on a *jihād* against Rām Rāj; and Quṭb Shāh also marched forward, with such men as he had, against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and his Musalmān allies. It so happened, that although it was not the rainy season, there was heavy rain that day; and Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's guns, etc., were rendered useless. Rām Rāj and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, becoming aware of this, attacked Quṭb Shāh's camp, and he fled without making a struggle, and took up a position behind Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's camp. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh now saw that it was impossible for him to do anything, and retired towards his capital. He was pursued, but he showed such dauntless courage, that the pursuers, after a time, turned back. He then came to Aḥmadnagar *via* Aūsa. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, Rām Rāj and their allies marched towards Aḥmadnagar, when Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh leaving the capital in charge of his officers, retired to Jūnīr. The Hindūs of Rām Rāj's army destroyed mosques and palaces, and committed outrages on the women. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was shocked at this, but could not prevent it. He, however, advised Rām Rāj to raise the siege, and to go in pursuit of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. Rām Rāj agreed, and they went after Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. The latter retired to the hilly country, after

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him. His army was routed; and much booty fell into the hands of the *amīrs* of the Deccan. Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk ruled for thirteen years. He left two sons Murtaḍā and Burhān.

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directing some of his officers to hover round the hostile army, and to carry on a *guerilla* warfare. They did so with much success, and as the rains were approaching, Rām Rāj encamped near the river Sen. There was heavy rain and the river was flooded, and about twenty thousand men and three hundred elephants and innumerable cattle were swept away, and drowned. On account of this catastrophe Rām Rāj started for his own country; and 'Ādil Shāh proceeded to Naldrug and repaired the fort. Rām Rāj under the pretext of foregoing devastated portions of the Bījāpūr and Golkunda territories, eventually obtained the cession of parts of those territories, before retiring to his own country.

After this in 972 A.H., Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh entered into matrimonial and political alliances; and they also secured the alliance of the other Musalmān sovereigns, except Burhān 'Imād-ul-mulk, for the destruction of Rām Rāj. Niẓām Shāh and Qutb Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī Barīd advanced with their armies, and crossed the Krishnā, and encamped at a distance of six *karōhs* from it. Rām Rāj advanced with a formidable army to meet them; and they thinking that it would be impossible to withstand him, made overtures for peace. Rām Rāj refused to listen to them. There was a great battle, in which the Hindūs were defeated, mainly owing to the attacks by Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's artillery. Rām Rāj was taken prisoner, when the *sinhāsan* or throne on which he was riding was thrown down by the bearers, when they were charged by some of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's elephants. He was recognised, and taken to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, who ordered him immediately to be beheaded. This battle is known as the battle of Talikota, though according to Mr. Sewell, see note 2, page 199 of his book, it did not take place there. Talikota is a small fortress and town near the Krishnā. "The battle took place ten miles from Rāma Rāya's camp south of the river, wherever that might have been." Mr. Sewell thinks it probable that it took place near the celebrated fort of Mudkal. "The ford crossed by the allies would appear to be that at the bend of the river at Ingaligi; and the decisive battle seems to have been fought in the plain about the little village of Bāyapur to Bhōgapur, on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal." Col. Briggs has also pointed out that the battle "has been called the battle of Talikote by the Mahomedans because the head-quarters of the several sovereigns were near that village. The battle was fought on the south bank of the Krishna, nearly twenty rulers off." (See footnote, page 126, vol. III of his History.)

This again is a very long note, but I have considered it necessary to insert it so that there might be a correct narrative of the events, as far as that can be ascertained by a reference to Firishtah.

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An account of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk.

By the order and testamentary direction of his father, he succeeded the latter. He was benevolent and friendly to the poor. [1] Khwājah Mīrak Harvī (of Herāt) was his minister in the beginning of

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[1] According to Firishtah, Murtaḍa's mother Khunza Humāyūn (called Khoonza Sooltana by Col. Briggs) carried on the government for six years, with Mullā 'Ināyat-ul-lah as the *pēshwā*, and in accordance with the advice of Qāsim Bēg Ḥakīm. She raised her three brothers to the highest rank of nobility and sat daily with Mullā 'Ināyat-ul-lah to transact public business from behind the *parda*. At this time, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh advanced against the Hindūs of Bījānagar. Venkatādrī, the brother of Rām Rāj applied to Khunza Humāyūn for help. She led an army into the Bījāpūr territory, and compelled 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to retire. Peace was, however, soon made between the two Musalmān princes; and they entered into an alliance against Tufāl Khān, the prime minister of Burhān 'Imād Shāh, who had seized his master's dominions, and who had not joined them in their invasion of Bījānagar. They plundered the country; and on the approach of the rains, Tufāl Khān propitiated 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh; and the 'Ādil Shāhī and Niẓām Shāhī armies returned to their respective territories.

In 976 A.H., 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh invaded the Aḥmadnagar territory. Khunza Humāyūn sent some *amīrs* against the 'Ādil Shāhī army which was under Kishwar Khān; but the latter defeated them; and they retired to Aḥmadnagar. After this some of the courtiers of Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh told the latter that on account of Khunza Humāyūn's partiality to her brothers and other favourites, the army was in a wretched condition. They suggested that she should be seized, and after some delay Murtaḍa Niẓām agreed. They were preparing to enter the harem, when Khunza Humāyūn sent for Murtaḍa Niẓām; and the latter, thinking that his mother had discovered the plot, made a clean breast of it, in order to exculpate himself. She put one of the conspirators under arrest, and the others escaped. Some of them went to Bījāpūr and some to Gujrāt. Khunza Humāyūn gave them assurances of safety, and asked them to return.

Then in 977 A.H., she started with her son against Kishwar Khān the Bījāpūr general. In the course of the month, Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh determined to take the government into his own hands; and sent a message to that effect to his mother. She came out on horseback ready armed, but she was soon seized, and her attendants fled. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh now returned to Aḥmadnagar; and levying additional forces attacked the fort of Dārūr; and seized it in a very dramatic manner, after Kishwar Khān had been slain by an arrow, which hit him on his breast. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh then invaded Bījāpūr; but shortly after that a treaty was concluded between him and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

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his reign; and had the title of Changīz Khān conferred on him. He conquered the country of Berār from [1] Tufāl Khān; and annexed it to the territories of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk. After the [2] death of Changīz Khān, it so happened, that a relationship of passion (نسبت فریفتگی) was produced between Niẓām-ul-mulk and the son of a bird-seller. He conferred on him the title of Muṣāḥib Khān; and made [3] him his *vakīl*. That wretch having stretched his hands for plunder and ravage, went into people's houses; and stretched his hands over their families and children. He also endeavoured to put to death such of the *amīrs*, as he believed to be unlikely to obey

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It was sometime after this, that Khwājah Mīrak had the title of Changīz Khān conferred on him, and was appointed as the *vakīl*.

[1] The name is 'Ādil Khan instead of Tufāl Khan in the text-edition.

[2] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not mention the circumstances under which the death of Changīz Khān took place. According to Firishtah Shāh Mīrzā Isfahānī, who was *hājib* or chamberlain of Quṭb Shāh learned that Niẓām Shāh's army would march against Bīdar. He first of all offered a large bribe to Changīz Khān so that he might give up the idea of the invasion. Changīz Khān indignantly refused the bribe, upon which Shāh Mīrza Isfahānī bribed Ṣāhib Khān, whom Firishtah describes as a معشوق نظام الملک, and Col. Briggs as a favourite minion of the king; and told him to report to Nizām Shāh that Changīz Khān wanted to make himself the ruler of Berār. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh at first did not believe the report; but Ṣāhib Khān persisted in the accusation, and referred Niẓām Shāh to Shāh Mīrzā Isfahānī. The Sulṭān sent for him, and Shāh Mīrzā of course corroborated Ṣāhib Khān's statement. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh then gave some credence to the accusation; but to make assurance doubly sure, he told Changīz Khān, that he was tired with the long stay in the camp, and wanted to go back to Aḥmadnagar. Changīz Khān told him that he should remain there for sometime longer. This confirmed the Shāh's suspicions, and his demeanour towards Changīz Khān changed. The latter perceived this, and for some days, on the pretext of illness, he did not go and wait on Murtaḍa Shāh. This confirmed the latter's belief and he sent a *ḥakīm* to Changīz Khān, with a poisoned draught, which he was to represent as a medicine. Changīz Khān at first refused to drink it; but in the end remembering Murtaḍa Shāh's kindnesses to him, drank it off, after writing a petition to the latter.

It will be seen from the above that Ṣāhib Khān was already a minion of the Sulṭān, before the death of Changīz Khān.

[3] This does not agree with Firishtah's account. According to him, Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh first made Ḥakīm Muḥammad Miṣrī his *vakīl*, but after six months dismissed him and appointed Qāḍī Beg Yazdī to that post. But Firishtah also mentions the outrages committed by Ṣāḥib Khān on the people, and even on the *amīrs*.

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his behests. After a time he marched to attack the *amīrs* of Berār, among whom were Mīr Murtaḍa and Khudāwand Khān, and others. As the latter knew his intention they forestalled him, and [1]slew him.

Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh grieved much, and [2] saw no remedy except in madness. At this time the derangement of his brain became violent; and he secluded himself in [3]Bāgh-i-Bihisht (the garden of paradise); and never came out of it. He also did not allow any one to go near him; and it was only rarely, that any one was received in audience. At all times the *vazīrs* were engaged in the affairs of the state, and maintained the stability of the government. If a matter of importance had to be dealt with, they submitted a written report to him; and he wrote a reply to it.

When six years had passed in this way, [4] His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī sent Pīshrau Khān, who was one of the old servants of the threshold to the Deccan, so that he might acquaint himself with the state of things in that country, and submit a report about them.

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[1] The manner in which he was killed is described by Firishtah. It would appear, that he left the court in anger. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh sent some men to call him back; and they put him to death, and represented to Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh that he fell when resisting their endeavours to take him back.

[2] The meaning of this is not clear. It would appear from Firishtah's account that he was in his senses; but he became convinced that he could not administer justice to his subjects; and so freed himself from all responsibilities; and left everything in charge of his minister; and himself went into retirement.

[3] According to Firishtah, he first retired to an apartment inside the fort of Aḥmadnagar, which was called Bāghdād; and later to a garden house called *Hasht Bihisht*. Col. Briggs says that the garden and the palace in it were still to be seen in Aḥmadnagar, in his time. It was then known as the *Behishty Bagh* (vol. III, page 261).

[4] Firishtah does not appear to mention the mission of Pīshrau Khān; but he says that in 984 A.H., Akbar came to the frontiers of Mālwa, hunting. On receiving information of this, Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh at once started for Daulatābād in a *pālkī* with only about one hundred followers. The *amīrs* submitted to him that it would be unwise to advance with such a small force. He waited for sometime till six thousand or seven thousand of his special troops had assembled. His generals again represented that it would be better to wait for his artillery. He did not agree to this; but the scouts brought information, at this time, that Akbar had gone back to his capital. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh then returned to Aḥmadnagar and again secluded himself in *Hasht Bihisht*.

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When Pīshrau Khān arrived at Aḥmadnagar, Asad Khān Rūmī, who was at that time the *vakīl* of Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh, and who, communicated with the latter when from time to time he felt somewhat better and was in his right mind, brought him out; and he had an interview with Pīshrau Khān. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh then expressed his sincerity and faithful service to the threshold of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. Pīshrau Khān said "His Majesty has ordered me that I should ascertain the cause of your secluding yourself". He replied "There are many men round me, and the revenues of my kingdom are not sufficient for the payment of their expenses. I come out rarely on account of my being ashamed of men". He sent back Pīshrau Khān with much tribute and elephants of immense size.

It so happened that [1]Burhān brother of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk escaped from prison, and rose in revolt. The *amīrs* brought out Murtaḍa, and defeated Burhān. The latter fled, and went as a suppliant to the threshold of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, and received imperial favours. Murtaḍa again secluded himself in that garden. No one went near him. This happened in the year 996 A.H. A period of three years passed in this way. There was war several times between the armies of Niẓām-ul-mulk and 'Ādil Khān, and peace was each time made. A Circassian (Karjī) slave of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of the name of Ṣalābat Khān acquired an ascendancy in the service of Niẓām-ul-mulk; and became his minister plenipotentiary. Mīr Murtaḍa and Khudāwand Khān and the other *jāgīrdār amīrs* of Berār had enmity with Ṣalābat Khān. They came with a large force, and attacked Aḥmadnagar. Ṣalābat Khān fought with them and defeated them. The Berār *amīrs* then fled, and went for protection to the threshold of the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, which was the asylum of the world. They obtained reinforcements there, and again came back to Berār. An account of these events has already been given in its place.

[1] According to Firishtah the revolt of Burhān took place before the death of Ṣāḥib Khān. Burhān escaped from the fort of Junīr; and was defeated by Ṣalābat Khān, and fled to Bījāpūr. He returned again, when some disaffected *amīrs* conspired to place him on the throne; but the plot was discovered by Ṣalābat Khān; and he had again to make his escape. After that he sought an asylum in Akbar's Court.

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In his old days, Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk became enamoured of a [1] prostitute of the name of Fattū. On account of the fact that a Saiyid named Mīr Bihishtī had this woman in his house for sometime ; and he had a son of the name of Ismā'īl by another woman, Fattū used to describe Ismā'īl as her brother. Ismā'īl became the *vakīl* of Niẓām Shāh ; and put Ṣalābat Khān in prison. They say that he showed a [2] writing with a ص from Niẓām-ul-mulk to the effect that Ṣalābat Khān should remain in a fortress (or prison). Ṣalābat Khān sent for a [3] litter ; and getting into it [4] went to the fortress. Although the men in charge of the fort said that Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk was not in his right senses, and did not know anything about the order ; and loyalty and faithfulness to the salt required that he should

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[1] She is called a فاحشه فتو نام in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. Firishtah calls her فتحی شاه لولی ; and Col. Briggs has "Futteh Shah a dancer"; and he described her apparently as a man, and not as a woman (vol. III, page 264).

[2] One MS. has نوشته با صاد از مرتضی نظام الملک. The other MS. omits با صاد ; while the lith. ed. has با ص . The صاد ص is an abbreviation of صحیح (correct) and is equivalent to a signature.

[3] Both MSS. have *dōlī*, but the lith. ed. has *pālkī*.

[4] Firishtah also says that Ṣalābat Khān, in a quixotic spirit of loyalty, immured himself in the fort of Dandrājpūr. He gives a detailed account of the causes of Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh's displeasure with him. First of all, there was some trouble about some very curious and valuable necklaces which Fattū demanded. Ṣalābat Khān, in consultation with the other ministers, had two copies of the necklaces made, and made them over to her. She found out that the necklaces given to her were copies, and complained to Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh. Another cause was, that Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh took it into his head, at the suggestion of the women about him, that his son Mīrān Ḥusain wanted to dethrone him, and attempted to put him to death. Ṣalābat Khān refused to make the Shāhzāda over to him; and put the matter off. At this time Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh invaded the Niẓām Shāhī dominions, and demanded that the marriage of his sister with Shāhzāda Mīrān Ḥusain should be celebrated; or the bride should be sent back to Bījāpūr. Ṣalābat Khān refused compliance with the demand, unless Shōlāpūr should be first ceded to Niẓām Shāh. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, becoming angry at this, besieged Aūsa. Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh was enraged with Ṣalābat Khān ; and after reproaching him said, "I am tired of your disobedience, but I have no power to put you into prison". Ṣalābat Khān said, "Name a fortress, and I shall put myself in chains, and go and shut myself up there". Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh named the fort of Dandrājpūr ; and Ṣalābat Khān at once went and shut himself up there.

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attend to the welfare of his master, he did not accept this argument; and said "I have nothing to do with these contentions. I have no alternative except obedience."

When Ṣalābat Khān ceased to be in the way [1]Ismā'īl became the *vakīl muṭlaq* (minister with absolute power); and he and the woman Fattū acquired complete power and authority. Ismā'īl committed various acts of tyranny and oppression. As he had made [2] Ḥasan 'Alī, son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sabazwārī his *nāyib*, and had conferred the title of Mīrzā Khān on him, the latter when the tyranny and violence (of Ismā'īl) went beyond all bounds, got most of the *amīrs* to join him, and made himself the *vakīl* of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk. When he found the field unoccupied, the ambition to rule got into his head; and he released (Mīrān) Ḥusain, the son of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk, who had nearly attained his majority, and was imprisoned in a fort, and made him the ruler of the country. [3] They

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[1] Firishtah, however, says that Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh made Qāsim Bēg Ḥakīm his *vakil*, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Nāẓirī his *vazīr*.

[2] According to Firishtah, however, it was Sulṭān Ḥusain Sabazwārī himself, and not his son who was made regent with the title of Nāẓir Khān, by Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh, because the other minister did not agree to the latter's proposal to effect the destruction of Shāhzāda Mīrān Ḥusain.

[3] Niẓām-ud-dīn's account of the way in which Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh was killed is correct but incomplete. He has omitted all mention of an attempt by Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh to burn his son Mīrān Ḥusain to death. He told his ministers, Qāsim Bēg Ḥakīm and Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Nāẓirī that he had great longing to see his son. They were very thankful to God for this change in their master's disposition, and sent the Shāhzāda into the fort. Murtaḍa at first showed much affection towards the prince; and put him in a chamber near Bāghdād (see page 147, note 3). Then he set fire to the bed clothes, and shut the doors from the outside. When Mīrān Shāh woke up he ran to the door, and called out for help. Fataḥī Shāh, it must be said to her credit, opened the door; and sent the prince to the ministers. There was not, therefore, very much to choose between the father and the son; but it may be said that the former was, or affected to be mad. But evidently there was much method in his madness.

It may be mentioned here, that Firishtah's account of the events in Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh's reign is that of a contemporary, who took part in some of the events, which he has recorded. According to his account, he was employed by Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh to watch Nāẓir Khān, when the latter turned against him, and took up the cause of Shāhzāda Mīrān Shāh.

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threw Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk into a hot (Turkish) bath, and shut all the doors; and the poor man died of the heat. The rule of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk extended to twenty-six years and some months.

An account of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, son of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk, who was called Mīrān Ḥusain.

Mīrzā Khān kept him as a figurehead and himself carried on the government. [1]The prince on account of his youth was occupied during the whole of his time in pleasure and dissipation, and in cock fights and in wandering about in the *bāzār*. He roamed about during most of the time in the lanes and *bāzārs* in a drunken state in the company of women of the town, and committed harsh and offensive acts. [2]As the strength and power of Mīrzā Khān went beyond all bounds, the old *amīrs* of the Deccan became jealous and envious of him; and induced the young and inexperienced Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk to get rid of him. Accordingly [3]a feast was arranged in the house of

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[1] The character of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk as given by Firishtah does not quite agree with that given by Niẓām-ud-dīn. Firishtah also says that he was a young man of dissolute character; but he was also of a cruel and savage disposition. When he went about in a drunken state in the city, he killed men whom he met and who were guilty of no crime whatever, with arrows and musket shots and the sword.

[2] Before this however, according to Firishtah, some of his associates informed Ḥusain Shāh, that Mīrzā Khān had brought Ḥusain Shāh's uncle from the fort of Asīr (the lith. ed. has اسیر, and Col. Briggs, vol. III, p. 268, Joonere); and was keeping him concealed in his house, with the object of placing him on the throne, after deposing Ḥusain Shāh. The latter ordered Mīrzā Khān to be placed in imprisonment; but when the accusation was found to be false, he reinstated him, and increased his honours. Mīrzā Khān suggested, that in order to prevent future accusations of this kind, all the surviving male members of the royal family should be put to death; and fifteen persons, namely, his uncles and their male offsprings, were put to death in one day.

[3] The account of this feast in the text agrees severely with that given by Firishtah. The name of the man who gave the feast is also Ankas Khān in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs, vol. III, p. 271, Bungush Khan. The man who became ill, or according to Firishtah, feigned to be ill as previously arranged, with Mīrzā Khān was, according to Firishtah Aqā Mīr Sharwānī, and the date of the feast was Thursday, the 12th Jamādī-ul-awwal, 997 A.H. Col. Briggs gives the 10th Jumad-ool-awul 997 A.H., March 15th, 1588 A.D., as the date.

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Ankas Khān, who was a foster-brother (a son of the wet-nurse) of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, and was of the same age as he; and Mīrzā Khān was invited to it. He, however, got information of the intention (of his enemies); and did not attend the feast, sending excuses for his absence. It so happened that after the feast Saiyid Murtaḍa Sharwānī, a friend of Mīrzā Khān, who was among those who had come to the feast, got up vomiting and cried out and complained that they had given him poison. Mīrzā Khān went and saw Saiyid Murtaḍa; and after having arranged matters went to wait on Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, he told the latter, "Saiyid Murtaḍa is a [1] man highly esteemed, and is lying on the bed of death; and air and water (climate or atmosphere) inside the fort are salubrious. He might, if you so order, be there for some days." [2] After obtaining permission he sent the man to the fort. [3] On the following day, he again waited on Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk; and took him to enquire about the health of Saiyid Murtaḍa; and then imprisoned him, (*i.e.*, Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk), in an apartment there.

Couplet:

Place not thy foot on the path of deceit and fraud,
For in the end, in the net of danger thou must be caught.

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[1] The actual words are مردی عزیز است. Firishtah has یکی از امراء بزرگ شماست, *i.e.*, is one of your great *amīrs*.

[2] The account given by Niẓām-ud-dīn of the way, in which the incarceration of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk was effected, is consistent. That given by Firishtah is somewhat different, and is rather confused He says that Mīrzā Khān reported to Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, that Āqā Mīr Sharwānī should be sent *outside* the fort; and should be allowed to live in a part of *his* (*i.e.*, the Sulṭān's) own palace. Afterwards Mīrzā Khān went and reported that Āqā Mīr's condition was serious; and suggested that it would be a great kindness on his part, if he would go, and enquire after his health. Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk then rode into the fort, with two or three companions, and was at once placed in confinement.

[3] The way in which the revolution was affected, as given by Firishtah, agrees mainly with that in the text. Firishtah however says, that two sons of Burhān, namely Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl, were brought from the fort of Lāhagar, where they had been imprisoned, so that one of them might be selected and placed on the throne; and eventually Ismā'īl, the younger of the two, who was only twelve years of age was chosen to be the puppet Sulṭān.

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The doors were then shut and placed in charge of his (Mīrzā Khān's) men. Saiyid Murtaḍa in complete health and strength, sat at the gate of the fort, and supervised everything. Mīrzā Khān had Ankas Khān also seized, and put him into prison. He sent Mīr Ṭāhir, son-in-law of Amīn-ul-mulk to the fort, and brought Ismā'īl son of Burhān who was the nephew of Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk out of prison; and he was brought to Aḥmadnagar.

When the news of the imprisonment of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk was bruited about, [1] Jamāl Khān Gujrātī, who was the commander of the *silāḥdārs*, and the slave Yāqūt who had the title of Khudāwand Khān united together, and having secured the union of the soldiers and other men with themselves, came in a crowd to the gate of the fort, and commenced to fire cannon. Mīrzā Khān came to the gate; and a great fight took place. Kishwar Khān, the uncle-in-law (*khāl*) of Mīrzā Khān and 'Alī Khān were slain. Mīrzā Khān and Saiyid Murtaḍa and Jamshīd Khān and Amīn-ul-mulk and Bhā'ī Khān and

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[1] The account of the way in which Jamāl Khān came to support Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, and the latter was murdered by Mīrzā Khān and his partisans, as given in the text, agrees with that given by Firishtah. According to the latter, however, Jamāl Khān was the leader of the Dakinīs and Ḥabshīs, and Mīrzā Khān of the foreigners, other than the Ḥabshīs. He also says that Mīrzā Khān did nothing when Jamāl Khān had five or six thousand horsemen and many men on foot, including the people of the *bāzār*; but later when twenty-five thousand horsemen came to Jamāl Khān, who was *Mahdawī*, he encouraged the men in the fort, by giving each, one *hamiān* of red gold; and sent out hundred and fifty *Gharībzādas* seven *Gharībs* and twenty *Dakinīs* and one elephant (بخت), which had the name of Ghulām 'Alī, (the meaning is not at all clear) under his *Khālu* Muhammad Sa'īd and Kishwar Khān (it is again not clear whether the men were both maternal uncles of Mīrzā Khān or only one of them, or whether Muḥammad Sa'īd was the uncle's name, and Kishwar Khān his title). Col. Briggs does not help in this matter, as he does not mention that Mīrzā Khān sent anybody from the fort to fight with Jamāl Khān's men. Kishwar Khān knew that it was impossible for him to do anything against such terrible odds. Still he came out, and made brave onsets; and he and most of the men perished. It was after this, that Mīrzā Khān ordered the head of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk to be cut off, and fixed on a lance at the top of a bastion. After this some of the Dakinīs wanted to go back to their own houses; but Jamāl Khān strenuously objected; and he was selected as their leader; and the gate of the fort was set on fire.

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Khān Khānān and other men then decided to cut off the head of Ḥusain, and to throw it outside the fort, under a mistaken idea, that their doing so would put an end to the disturbance. They also brought Ismā'īl the son of Burhān and placed him on the top of a bastion and raised the royal umbrella over his head. They also proclaimed, that " as Ḥusain was unfit to rule, he had met with his deserts, and Ismā'īl Niẓām-ul-mulk is now your ruler ".

Jamāl Khān and the other *amīrs* seeing Ḥusain's head fought with greater energy ; and set fire to the gate of the fort. Although Mīrzā Khān knocked on the door of peace, it had no effect. In the end [1] Mīrzā Khān and his partisans came out of the fort, and took the path of flight. Mīrzā Khān escaped, but Jamshīd Khān and Bhāī Khān and Amīn-ul-mulk and Saiyid Murtaḍa and other leaders were seized and put to death. As Mīrzā Khān was going away towards Junīr, some people recognised him, and seizing him brought him back. By the order of Jamāl Khān, he was torn limb from limb and was put in a cannon, and fired off. The hand of destruction was then raised and of the 'Irāqīs and Khurāsānīs and Mā-warā-an-nahrīs every one that was seized was slain.

Couplets :

With my own eyes I saw, that on the path,
A small bird struck on the life of an ant ;
But yet its beak had not finished the prey,
Another bird came and devoured it up.

The women and children were carried away to captivity; and whole families were destroyed. About four thousand innocent persons, who had no connection whatever with the affairs, were murdered. On the whole wherever a man with a white skin was seen, he was killed.

The period of the rule of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk was about [2] two months.

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[1] The account of the flight of Mīrzā Khān and his partisans and of the massacre which followed, as given in the text, agrees mainly with that given by Firishtah. There are some differences, but it is not necessary to mention them.

[2] Firishtah makes it two months and three days. ۱۰ ماه ten months in the text-edition.

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AN ACCOUNT OF [1] ISMĀ'ĪL NIẒĀM-UL-MULK, SON OF BURHĀN.

When they [2] desisted from the general massacre, Jamāl Khān raised Ismā'īl Niẓām-ul-mulk, to the seat of power; and kept him as a puppet or figurehead; and himself carried on the government. Ismā'īl in spite of the fact of his [3] youth, perpetrated harsh and cruel acts. They say that he was passing one day through the *bāzār*, and his eye fell on a group of Kashmīrīs. As he saw that they had white skins, he enquired why they also had not been slain.

In short, Jamāl Khān having acquired complete ascendancy the duty of carrying on the Niẓām-ul-mulkī government devolved on him. On account of a dispute which cropped up between the Niẓām-ul-mulkī and the 'Ādil Shāhī governments on the border of the two territories, [4] he invaded the 'Ādil Shāhī country, and fought a battle, and was victorious; and three hundred elephants were taken by him as part of the plunder.

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[1] According to Firishtah, Ibrāhīm the elder brother of Ismā'īl was born of a Ḥabshī mother, and had a dark complexion and an unprepossessing appearance. Ismā'īl was a son of a daughter of one of the Nawābats of the Kōhān (Cōncan), and possessed both good qualities and looks. The fact mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn, about his remark about the Kashmīrīs, does not show that he possessed the former. According to Firishtah, Jamāl Khān was a *Mahdawī*; and he initiated Ismā'īl in the doctrines of that sect. After this, Ṣalābat Khān, who was imprisoned in the fort of Kehrla on the borders of Berār, hearing of the murder of Mīrān Ḥusain, and being aggrieved at the power of the *Mahdawīs* rose in revolt; but Jamāl Khān defeated him in the neighbourhood of Pattan, and made him retire towards Burhānpūr. He then marched to meet the 'Ādil Shāhī forces, and the two armies met near Āshtī. They confronted each other for fifteen days, after which peace was concluded, on an agreement that Jamāl Khān should send back the *pālkī* of the mother Mīrān Ḥusain Shāh, with seventy thousand *hūns* as *Na'lbāha*. This is what is mentioned in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs says, that the agreement was, that "Chand Beeby, the widow of Ally Adil Shah, and aunt to the present King of Ahmudnuggur, should be sent to the Beejapoor Camp, and the Nizam Shahy Government should pay two hundred and seventy thousand hoons (Nalbaha)" (vol. III, p. 278).

[2] The word is پرداختند in one MS. It is بپرداختند in the other and in the lith. ed.

[3] The lith. ed. has خورد سال و; only صغر سن has been adopted in the text-edition.

[4] This invasion and victory took place according to Firishtah at a somewhat later period.

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At this time, [1] Burhān, brother of Murtaḍa Nīẓam-ul-mulk, who had entered the service of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, having heard of the disturbances in the Deccan, came there in the year 997 A.H., in accordance with a *farmān* of the threshold, which was the asylum of all people; and with its help and assistance, he came to

[1] According to Firishtah, Akbar, on hearing of the accession of Ismā'īl Niẓām-ul-mulk, sent for Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk from Bangash, where he had a fief; and offered to send him to the Deccan with an army, so that he might take possession of his ancestral dominions. Burhān said "people would be averse to join me, if I go with a Mughal army; let me go alone to conciliate the people, and bring them over to my side". Akbar agreed to this; and gave him *pargana* Hāndīa as a *jāgīr*; and also sent a *farmān* to Rāja 'Alī Khān to help him. Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk sent *qaulnāmas* to the *zamīndārs* of the country of Aḥmadnagar. They expressed their willingness to join him. He then marched with a small force by way of Gōndwāna into Berār; but Jahāngīr Khān Ḥabshī, who had agreed to join him, now turned against him, and met him in battle. Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk was defeated and retired to Hāndīa After this, he obtained the help of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, and Rāja 'Alī Khān, and came to Burhānpūr; and began to collect troops. Jamāl Khān then consulted with other *Mahdawīs;* and Saiyid Amjad-ul-mulk Mahdawī was made commander of the Berār forces to meet Rāja 'Ali Khān and Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk; and Jamāl Khān himself advanced to meet Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. He met Dilāwar Khān Ḥabshī, the leader of the 'Ādil Shāhī army at Darsang; and defeated him and seized three hundred elephants. Jamāl Khān was still there, when he heard that the *amīrs* of Berār had submitted to Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk. He then with great pomp and splendour advanced to meet the latter. Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk on the advice of 'Ādil Shāh and Rāja 'Alī Khān, ordered the Marhatta horse to hover about Jamāl Khān's camp and to cut off their supply of grain and fodder. Owing to this, many deserted Jamāl Khān and joined Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk. When Jamāl Khān reached the Rōhangīr Ghāt, he found that Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk's men had blocked it. He attempted to get through by another way, which was very difficult; and his army suffered much from heat and thirst. When they came near a place, where they had hoped to get some water, they found that Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk had already occupied it. At last they found a place where there was a little water; and Jamāl Khān and his partisans resolved to fight at once, after quenching their thirst a little. The battle was fought on the 13th of Rajab 999 A.H.; and Jamāl Khān was about to gain a victory, when he was struck on the forehead by a bullet from a musket, and killed. His partisans fled; but some of them and Ismā'īl Niẓām-ul-mulk were seized. Ismā'īl was sent to attend his father Burhān. Col. Briggs says he was confined by his father; and deprived of his throne (vol. III, page 281)

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the country of Berār, and with the help of Rāja 'Alī Khān, ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, took possession of it. At this time Jamāl Khān advanced rapidly with much pride and haughtiness to attack Burhān-ul-mulk; and fought with him and was killed. The country of Aḥmadnagar and Berār then came into the possession of Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk; and up to this day, which is in the year 1002 A.H., he occupies the place of his ancestors.

The period of the rule of Ismā'īl was about two years.

An account of the rule of Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk, son of Ḥusain, son of Burhān, who is the brother of Murtaḍa.

For a long time he was kept in imprisonment by order of his brother. By chance he escaped; and went to Bījāpūr and was in the court of [1] 'Ādil Khān. From there, he was summoned by some of the *amīrs*, and came to Aḥmadnagar. As Murtaḍa was alive, and Ṣalābat Khān was the *peshwā*, he was unable to do anything. He then fled to Gujrāt; and went to Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān Ghaznavī, who was one of the great *amīrs* of his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. After that, he was honoured by being allowed to kiss the noble threshold. He was then made an *amīr* of three hundred, and a *jāgīr* was conferred on him. After some time he was made a commander of a thousand horse and sent to Mālwa. An army was then sent with A'ẓam Khān (with orders), that he should free the Deccan from those intemperate and vulgar people; and make it over to Burhān who was one of the [2] servants of the threshold. A'zam Khān arrived at Elichpūr which was the capital of Berār; but nothing was done towards the conquest of the Deccan, and he suddenly elected to return instead of standing firm. Burhān being disappointed again went to the threshold, which was the asylum of the people. These matters have already been mentioned in their proper places.

After that he was appointed to attack the Afghāns in concert with Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān. When the news of the disturbances

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have 'Ādil Khān; the other has 'Ādil.

[2] The actual word in one of the MSS. and in the lith. ed. is خاک کشیرههای, in the other it is برگشتهای. In the text-edition M. Hidāyat Ḥosain has rightly adopted خاک بر کشیدههای.

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in the Deccan again reached the noble ears, His Majesty summoned Burhān from the country of Bangash; and with much attention and great favour sent him (to the Deccan). A *farmān* to be obeyed by all the world was then issued to all the *amīrs* of the *ṣūba* of Mālwa, and to all *zamīndārs* and more specially to Rāja 'Alī Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, that they should take such measures that Burhān, who had come for [1] protection to the threshold, should be placed in the seat of his brother. A noble *farmān* was also sent to Naẓr Bē Uzbek and his sons who had *jāgīrs* in Mālwa. Naẓr Bē and his sons joined Burhān. Rāja 'Alī Khān, considering the service a means of increase in his position and dignity, advanced (to support Burhān). When Jamāl Khān who had gone to Bījāpūr, and defeated 'Ādil Khān and seized the large number of elephants, heard that Rāja 'Alī Khān was advancing, and intended to bring forward Burhān, he marched rapidly from Bījāpūr and arrived with [2] some troops. Rāja 'Alī Khān, who had detached most of the useful of Jamāl Khān's men from him, by means of letters and messages, [3] fought a battle. Men began to desert from Jamāl Khān's army one by one; and the artillery men leaving the guns, etc., unattended to, fled. Jamāl Khān thoroughly amazed at this, exerted himself in spite of the great confusion. At this time one of the musketeers, one of whose relations Jamāl Khān had put to death, [4] fired at the latter, and he fell dead on the battle-field. Rāja 'Alī Khān sent Burhān with great honour and respect to Aḥmadnagar. This event happened in the month of Rajab 999 A.H. He (Burhān) is on the throne of government up to this [5] date.

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have the word که پناه بدرگاه آورده است; the other MS. substitutes که التجا بدرگاه آورده است.

[2] The word cannot be made out. It is رمکی and مکی, in the MSS., and مکہی in the lith. ed. The correct word کمی is adopted in the text-edition.

[3] There are some variations in the readings. One MS. has اندک. The other changes بود to بودند and then says جنگی. The lith. ed. agrees with the first MSS., but substitutes اندکی for اندک.

[4] I have translated the sentence as it is in the MSS. The lith. ed. has او بجمال خان رسیده باهم در معرکه افتادند.

[5] This is the end of the history of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty in one of the MSS., and in the lith. ed.; but the other MS. takes the history onward to the

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SECTION III. [1]THE DYNASTY OF 'ĀDIL KHĀN.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF YŪSUF 'ĀDIL KHĀN.

[2]'Ādil Khān, who was the founder of the dynasty, was a Circassian slave, whom Khwājah Maḥmūd Garjistānī had sold to Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī. Garjistān is a dependency of Gīlān. 'Ādil Khān became possessed of the country of Shōlāpūr, as far as the river [3]Krishnā, in breadth and length from Dābul to Gulbarga; and proclaimed

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year 1042 A.H., which was long after the death of Niẓām-ud-dīn. As this is clearly an interpolation by some subsequent scribe, I have not thought it fit to translate it. It may be mentioned, however, that it contains the account of the rules of Ibrāhīm son of Burhān, of Bahādur son of Ibrāhīm, and Ḥusain son of Bahādur. According to Firishtah Ibrāhīm succeeded Burhān. Then Aḥmad, son of Shāh Ṭāhir was set up, but his title was disputed. After that the Mughals stormed Aḥmadnagar. Chānd Bībī defended it with courage and intrepidity. The Mughals were repulsed, but Berār was ceded to them. Then Bahādur Shāh's claim was established; and Chānd Bībī became the regent. After three years, Aḥmadnagar was annexed to Akbar's dominion; and Bahādur was sent to Gwāliar as a prisoner. After that Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh II, was set up as king with Parinda as his capital; but the whole of the power was in the hands of Malik Aḥmad.

[1] This is the heading in one MS. In the other it is سلسلهٔ عادل خان که اول ایشان یوسف عادل خان است. The heading in the lith. ed. does not mention the dynasty, but simply has ذکر.

[2] The words غلامی چرکس بود are taken from the lith. ed. The MSS. omit them. Firishtah gives a long and romantic account of the birth of 'Ādil Khān, from which it appears that he was a son of Aghā Murād (Amurath II), Sulṭān of Rūm (Constantinople). His elder brother, Muḥammad, on his accession ordered him to be strangled to death, but his mother smuggled him away; and he was taken to the town of Sawā, where he received a good education. His birth being afterwards divulged, he had to leave Sawā, and ultimately came to India.

Niẓām-ud-dīn does not give any account of the events of his reign. Firishtah's account extends over about 13 pages of the lith. ed. and Col. Briggs's translation over about 31 pages. According to Firishtah his rule began in the year 895 A.H. (1489 A.D.); and according to another account in 896 A.H.; and he died in 915 A.H. (1510 A.D.) having ruled for twenty years and two months according to the lith. ed. of Firishtah; and to twenty-one years according to Col. Briggs's translation. So that what little Niẓām-ud-dīn says is incorrect. Mr. Sewell also says that 'Ādil Shāh proclaimed his independence in 1489 (page 106 of his book); and he died in 1510 A.D. (page 115).

[3] کشتینه Kishtīna in the text-edition.

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his independence. And in the end he acquired possession of Bījāpūr also, he ruled for seven years from the beginning of the year 906 to the year 913 A.H.

An account of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, son of Yūsuf.

[1] (He) sat in his father's place. He was a brave and liberal man. He seized[2] Ankar and Sākar and Naṣratābād and the territory of Ancha; and obtained the title of 'Ādil Khān Sawā'ī. As he had a territory equal to one quarter more than that of any of the other rulers of the Deccan, he got the title of[3] Sawā'ī. He had twelve thousand selected

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[1] According to Firishtah Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh appointed on his death-bed Kamāl Khān Dakinī to be the regent; Ismā'īl his son being still a minor. The regent gradually usurped all the power; and it was decided at a conference of his creatures, held on the 1st Ṣafar 917 A.H., April 29th, 1511, that on the 1st Rabī'-ul-āwwal Ismā'īl would be deposed; and Kamāl Khān should have the *Khuṭba* read in his own name. The queen mother then had the regent assassinated by Yūsuf Turk, the foster-father of Ismā'īl. After this, Kamāl Khān's mother concealed her son's death, and directed his son Ṣafdar Khān to storm that part of the fort, in which Ismā'īl and his family lived. They were panic struck; but Dilshād Āghā, aunt of Ismā'īl, who had come recently from Persia incited Ismā'īl's attendants to oppose Ṣafdar. Both parties fought bravely, but in the end Ṣafdar, who had been wounded in the eye by an arrow, was killed by a stone being rolled upon him by Ismā'īl, from the terrace on which he stood above him. Both Kamāl Khān and Ṣafdar Khān being dead, Ismā'īl ascended the throne.

[2] These names are differently written in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. The first appears to be انکبر Ankbar, and انکیر Atkīr in the MSS., and انکر Ankar in the lith. ed. The second and third are the same in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. The fourth is انچه and الجمه, in the MSS., and انچه in the lith. ed. The first three places are انکیر, ساکر and نصرتا باد, which according to Firishtah had been taken by Amīr Barīd during the lifetime of and in collusion with Kamāl Khān, and were recovered by Mīrzā Jahāngīr. Col. Briggs (vol. III, p. 46) calls them Etgeer, Sagar and Noosratabad. انکیر in the text-edition.

[3] *Sawā* in Hindūstanī means one and one quarter. I cannot find any reference to the title in Firishtah. It may be that the title had reference to Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh having come from Sawā. See note 2, page 159. The word Sawāī is not in the heading in the MSS., but is in it in the lith. ed. Niẓām-ud-dīn does not give any real account of the reign of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh. Firishtah's account extends over about thirteen pages of the lith. ed. and Col. Briggs's translation to about forty pages; but I do not think it necessary to

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and well-armed and well-equipped horsemen, most of whom were Mughals, in his service, and [1] he looked after them with care. Every year he sent ships to Hurmuz (Ormuz); and summoned men from 'Irāq and Khurāsān. [2] They say that one day he was a guest in the house of 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāwēlī. 'Imād-ul-mulk placed some dishes filled with gems and made a great show of offering them to his guests. When 'Imād-ul-mulk became a guest of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, the latter brought his army fully arrayed before his guest's eyes; and said "This is all that I have acquired; I shall offer to you any one of my servants, whom you may ask for". He carried on three wars with Niẓām-ul-mulk; and was victorious each time. He ruled for a period of twenty-five years, and then passed away.

AN ACCOUNT OF [3] IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL KHĀN, SON OF ISMĀ'ĪL KHĀN.

Through the exertions of the *amīrs*, he sat in his father's place. Mallū Khān, who was the elder brother applied to Asa'd Khān who

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refer to any part of these, as it is not necessary to elucidate any of the statements made by Niẓām-ud-dīn.

[1] The MSS. have تربیت میکرد, but the lith. ed. has نگاه داشته تربیت می کرد.

[2] This anecdote is to be found in Firishtah also. The horsemen are described there as *dō-aspa*, *i.e.*, having two horses, riding one and leading the other.

[3] One MS. inserts حکومت before the name. Firishtah has a short section giving an account of the history of Mallū 'Ādil Shāh. It appears that Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh died on the 16th Ṣafar 941 A.H. (6th September, 1534 A.D.), while he was besieging Nālkonda on the border of the Tilang country. Col. Briggs calls the fort Kowilconda. Mr. Sewell does not give the name of the fort, but describes it as a fortress belonging to the Quṭb Shāhs, see page 166. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh's sons immediately began to contend with each other for the succession but Asa'd Khān Lārī, knowing that it would be dangerous for them to fall out in a hostile country, told them that the time was inauspicious for the accession; and that they should return to Gulbarga; and after asking for inspiration from the spirit of Saiyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz, select a Sulṭān. The princes agreed. Asa'd Khān was himself in favour of Ibrāhīm's succession; but as Mallū was the elder brother, and Ismā'īl had directed that he should be the successor, Mallū was placed on the throne; and Ibrāhīm was imprisoned in the fortress of Mirich.

Mallū was however utterly unworthy to rule. He was extremely vicious and dissolute; and was deposed after six months, both he and his younger brother Allū Khān being blinded by order of their grandmother.

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was the Amīr-ul-umarā. Asa'd Khān raised him to the seat of authority; and he ruled for half a day (یکنیم روز,[1] which may mean either half a day or a day and half). But Asa'd Khān afterwards repented of what he had done; and went away to[2] Malkapūr, which was his *jāgīr*. Mallu Khān was then taken prisoner by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān; and he and his younger brother, Ulugh Khān, were blinded by having the pencil drawn across their eyes. They say that he fought nine times with Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk, and was sometimes victorious and was sometimes defeated. He ruled for five and twenty years; and then passed away.

An account of 'Alī 'Ādil Khān, son of Ibrāhīm.

In accordance with[3] the directions of his father, he sat in the latter's place. He had two brothers Ṭahmāsp and Ismā'īl. He,

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Nizām-ud-dīn says very little about the events of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's reign, except that he had nine campaigns against Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk. His account is mainly connected with the disputed succession. As regards this also, there are some discrepancies between his account and that of Firishtah. The man whom he called اسعد خان Asa'd Khān, is called سعید خان Sa'īd Khān by Firishtah. He says nothing about the disputes about the succession having taken place while the rival claiments were in a hostile country, Gōlkonda; and the statement that Mallū Khān ruled for half a day is of course incorrect. The younger brother of Mallū Khān, who is called الغ خان, Ulugh Khān in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt is called الف خان, Aluf Khān in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and Alloo Khan by Col. Briggs (vol. III, p. 77).

Firishtah's account of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's reign extends to about eight pages of the lith. ed. and to about thirty-three pages of Col. Briggs's translation.

[1] In the text-edition یک و نیم روز.

[2] In the text-edition بلکانو Balkānu, in place of Malkapūr.

[3] This is not correct. Ibrāhīm, who had contrary to the example of his father and grandfather adopted the *Sunnī* doctrines was displeased with 'Alī, who had shown his preference for the Shi'a faith; and kept him confined in the fort of Mirich; and wanted to make his son Ṭahmāsp his successor; but he found that the latter had also become a Shi'a and he confined him in another fortress. He left the question of his successor to be decided by God. Muḥammad Kishwar Khān wrote to the Superintendent of Mirich that the death of Ibrāhīm was close at hand; and he (Kishwar Khān) was proceeding to Mirich to support Shāhzāda 'Alī. As the partisans of Ṭahmāsp were likely to create a disturbance he should raise the umbrella of rule over the head of

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also following [1] the example of his father, had the pencil drawn across the eyes of both of them. He was a man of (good) morals and prepossessing manners, and had the qualities of liberality and patience and generosity. Every year he gave five or six *lakhs* of [2] *hūns* in charity to *faqīrs* and the needy, and travellers from foreign lands. He brought that most learned man of the age, Amīr Fatḥ-ul-lah Shīrāzī from Persia, having sent him a large sum of money (to induce him to come to India); and made him his *vakīl*. A large number of the wise men of the age were members of his court. He was a man with the nature of a *darvīsh*, and was a friend of *faqīrs*. He had a great knowledge of the language of the *sufīs*. The greater part of his time was spent in the society and company of wise men. He was also obsessed with outward appearance; and having collected many *amīrs* round him, kept them arrayed in grand dresses. [3] This had a great effect on his affairs. He took possession of the districts of [4] Bāikalā and Bāslār and Bālkōr; and his rule extended beyond that of his ancestors. He waged war three times with Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, and was sometimes victorious and was sometimes vanquished.

He had relations of sincere attachment to the world-protecting threshold of His Majesty the Khalīfa'-i-Ilāhī. He always made himself mentioned in the sanctified court, by sending petitions and highly befitting tribute. Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk came once and Ḥakīm 'Alī came a second time on embassy to him from the threshold which was the asylum of all the people. He went forward twelve *karōhs*

'Alī and send him out of the fort, so that they might march together to Bījāpūr. The Superintendent of Mirich, Sikandar Khān, who was a strong partisan of 'Alī agreed to this. He was made *sipāh-sālār* (Commander-in-chief); and his son-in-law Kāmil Khān was made an *amīr*. Nobles and people flocked to him from all sides and he was raised to the throne.

[1] The readings are slightly different. The MSS. appear to have بسنت, بر نسبت; and the lith. ed. has به نسبت. The MSS. appear to be incorrect. I cannot find any mention of the two brothers being blinded in Firishtah.

[2] روپیه rupees in text.

[3] The meaning of this is not quite clear.

[4] I have not been able to identify these territories. In the text-edition باوکلا و باسلور و بالکور.

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to meet them ; and performed the ceremony of submission and allegiance. He inserted the great name of His Majesty the Khalīfa'-Ilāhī in the public prayers, and the coins of his realm. He was inclined to the Imāmīa religion ; and abandoned the custom of his ancestors.

He heard by accident, that Malik Barīd the ruler of Bīdar had [1] a very handsome eunuch. He sent letters and demanded the eunuch. Malik Barīd evaded (sending him) by pretexts and objections. At last Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk sent an army to attack Barīd. The latter shut himself up ; and made an appeal for help to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. He sent ten thousand horsemen to reinforce Amīr Barīd's army ; and freed the latter from the siege. This time Malik Barīd being helpless and having no other alternatives sent the eunuch. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh owing to his great [2] passion went out to meet the eunuch, and took him to his palace. At night he took him to a private place and attempted to have intercourse with him. The eunuch drew out a dagger from [3] (ساق shank of) his sock, and stabbed him with it in his chest, and slew him. This strange affair took place in the year 988 A.H.

The period of his rule was twenty-five years. It is a strange coincidence that [4] three 'Ādil Khāns in succession each ruled for twenty-five years.

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[1] Col. Briggs says (see note, page 142, vol. III, of his history) that "The cause of the King's death is most disgusting and offensive, and it is by no means attempted to be palliated by Ferishta, when he mentions it. A modern author of the history of Beejapoor, however, has set forth reasons in defence of Ally Adil Shah's conduct, and endeavoured to prove that Ferishta has traduced his memory." I have not been able to ascertain the name of the author referred to.

[2] The word is شهوت (lust) in one MS. and in the lith. ed. ; and شوق (curiosity, affection) in the other. In the text-edition شهوتی .

[3] The word is شان in both MSS., شاخ in the lith. ed. and ساق in the text-edition.

[4] This does not appear to be quite correct. Niẓām-ud-dīn of course mentions 25 years as the periods of the reigns of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh ; but according to Firishtah Ismā'īl reigned from 915 A.H. to 941 A.H., about twenty six years. Then Mallū reigned for six months, after which Ibrāhīm reigned from 941–965 A.H., which according to Firishtah was a period of twenty-four years and six months ; and 'Alī 'Ādil

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AN ACCOUNT OF IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL KHĀN (SON OF ṬAHMĀSP), WHO WAS A NEPHEW OF 'ALĪ 'ĀDIL KHĀN.

[1] Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān was placed on the seat of government at the age of nine years, by the exertions of Kāmil Khān. Kishwar Khān who

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Shāh from 965 to 987 A.H., which only gives twenty-two years; but if the correct date of his death was 988, then he reigned for twenty-three years. Mr. Sewell's table has Ismā'īl from 1534 A.D. Mallū or Malū as he calls him from August, 1534 to February, 1535, Ibrāhīm from 1535–1557 A.D. and 'Alī from 1557 to April 11th, 1580 (page 408).

[1] The account of the rise and fall of different ministers or regents agrees generally with that given by Firishtah. According to him Kāmil Khān at first acted with moderation, but after two months he became intoxicated with power, and showed some disrespect to Chānd Bībī; who got Ḥājī Kishwar Khān to effect his destruction. Ḥājī Kishwar Khān in his turn tried to grasp the whole power of the state. At this time Bahzād-ul-mulk *sarnaubat* of Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh advanced with fifteen thousand horsemen, to conquer some of the districts of Bījāpūr lying near the border. Ḥājī Kishwar Khān sent an army to meet him; and he was signally defeated. There were great rejoicings; and valuable presents were made to the *amīrs*; but later they were directed to return the elephants which had been given to them to the royal *fīlkhāna*. This order, which was passed without consulting Chānd Bībī or Chānd Sulṭān as Firishtah calls her, gave much displeasure; and a conspiracy was made to effect the destruction of Ḥājī Kishwar Khān; and to raise Muṣṭafa Khān to power. Hājī Kishwar Khān hearing of this got Mīrzā Nūr-ud-dīn Muḥammad, who had received many favours from Muṣṭafa Khān treacherously to assassinate him. Chānd Bībī was highly incensed at this; but Ḥājī Kishwar Khān got an order from the king for imprisoning her in the fort of Satāra; and she was forced out of the harem with much indignity, and sent to Satāra. After this Ḥājī Kishwar Khān became very unpopular, and went away to Aḥmadnagar; but he found that the court there could not protect him; so he went away towards Gōlkonda, where he was assassinated soon after by a relative of Muṣṭafa Khān.

After this, according to Firishtah Ikhlāṣ Khān became the regent; and Chānd Bībī was brought back from Satāra. He, however, being suspicious that Afḍal Khān Shīrāzī and Rāsu Pandit, who were associated with him in the government, would prove hostile to him had them put to death. He banished other great *amīrs*; and in conjunction with Ḥamīd Khān and Dilāwar Khān carried on the government according to his own wishes. He then invited 'Ain-ul-mulk from his *jāgīr*; and he and Ḥamīd Khān and Dilāwar Khān went out of the city to meet him. 'Ain-ul-mulk treacherously seized them, put fetters on them and brought them back to the city. On his arrival near the fort he found the gates closed and being panic-struck he went back to his *jāgīr*

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was one of the great *amīrs* slew Kāmil Khān, and became himself the *vakīl*. He and Muṣṭafa Khān and the latter's children were then put to death; and the *vakālat* fell to Dilāwar Khān Ḥabshī. He, *i.e.*, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān abolished the Imāmīa form of the religion; and established the religion of the *sunnat* and *jama'at*. Dilāwar ran the government with great power and strength for nine years. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān with the help of the other *amīrs* then attacked

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leaving Ikhlāṣ Khān, Ḥamīd Khān and Dilāwar Khān behind, who then resumed their authority.

Owing to these disorders, the other rulers of the Deccan, *viz.*, Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, who had succeeded his father and Bahzād-ul-mulk, with Saiyid Murtaḍa the Amīr-ul-umrā of Berār invaded Bījāpūr; and laid siege to Shāhdurd. They were unable to take it, as it was strenuously defended by the *thānādar* Muḥammad Āqā; and then advanced to Bījāpūr plundering and ravaging the country through which they passed. Ikhlāṣ Khān and the Ḥabshīs attempted to defend Bījāpūr; but being unable to do so, and knowing that their rule was not acceptable to the *amīrs*, represented the fact to Chānd Bībī. She thereupon made Shāh Abul Ḥasan, son of Shāh Ṭāhir the *amīr jumla*. The latter reconciled the nobles; and the enemies finding it difficult to seize the city, retired to their own countries; the Niẓām Shāhīs going back to Aḥmadnagar; and Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh to Gōlkonda; but the latter left Amīr Saiyid Z'ain-ul Astarābādī on whom he conferred the title of Muṣṭafa Khān, to plunder the country. Upon this Ikhlāṣ Khān sent Dilāwar Khān to attack him; and he defeated him signally; and obtained much plunder. From the hour of his victory, the idea of becoming the regent entered the mind of Dilāwar Khān. He returned towards Bījāpūr; and encamped at the town of Alāpūr. He flattered and deceived Ikhlāṣ Khān and then marching rapidly took possession of the citadel. Ikhlāṣ Khān tried to storm it, but was defeated; and his partisans were killed by the cannon fired from the citadel; and he had to retire in the evening. He then nominated Dalīl Khān to besiege the citadel, and he continued the siege for four months; after which he went over to Dilāwar Khān. Ikhlāṣ Khān disdaining to escape was seized in his house; and was blinded and imprisoned.

Dilāwar Khān continued to be the regent till 998 A.H.; when Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh succeeded in wresting the power from him. He effected his escape to Aḥmadnagar. He was induced by Burhān Niẓām Shāh to march towards Bījāpūr. After this Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh invited Dilāwar Khān to come back; and the latter did so after receiving an assurance, that he would not be injured in life and property. He was, however, after his arrival, blinded, and was imprisoned in the fortress of Satāra.

This again is a long note but I have thought it proper to write it in order to clear up the accounts of the changes in the regency.

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Dilāwar Khān; and the latter fled to Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk at Aḥmadnagar. He instigated the latter to march towards Bījāpūr and attack ʻĀdil Khān; but he was unable to do anything; and went back. Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Khān then sent *qaul* (probably an agreement of safe conduct) and summoned Dilāwar Khān; and made him blind by drawing the pencil across his eyes. Up to this day which is in the year 1002 A.H., and which amounts to a period of fourteen years, he (Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Khān) is ruling his [1] kingdom.

SECTION IV. [2] THE QUṬB-UL-MULKĪYA LINE OR DYNASTY.

An account of Sulṭān Qulī Quṭb-ul-mulk [3] Hamadānī.

He is from the tribe of [4] Mīr ʻAlī Shakr Āq Quyunlī. He was one of the five *vazīrs* of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns. As Sulṭān Maḥmūd

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[1] This is the end of the history of the ʻĀdil Shāhī dynasty in one MS., and in the lith. ed.; but in the other MS. there is a short interpolation, which says, that Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh reigned altogether for forty-eight years and a few months; and died on the 11th Muharram 1037 A.H.; and that after his death, Sulṭān Muḥammad ʻĀdil Shāh ascended the throne. Firishtah's history of the ʻĀdil Shāhī dynasty ends somewhat abruptly with the year 1005 A.H. Col. Briggs in a note on page 188 of vol. III of his history says, "Ferishta continued to write his history as late as 1612, sixteen years after this period, and probably intended to finish that of Beejapoor last, which can alone account for his leaving off so abruptly".

It may be mentioned that Firishtah's account of this reign is very prolix, and extends over forty-four pages of the lith. ed. It is in more high-flown language than is usual even with him.

[2] This heading occurs in both MSS., but is not to be found in the lith. ed.

[3] The word است occurs after همدانی in both MSS., but is not in the lith. ed. I do not think it necessary to insert it.

[4] The name is doubtful. It is شکر اقا in one MS. and شکران in the other. In the lith. ed. it is میر علی علی شکر اقا قوینلو. Firishtah however says that a detailed history of the Quṭb Shāhī line was written by a man of the name of Shāh Khur Shāh; but he (Firishtah) was unable to get hold of a copy of it. Col. Briggs says that he was able, some years ago, to procure a work entitled the "History of Mahomed Kooly Kootb Shah", written about the time that Firishtah lived. From Col. Briggs's translation of that work the name of the tribe

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showed great favour to his slaves, Sulṭān Qulī sold himself to him, and became one of his slaves. He took possessions of the country of Gōlkonda and ruled for twenty-four years and passed away.

[1]AN ACCOUNT OF JAMSHĪD QUṬB-UL-MULK, SON OF SULṬĀN QULĪ.

After his father, he sat in the latter's place ; and ruled for seven years.

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appears to be Ak Koovinloo; so that the correct name of the tribe may be اق قوینلو . It appears however from the quotation of Sultān Quli Qutb's own words in Col. Briggs's work, vol. III, page 340 *et seq* that the Sulṭān belonged to the Kurra Kooinloo tribe, who were subjugated by the Ak Kooinloo tribe ; and he fled in his childhood, with his uncle Ameer Alla Koolly ; and came to the Deccan. He returned however to Hamadan with his uncle, as he was then too young to remain alone in the country. He came back however later again with his uncle ; but the uncle went away ; and he remained under the special protection of Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanī. He defended the latter with great gallantry, when he was attacked in the fort of Aḥmadābād Bidar, and after the campaign against Malik Dinār Ḥabshī he was made governor of Talingāna. Later he fought bravely in Maḥmūd Shāh's campaign against the rebel Bahādur Gīlānī. After the death of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī on the 24th Dhi-ḥijja, 912 A.H., May 12th, 1507 A.D., he with the five other Deccan chiefs, threw off the small portion of allegiance, which they had up to that time owed to the Bahmanī Sulṭāns. He was killed by Mīr Maḥmūd Hamadāni, governor of Gōlkonda, when he was sitting down at prayer, at the instigation of his third son Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh on the 2nd Jamādi-us-sāni 940 A.H., 4th September, 1543. These latter facts are taken from Col. Briggs's account. According to Firishtah he was killed by a Turkī slave in 950 A.H., when he was looking at some jewels. The slave had been instigated by Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh with the promise of being made a great *amīr ;* but he was slain by Jamshīd, immediately after he had slain Sulṭān Qulī Quṭb Shāh, so that he might not divulge his complicity in the crime. It is difficult to say exactly how long Qulī Quṭb Shāh ruled as an independent prince. According to Mr. Sewell's table (p. 410) he reigned for thirty-one years from 1512 to 1543 A.D.

[1] It is difficult to find the correct history of this reign. Niẓām-ud-dīn gives no account at all ; and the histories given by Firishtah, and Col. Briggs differ. The former says Shāh Ṭāhir was sent by Burhān Niẓām-ul-mulk to congratulate Jamshīd on his accession. Shāh Ṭāhir incited him to join Burhān Niẓām Shāh to attack Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. He accordingly invaded the latter's territory, and built a fort in *pargana* Kāknī ; and then advanced to attack the fort of Atgar. In the meantime 'Ādil Shāh made peace with Niẓām Shāh

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[1]AN ACCOUNT OF IBRĀHĪM QUṬB-UL-MULK, SON OF SULṬĀN QULĪ.

After his brother, Ibrāhīm became the ruler of Gōlkonda. He was a man of affairs and of wisdom. But anger and wrath obsessed him.

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and Rām Rāj; and Niẓām Shāh went back to Aḥmadnagar. 'Ādil Shāh then sent Asa'd Khān Lārī to attack Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh. Asa'd Khān Lārī first seized the fort of Kāknī and compelled Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh to raise the siege of Atgar. After that Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh had several campaigns with Asa'd Khān Lārī, in each of which he was defeated; and in the last of these in a hand to hand fight with Asa'd Khān Lārī, one side of his face was severed off by a blow of his opponent's sword. After that he made peace with 'Ādil Shāh; and conquered some parts of Kachitī. Then he was ill for two years; and now became very savage; and ordered people to be put to death or imprisoned for slight offences. A conspiracy was then formed to depose him, and place one of his brothers on the throne. He received information of this plot; and imprisoned his brothers, Ḥaidar and Ibrāhīm. The former died soon after and the latter went away to Bījānagar. Jamshīd died of a high fever in 957 A.H.

Col. Briggs's account, which is probably derived from the work he got hold of (see note 1, p. 167) is entirely different, except that he agrees in saying that Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh died in 957 A.H. I do not, however, consider it necessary to give a summary of his account, as it can be referred to by anybody who is interested in the history.

[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn gives no account of the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. He only mentions a few of the traits of his character. As far as this goes he agrees with Firishtah; who mentions the same traits, with some more details; for instance Firishtah says that the nails which had been shown to him were the nails of the toes of his victims, which were severed by being beaten with sticks (*tāziyāna*). As regards his servants eating at his table, he says that it was the special servants (*naukarān khāṣa*), who had this privilege. Firishtah also says that he freed Talingāna from highway robbers; so that merchants and wealthy people could travel from place to place in safety.

As regards the history of his reign, Firishtah says that he sought an asylum with Rām Rāj during the reign of Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh. After the latter's death, the ministers placed his son, who was an infant of two years of age on the throne; but the Dakinīs attacked the palace. Then the ministers determined to send for Ibrāhīm Quṭb-ul-mulk; and to place him on the throne. They obtained permission from Rām Rāj for bringing him to Gōlkonda; and when he came to the border of Bījānagar. Muṣṭafa hastened to receive him; and he was made *amīr jumla* or Prime Minister.

After this, he in concert with Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, invaded Bījāpūr in 965 A.H.; and laid siege to Gulbarga. But he was afraid of increasing the power of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh; and went back to Gōlkonda; and Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh

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For a very small offence he inflicted strange punishments on the servants of God. He ordered that the nails of his victims should be severed from their fingers; and should be brought before him in a vessel. Much food was brought, every day, to his table; and it had been so determined that all his servants should eat at his table. He indulged in much ceremony in his meals.

He reigned for five and thirty years.

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being unable to carry on the siege alone, retired to Aḥmadnagar. Afterwards 'Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj invaded the Niẓām Shāhī territory; and at their request, and somewhat against his will Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh joined them; and they laid siege to Aḥmadnagar. They were about to take it, when Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh left at midnight; and retired in precipitation to Gōlkonda; and Rām Rāj and 'Ādil Shāh had also to raise the siege.

After that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh asked for the hand of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's daughter; and at the latter's request he agreed in concert with him to lay siege to Kaliān. There the marriage feast was celebrated and the siege was begun. Then 'Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj and Tufāl Khān and Amīr Barīd advanced against them, when Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh retired to Gōlkonda, and Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to Aḥmadnagar, hotly pursued by 'Ādil Shāh and Rām Rāj. They laid waste both the Aḥmadnagar and the Gōlkonda territories; but peace was at last concluded; and Rām Rāj and 'Ādil Shāh retired to their own territories. Afterwards Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh summoned Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh to come and aid him in besieging the fort of Dārūr, belonging to 'Ādil Shāh; but before he could arrive the fort was taken. He however joined Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh in the invasion of Bījāpūr. 'Ādil Shāh now sent to Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh a letter, which Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had written to him, about acting in concert with him. Niẓām Shāh became suspicious of Quṭb Shāh's fidelity; and Quṭb Shāh retiring in all haste to Gōlkonda, Niẓām Shāh looted his camp; and pursued his army, and took much booty and slew large numbers of his men. 'Abd-ul-qādir, the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh then represented to his father, that if he received permission to do so, he would at once attack the Niẓām Shāhī army and defeat it. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh became suspicious of his son's motives; and imprisoned him in a fort, and afterwards caused his death, by giving him a poisoned drink. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh died in the year 989 A.H. He had ruled for thirty-two years.

Col. Briggs's account (vol. III, p. 390) is slightly different. He has a separate section for Soobhan Kooly Kooth Shah, the infant son of Jamsheed, who, he says, was seven years of age, when he was elevated to the throne. Then as regards Ibrahim Kootb Shah, he says that in the latter part of his reign he conquered some territories in Orissa. According to Col. Briggs, Ibrahim Kootb Shah died on the 21st Rubbee-oos-Sany 988 A.H., 2nd June, 1580. Mr. Sewell (p. 410) has 1581.

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[1]AN ACCOUNT OF MUḤAMMAD QULĪ QUṬB-UL-MULK, SON OF IBRĀHĪM.

Muḥammad Qulī succeeded his father. He became the lover of a [2] prostitute of the name of Bhāgmatī; and having laid the foundation of a city, called it Bhāgnagar. He had one thousand horsemen, as the retainers of that woman; and they always attended at her stirrups. He is ruling the country up to the present day which is in the year 1002 A.H., and in the 38th year of the Ilāhī era; *i.e.*, for a period of nine years.

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[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not give any account of the events of the reign; and merely refers to a scandalous matter of a more or less personal nature. According to Firishtah Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh was the eldest and best of the three surviving sons of Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh. He succeeded the latter in his twelfth year. He married a daughter of Shāh Mīrzā Ispahānī.

He entered into a treaty with Niẓām Shāh, and invaded the Bījāpūr territory, and besieged Shāh Drūg; but being unable to take it, went to Bījāpūr and laid siege to it. They were however unable to take it also, and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh was about to retire to Gōlkonda, when the commander of the Niẓām Shāhī army, becoming aware of his intention suggested that he should go himself towards Aḥmadnagar, laying waste the 'Ādil Shāhī country through which he would pass; and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh should proceed to besiege Ḥasanābād Gulbarga. They accordingly did so; but when Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh arrived near Ḥasanābād Gulbarga, he left seven thousand horsemen; and many elephants, under Muṣṭafa Khān, to carry on the siege; and himself hastened back to his capital. Muṣṭafa Khān laid waste the country round Ḥasanābād Gulbarga; but Dilāwar Khān was sent with a large army from Bījāpūr, and he defeated Muṣṭafa Khān who retired in great haste to the borders of Tilang.

After this Firishtah refers to Bhāgmatī, and he also refers to the building of the new city; but he says that it was necessary to do so because Gōlkonda had become extremely unhealthy. He afterwards changed the name of the new city of Ḥaidarābād.

Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh resolved after this to conquer Dang, by which Firishtah means the country lying between Tilang and Bang or Bengal, *i.e.*, Orissa. He conquered a great part of the country; and the ruler of it, who was called Bābā Balandar fled in great distress to the furthest part of the country.

The above is the history down to 1017 A.H. It is not necessary to go any further, especially as Firishtah says nothing further about the history; but indulges in a description of certain matters connected with the Sulṭān.

[2] One MS. calls her a زنان پاتری, the other simply زنان, while the lith. ed. has only پاتری. In the text-edition the name is بهاگ متي

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SECTION V. ABOUT THE SULṬĀNS OF GUJRĀT.

From the beginning of the year 783 to the year 970 A.H., when (Gujrāt) came into the possession of the officers of His Majesty the Khalīfa'-i-Ilāhī, which is a period of 187 years, fifteen persons ruled over the country. (These are the) particulars (of them).

Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, two months and a few days ;

Sulṭān Muẓaffar [1] Shāh, three years and eight months and twenty days ;

Sulṭān [2] Aḥmad, thirty-two years and six months and twenty days ;

Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, seven years and four months ;

Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh, seven years and six [3] months and thirteen days ;

Dāūd Shāh, seven days ;

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, fifty-five years and eleven months and [4] two days ;

Sulṭān Muẓaffar, son of Maḥmūd, fourteen years and nine months ;

Sulṭān Sikandar, two months and sixteen days ;

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, four months ;

Sulṭān Bahādur, eleven years and eleven months ;

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh one and half month ;

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of [5] Laṭīf Khān, eighteen years and a few days ;

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[1] The word Shāh is in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but not in the other MS. The period is 3 years 8 months and 20 days in one MS., but is 3 years and 8 months and 8 days, in the lith. ed. It may be either 8 or 20 days in the other MS.

[2] One MS. inserts شاہ after the name.

[3] The words و سیزدہ روز which occur in both MSS. are omitted from the lith. ed. I have inserted them.

[4] The words دو روز which occur in one MS. and in the lith. ed. are not to be found in the other MS.

[5] He is called Laṭif Khān in both MSS., but Latif Shāh in the lith. ed. The period is 18 years in both MSS. and 16 years in the lith. ed. I have adopted the reading in the MSS.

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Sulṭān Aḥmad, three years and a few months; and

Sulṭān Muẓaffar, son of [1] Maḥmud, sixteen years and some months.

(An Account of) Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān.

It is written in books of history, that when the (accounts of the) tyranny of Niẓām Mufarraḥ, who bore the title of [2] Āshtī Khān, and who had the government of Gujrāt in his hands under Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, spread over the regions of the world; and the oppressed who had suffered from his tyranny, and the victims of his cruelty arrived in the capital city of Dehlī from the country of Gujrāt with their complaints; and narrated tales of his tyranny and oppression before Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh; and spoke the truth of his violence and insubordination, the Sulṭān after much consideration and great deliberation, conferred the fief of Gujrāt on Ā'zam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīh-ul-mulk, who was one of the great *amīrs*, after bestowing many royal favours on him. On the 3rd Rabī'ul-āwwal in the year 783 A.H., he conferred on him a (royal) umbrella, and a red pavilion, which are specially reserved for *bādshāhs*, and granted him permission to go to Gujrāt. Ẓafar Khān started from the city the same day, and encamped at the royal reservoir (*hauḍ-i-khas*). On the 4th of the month, Sulṭān Muḥammad hastened to Ẓafar Khān's camp; and made his ears heavy with the pearls of advice; and after again conferring on him a special robe of honour retired to the city.

They say that when the *vazīrs* wrote the order of his appointment, they under the orders of the Sulṭān left the place where the

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[1] One MS. has Shāh after Maḥmūd, but neither the other MS. nor the lith. ed. has it.

[2] Firishtah does not give him the title of Āshtī Khān, but calls him Farḥat-ul-mulk otherwise called Niẓām Mufarraḥ. Firishtah does not speak much of his tyranny, but he says that he had the intention of hostility (to the emperor), and therefore treated the *zamīndārs* and the infidels of the country well, and in order to flatter them, gave currency to the customs of heathenism and idolatry. Therefore the learned and erudite men of Gujrāt sent the letter in which they spoke of Niẓām Mufarraḥ's misdeeds, and prayed the Sulṭān to take necessary steps for remedying them.

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titles (of the new Governor) should have been written, blank; and he (*i.e.*, the Sulṭān) wrote the titles with his own hand and they were as follows. [1] "My brother, Majlis 'Alī (the noble courtier), the honoured Khān, learned, just, generous, energetic, the most fortunate of the faith and religion, the defender of Islām and Musalmāns, the binder of the *salṭanat*, the supporter of the faith,

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[1] It is rather difficult to understand these lofty titles and to find equivalents for the high flown epithets. Firishtah who in many places copies the Ṭabaqāt almost *verbatim* gives them as برادرم مجلسِ علی خان معظم عادل باذل مجاهد سعید الملة والدین ظهیر الاسلام و المسلمین عضد السلطنت یمین الملت قامع الکفرة و المشرکین قالع الفجرة و المتمردین قطب سماء المعالی نجم فلک الاعالی صفدر روز وغا تهمتن قلعه کشا کشورگیر آصف تدبیر ضابط امور ناظم مصالح جمهور - ذی المیامن و السعادات صاحب الرای و الکفایات ناشر العدل و الاحسان دستور صاحبقران الغ قتلق اعظم *

The antecedents of Ẓafar Khān are rather curious. It appears from Bayley's History of Gujarāt, p. 68, *et seq* that Fīrōz, who was a great hunter, went out in pursuit of deer one day, and became separated from his attendants. He came to a village which was one of the dependencies of Thānēsar. Outside the village he found a party of land-holders seated, and dismounting from his horse, asked one of them to pull off his boots. This man was a master of the science of interpreting signs and appearances. He found on the sole of the Sulṭān's foot, marks of royalty and the signs of imperial power. The chief men of the village were two brothers Sādhū and Sadhāran. For their caste and genealogy see pp. 67-68. They entertained the guest, and gave their sister, who "was peerless in beauty and loveliness" in *nikāḥ* to the Sultān. They shortly afterwards became Musalmāns and Sadhāran received the title of Wajīh-ul-Mulk. He was the father of Ẓafar Khān. The Sulṭān was a disciple of Quṭb-ul-aqṭāb Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān. Sādhū and Sadhāran and Ẓafar Khān also became his disciples. Ẓafar Khān did some service to the saint, and the latter in return gave him the country of Gujrāt. When he went back to his family, and told them what had happened they said "You are well-stricken in years and if the country of Gujarāt falls to thee, what life wilt thou have left to enjoy it". He went back to the saint, and made offerings of perfumes, etc. The saint accepted them, and taking a handful of dates, from a plate which was before him, said "Thy seed like unto these in number shall reign over Gujarāt". Some say there were twelve, some say thirteen dates and other say eleven.

When Fīrōz Khān became the Sulṭān, he appointed Ẓafar Khān and his brother Shams Khān to the high position of *sharābdār*. Owing to this they have been described as *kalāls* or distillers.

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the exterminator of *kufr* and heresy, the destroyer of the false and the rebellious, the Pole-star of the sky of spirituality, the star of the high heaven, the breaker of the ranks in the day of battle, a fort conquering Rustam, the conqueror of kingdoms, an *Aṣaf* in policy, the regulator of affairs, the director of the rule of people, the master of success and good fortune, the man of wisdom and success, the distributor of justice and beneficence, the *vazīr* of the lord of conjunction *Ulugh Qutlugh* Ā'zam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān."

In short (he) travelled towards Gujrāt by successive marches. On the way news came to him that a son had been born to Tātār Khān, his son, who was the *vazīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh; and he had received the name of Aḥmad Khān. Ẓafar Khān was greatly delighted on hearing this joyful news. He arranged a grand entertainment, and conferred honours and robes on many of the soldiers. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Nāgōr, the men of Kanbāyat came to petition against Niẓām Mufarraḥ, praying for justice. Ẓafar Khān gave them hopes, and advanced towards Nahrwāla. When he arrived there, which is commonly known as Pattan, he [1]wrote and sent a letter to Malik Niẓām Mufarraḥ (in which he said) that it had been mentioned in the august presence of Muḥammad Shāh that Malik Niẓām Mufarraḥ had spent the revenue of a number of years of the *khālṣa* lands of the Sulṭān, for his own needs and purposes, and had not remitted one *dinār* to the treasury. It had likewise (been reported), that he had stretched out his hands for tyranny and oppression, and had greatly harassed the common people living in these places; so that men had repeatedly come to Dehlī with supplications and complaints. (He went on to say) that as the reins of binding and loosening of all state affairs of the neighbourhood had been placed in his hands, the better way would be, that whatever might still be left of the revenue of the *khālṣa* lands for those years should be sent with all promptitude, before he went himself; and after comforting and cheering the oppressed, he should himself proceed to the metropolis of Dehlī.

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[1] Firishtah does not say that Ẓafar Khān wrote to Niẓām Mufarraḥ after arriving at Naharwāla Pattan.

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Malik Niẓām Mufarraḥ sent a [1] reply to this effect. "You have come a long way, you should remain where you are and should not take the trouble (to advance further). I shall go there and render an account, but on this condition that you will not make me over to custodians." When this reply came and the fact of his rebellion and violence became certain, Ā'zam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān began to arrange his army. After a few days news came that Malik Niẓām Mufarraḥ had turned towards that country with a large force, and was advancing by successive marches. Ā'zam Humāyūn sallied out of the city of Pattan with his well-equipped army, with the intention to give battle. A great battle was fought on the 7th of Ṣafar in the year 794, in the village of [2] Kānthū which is twelve *karōhs* from Pattan. Malik Niẓām Mufarraḥ went about searching for Ẓafar Khān accompanied by a select body of troops; and he ran about in all directions, like an ordinance of heaven (?). At this time a man belonging to Ẓafar Khān's army having vanquished him (apparently in single combat) inflicted on him a severe wound, and he fell off from his horse on to the ground. The man immediately [3] cut off his head, and brought it to Ẓafar Khān.

[4] Couplets:

When Death into his blood plunged his hand,
Fate his clear seeing eyes did close.
When the key of victory is not in one's hand,
He cannot with his arm, the door of victory break.

On seeing what had happened, defeat fell on the army of Niẓām Mufarraḥ. Large numbers of men were slain; and much booty fell into the hands (of the victorious army). Ẓafar Khān went in pursuit

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[1] Firishtah also says that the tenor of the reply was what it is described in the text.

[2] The place is called كانهو Kānhu and كانتو Kānthu in the MS. and كانبه Kānbha in the lith. ed. It is كانتهو Kānthū in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs calls it Jitpur. Bayley calls it Kambhu. كانبهو in the text-edition.

[3] Firishtah's account of the engagement is different. It is figurative and vague. He says that بعد از استعمال الات حرب و ضرب آفتاب نصرت و فیروزی افق بخت ارجمند ظفر خان طلوع نموده نظام مفرح بقصد تحصن بنهرواله گریخت. It does not mention what happened to Niẓām Mufarraḥ after he had fled.

[4] The first couplet is not in the lith. ed., but it is in both the MSS.

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for some distance, and then returned to the neighbourhood of Pattan; and sent his agents to all the *parganas*. In the year 795 A.H., he advanced with the object of punishing the rebels, who had raised the dust of disturbance in the neighbourhood of [1] Kanbāyat. He cleansed that country from the weeds and thorns of the insurgents. He laid the ointment of his kindness and favour on the hearts which had been wounded by the dagger of the tyranny of Niẓam Mufarraḥ. He then advanced towards [2] Asāwal. He remained there for some days; and having pleased the common people, and all the inhabitants, earned their gratitude and came back to the neighbourhood of Pattan.

In the year 796 A.H., news came that Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz, had accepted the summons of the just God, in the metropolitan city of Dehlī, and the affairs of the empire had fallen into confusion; and most of the *zamīndārs* had taken up an attitude of insurrection; more specially, [3] the Rāja of Īdar, who had placed his foot outside the circle of obedience and fealty. Ẓafar Khān equipped an army, and advanced by rapid marches with a large force and elephants of the size of mountains to punish the Rāja. As he came with great quickness and proceeded to lay siege [4] the Rāja had no time whatever to arrange for his defence. He was, therefore, compelled to shut himself up, and the victorious troops, having overrun the country of Īdar stretched their hands for plunder and rapine. They raised to the ground every temple which they found. In a very short time there was such scarcity and famine in the fort, that the [5] Rāja of Īdar, sent his *vakīls* in great humility

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[1] One MS. has خروج but the other and the lith. ed. have کمبایت.

[2] Firishtah says with reference to Asāwal که الآن احمد اباد آنجا واقع است, *i.e.*, that at present Aḥmadābād is situated in its place. It will be seen from the accounts of the reign of Aḥmad Shāh that he built the city of Aḥmadābād near Asāwal.

[3] According to Firishtah he had formerly borne allegiance to the rulers of Gujrāt but had now laid the foundation of shamelessness, and had withdrawn his head from the yoke of dependence.

[4] Firishtah says that there were several severe battles, and Ẓafar Khān was victorious each time.

[5] According to Firishtah the Rāja sent his eldest son with some others to sue for quarter.

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and piteousness, and prayed for forgiveness of his offences. Ẓafar Khān took such tributes from him as he wanted; and advanced towards Sōmnāth.

At this time intelligence came that [1] Malik Naṣir Rāja celebrated as 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Asīr, had stretched his foot of pride beyond the blanket of his status, and had harassed some of the villages of Nadarbār. A'ẓam Humāyūn, knowing that the protection of his own territory was more incumbent on him than the capture of the temple of Sōmnāth advanced towards Nadarbār by rapid marches. 'Ādil Khān hearing this news returned to his own country. Ẓafar Khān also returned to his headquarters at Pattan, after showing kindness to the inhabitants of the country.

In the year 797 A.H., he again mustered his troops, and determined to invade [2] Jar and Tar which are situated to the west of Pattan, and after overruning some places and getting tributes from the headman of that locality, advanced from there, with the purpose of destroying the temple of Sōmnāth. On the way he made the Rājpūts food for his merciless sword; and wherever a temple appeared before his eyes, he raised and destroyed it.

When he arrived at Sōmnāth he burnt the temple down and broke up the idol. He slew the *kāfirs*, and plundered the city. He planned the erection of a *Jāma' masjid*, and having appointed the right men as directed by the *shara'*, and leaving a *thāna* (military post) there, retraced his steps towards Pattan.

In the year 799, news came to A'ẓam Humāyūn that the Rājpūts of [3] Mandalgarh had acquired such power, that the Musalmāns there were abandoning their country and leaving their homes, on account of the injuries caused to them. Ẓafar Khān collected the

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[1] Firishtah describes him as the ancestor of the Farūqī the rulers of Burhānpur.

[2] The names are written as جرتر in one MS. but the جرتر may be a mistake for جرد تر which is required having been omitted by mistake. In the other MS. and in the lith. ed. the names are جرو تر. Firishtah calls the place جهرند and the ruler of it راى جهرند. In the text-edition it is جروند.

[3] It is Mandalgarh in the MSS. and Karnāl in the lith. ed. Karnāl or Garnāl or Girnār is the same as جونا گڈھ Jūnāgarh. Firishtah also has منڈل گڑھ.

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army of Gujrāt, and by successive rapid marches traversed the forests and deserts of that country. The Rāja of the place, being proud of the strength of his fortification, occupied himself in defending it. The victorious troops surrounded the hill and the fort, like the centre of a circle, and placed *manjanīqs* (battering ram or catapults) on all sides; and every day a number of Rājpūts were slain. But as the fort was so strong, that they were unable to accomplish their object, by the help of the catapults, Ẓafar Khān ordered that *sābāṭs* (covered ways) should be planned and completed with all speed. But in spite of these the fort could not be taken. In the end after the siege had lasted for a year and some months, the Rājpūts in great humility asked for quarter; and men and women came with bared heads and prayed for safety. They agreed to pay tributes; and promised that it should be sent every year to Pattan without any demand being made for it. They also agreed, that henceforward they would not cause any kind of injury to the Musalmāns.

A'ẓam Humāyūn owing to his innaṭe kindliness and natural generosity accepted their excuses, and gave them quarter. He took tribute from them, and having fixed the amounts of the annual tribute, and having assured himself about the safety of that territory he hastened to perform a pilgrimage to the holy tomb of the Shaikh of the path of the Faith, [1] Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn Ḥasan Sanjarī. He pillaged and plundered the towns in that country and left no trace of cultivation and habitation. After finishing this invasion, he moved to the country known as Dandwāna and having plundered [2] Dīlwāra and Jalwāra took a large number of prisoners and much booty. [3] He returned to Pattan on the 17th of Ramaḍān in the year 800 A.H. As these campaigns had extended over three years, A'ẓam Humāyūn issued an order that all his troops and soldiery

[1] Of Ajmīr.

[2] Dīlwāra دیلوارہ in one MS. and Dīlwāra and Jalwāra دیلوارہ و جلوارہ in the other and Danduāna in the lith. ed. Firishtah has Dīlwāra and Jalwāra. He does not mention Dandwāna at all.

[3] Firishtah says that it appears from the Tārīkh-i-Alfī that at this time Ẓafar Khān had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name, and assumed the title of Muẓaffar Shāh.

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should be exempted from all service and work of all kinds for the period of one year.

Towards the end of the year 800 A.H., Tātār Khān, Ẓafar Khān's son, who held the office of *vazīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad *bin* Fīrūz fled from Dehlī owing to the [1] dominance and violence of Mallū Khān, and came to Gujrāt to his father as has been mentioned in the section about Dehlī. In short Tātār Khān came in a state of great humility with a prayer to his father that he should be allowed to take the latter's army with him, and have his revenge over [2] Mallū Khān. A'ẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān was thinking of collecting troops. But as Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad Khān, grandson of His Majesty, the Lord of the auspicious conjunction, Amīr Ṭaimūr Gūrgān had taken possession of Multān and had seized Sārang Khān, A'ẓam Humāyūn deferred the carrying out of this determination and the accomplishment of this deed; inasmuch as he had learned by his acumen that Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad was the vanguard of His Majesty, the Lord of the auspicious conjunction. It so happened that after a short time, in the year 801 A.H., news came that Amīr Ṭaimūr had arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehlī with a large army. Ẓafar Khān comforted his son, and postponed the march to Dehlī for a suitable opportunity.

At this time they (*i.e.*, Ẓafar Khān and Tātār Khān) advanced together towards Īdar. They arrived by rapid marches and besieged the fort. They sent detachments every day in different directions, and left no stone unturned in plundering and ravaging the country. The Rāja of Īdar in great humility and weakness sent emissaries, and agreed to pay tribute. As the empire of Dehlī was at this time full of disturbances and rebellion, Ẓafar Khān remained satisfied

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[1] Firishtah briefly describes the conflicts between Mallū or Iqbāl Khān and Tātār Khān.

[2] He is called بلو اقبال خان in one MS., اقبال خان in the other, while the lith. ed. has only بلو خان. Firishtah does not say that Tātār Khān prayed for the help of his father's army to revenge himself on Mallū or Iqbāl Khān; but he incited his father, Muẓaffar Shāh, to march to Dehlī, with the object of making himself the *bādshāh*. Muẓaffar Shāh agreed, and began to collect troops; but the news came of the advance of Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad Khān, grandson of Amīr Ṭaimūr; and upset all their plans.

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with the engagement to pay tribute, and returned to Pattan in Ramaḍān of that year. About this time an immense number of people fleeing from Dehlī from the visitation of Amīr Ṭaimūr arrived in Pattan. A'ẓam Humāyūn took pity on their condition, according to their different predicaments, and showed each one of them such kindness as his condition merited. After sometime Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh also fled from the Lord of the happy conjunction; and came to Gujrāt. Ẓafar Khān did not accord to him the treatment and respect that was due to him, and he becoming hopeless and heart-broken, went away towards Mālwa, as is mentioned in the proper place.

In the year 803 A.H., A'ẓam Humāyūn disbursed a year's pay to his soldiers, and with a large force advanced to conquer Īdar. When his victorious army surrounded the fort on all sides, and fought battles in succession for some days, the Rāja evacuated the fort, one night, and fled towards Bījānagar. Early the next morning Ẓafar Khān entered the fort, offered thanks to God, demolished the temples, left a *thāna* (military post) in the fort, and divided the country of Īdar among his nobles. After the accomplishment of the necessary work in that country he returned to Pattan. In the year 804 A.H. (they) sent (the news) to Ẓafar Khān that the Hindūs and [1]*kāfirs* had collected round the temple of Sōmnāth and were exerting themselves to the utmost in reviving their ancient customs. A'zam Humāyūn turned his attention in that direction, and sent an army in advance of himself. When the inhabitants of Sōmnāth received information of this, they advanced to meet him by way of the sea, and began a battle. A'ẓam Humāyūn arrived there on wings of speed, and routed and destroyed them. Those who escaped the sword fled, and took shelter in the citadel of the port of Dīp. After a few days the gates of the citadel were opened and the garrison were made food for the sword. He had the chief

[1] The reading is obscure; the MSS. have هنود و کافران and هنوز دو کافران; and the lith. ed. has یهود و کافران. The word هنوزد appears to be incorrect; if it was هنود, then the meaning would be some Hindūs and infidels. یهود in the lith. ed. is of course incorrect. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has کافران سومنات *i.e.*, the *kafirs* of Sōmnāth. He also says that they had overpowered the military post left there by A'ẓam Humāyūn.

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men of that body thrown under the feet of elephants. He demolished the temples, and laid the foundation of *Jāmiʿ* mosque. He appointed *qāḍīs* and *muftīs* and other officers directed by the *sharaʿ*; and leaving a military post returned to Pattan, his capital.

In the year 806 A.H., Tātār Khān informed his father Aʿẓam Humāyūn, that Mallū Khān had seized Dehlī; and in spite of the fact that Sulṭān Maḥmūd had rested content with Qanouj, he would not leave him in that condition. He went on to say "If an army be sent with this slave (*i.e.*, he himself) he would advance to Dehlī, wrest the city from his possession, and having revenged himself again restore his dominion to Sulṭān Maḥmūd." Aʿẓam Humāyūn said in reply, "At present there is no one among the descendants of Fīrūz Shāh, who is capable of carrying on the duties of the empire. Mallū Iqbāl Khān is at present in possession of Dehlī, and the learned in the doctrines of the religion do not approve of dissensions and warfare leading to bloodshed among the followers of Islām." Tātār Khān was not satisfied with these words, and said, I have such power now that I can attain to the empire of Dehlī. Kingship and empire are not the inheritance of any one; and recited the following couplet:

Couplet:

None can a kingdom and throne acquire,
That does not seize the sword with both his hands.

When Aʿẓam Humāyūn saw that he (Tātār Khān) was bent on this idea, he relinquished the work of the empire, and made over to him all the army and the paraphernalia of sovereignty.

[1]An account of the accession of Tātar Khān, son of Aʿẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān.

When Ẓafar Khān [2] voluntarily gave up the duties of the sovereignty, Tātār Khān arranged on the 1st of Jamādī-ul-ākhir 806 A.H.,

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[1] The heading is given differently in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. It is what I have in the text in one MS. In the other MS., it is the same, but the word جلوس (accession) is omitted. In the lith. ed. it is ذکر. Firishtah has no separate heading.

[2] According to Firishtah Ẓafar Khān who had assumed the title of Muẓaffar Shāh had acquired such power by the conquest of Īdar and Sōmnāth,

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a grand entertainment in the town of Asāwal and sat on the throne of empire. He raised the umbrella over his head, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. He conferred robes of honour on the *amīrs* and the chiefs and leaders of the country. He distributed the gold that had been scattered as thanks-offering on the umbrella of sovereignty among wise and meritorious men. He conferred the office of *vazīr* on Shams Khān Dandānī who was the younger brother of A'zam Humāyūn. He ordered that in the heading (*Tughrā*) of the *farmān* the following words should be written. [1]"*Al-Muaffaq wal Wāthiq bi-tā'īd-ur-Raḥmān, iftikhār-ud-dunyā-wad-dīn Abul Ghāzī Muḥammad Shāh bin Muẓaffar Shāh.*"

After arranging the affairs of the country, he collected a large army, and on the 1st of Sha'bān of the afore-mentioned year, he moved out of the town of Asāwal with the object of conquering Dehlī. He was informed while on the march, that the Rāja of Nādōt

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that he formed the idea of seizing Dehlī; and making his son Tātār Khān the emperor, with the title of Ghiās-ud-daula-wad-dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. With this object they were marching along, when at Sānūr Muḥammad Shāh suddenly died.

Firishtah goes on to say that the real facts are, that Tātār Khān rebelled against his father who had become old and weak, at Asāwal; and kept him imprisoned in the fort there. He made his uncle Shams Khān, the *vakīl-us-salṭanat*, and gave himself the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muḥammad Shāh; and then having collected troops advanced to conquer Dehlī. Sulṭān Muẓaffar sent one of his trusted men, and insisted on his brother's arranging for his release, and for the assassination of Muḥammad Shāh. Shams Khān attempted to dissuade him, having no other alternative killed Muḥammad Shāh by giving him poison. Bayley (pages 81, 82) says "It is commonly believed, among the best-informed of the people of Gujarāt,.....that Tātār Khān conspired with certain discontented men, his friends outwardly, his enemies in reality, and placed his father in confinement. He then seated himself on the throne, with the title of Muhammad Shāh and won over all the officials and army. Afterwards he waged war against the infidels of Nādōt, and subdued them. Then he directed his course towards Dehlī, but drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence. The cause of his death was this. In his ambition for the things of this life he threw aside the respect due to a father, a respect which is a lasting blessing to him who pays it; and God Almighty then sowed the seed of vengeance in the heart of his father. Whereupon some of those who were in attendance upon Tātār Khān, but who were personally inclined to Zafar Khān gave him poison."

[1] الواثق only instead of الموفق و الواثق in the text-edition.

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had placed his feet of pride outside the bounds of obedience and allegiance. He turned his bridle of might from the road, advanced full gallop into the country of Nādōt, and sacked and ravaged villages and towns. He then halted in the town of [1] Saniūr. At this time which was the spring tide of his greatness he suddenly passed away owing to excessive drinking.

Couplet:

To the dust was cast, that flower of greatness, that the garden of empire,
With a hundred thousand caresses had in its bosom nourished.

The period of his reign was two years and two months and some days. When the dreadful news reached A'ẓam Humāyūn in the country of Bahrūj he grieved [2] sorely. He arrived very quickly at the camp, and sent Muḥammad Shāh's body to Pattan; and had his title recognised in the *farmān* as *Khudā-i-gān Shahīd* (the martyred Lord). He showed favour to Shams Khān Dandānī, and transferring Malik Jalāl Kōkhar, made over to him the government and defence of the territory of Nāgōr. Then as there was no help for it he, with a heart broken into a hundred pieces and dazed and stunned mind, occupied himself with the affairs of state. He laid aside the royal umbrella and the throne; and did not assume any of the insignia of greatness. At last, however, acceding to the prayer of the nobles, and of the pillars of state he again sat on the throne of empire in the year 810 A.H. It has, however, come to (my) notice in various histories that Shams Khān Dandānī gave poison to Muḥammad Shāh in his wine.

An account of the reign of Ẓafar Khān who had the title of Muẓaffar Shāh.

When the period of disturbance as regards the imperial power in the country of Gujrāt, which had extended over a period of three

[1] The name is سنیور in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs calls the place Suntpoor. The invasion of Nādot and the name of the place where the death took place are not mentioned by Bayley. According to him, Muhammad Shāh died on the march to Dehlī. سینور Sainūr in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have اندوهناک شد عظیم; but the other MS. omits the word عظیم.

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years and four months was ended, A'ẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān in accordance with the prayer of the nobles and the suggestion of the great and the wise sat on the jewelled throne, in the manner of Sulṭāns, in the town of [1] Bīrpūr, at the moment which was selected by the astrologers who knew all the stars; and assumed the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh. He was described in the *Khuṭba* and *farmān* as *Almāthiq bālla-al-mannān Shams-ud-duniā-wad-dīn Abul Mujāhid Muẓaffar Shāh*. The gold that was showered in thanks-offering over his umbrella was distributed among meritorious persons. He conferred robes of honour on nobles, and men possessing the knowledge of God and the heads of various groups. He then advanced by successive marches to the country of Mālwa. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhār, Sultān Hūshang advanced to give battle, but as he had not the strength to withstand the onset of Muẓaffar Shāh's (army), [2] he fled, and took shelter in the fort of Dhār (but) in the end he came out and saw the Sulṭān. It had however come to the knowledge of Muẓaffar Shāh that Sulṭān [3] Hūshang had given poison to his father Dilāwar Khān. As there

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[1] The name is Bīrpūr in the MSS., and in Bayley. In the lith. ed. it is پرنور, Purnūr. It does not appear to be mentioned in the lith. ed. of Firishtah or in Col. Briggs.

[2] Firishtah however says that a great battle was fought between the armies of Gujrāt and Mālwa, of which the Rustams and heroes of the world have spoken with the tongue of praise; but the army of Mālwa being defeated Sulṭān Hūshang was taken prisoner. Col. Briggs also says that Sulṭān Hūshang was taken prisoner "after a severe action". According to Bayley (page 84) "the brave warriors of Muzaffar Shāh soon scattered his ranks, as a whirlwind scatters clouds, and he was obliged to fly into the fortress of Dhār".

[3] Bayley quotes the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī as given in "Muhammadan Historians", vol. IV, p. 36, which agrees mainly with the text; and then says that Firishtah's version (which is probably impartial) is one of "Not proven". I have examined the passages about the death of Dilāwar Khān in Firishtah in both the Gujrāt and Mālwa sections, but I do not find anything that justifies the statement that Firishtah's version or verdict is one of not proven. In the section about Gujrāt Firishtah says و چون دلاور خان والی مالوه فوت شده بود هوشنگ شاه قایم مقام او گردید و شهرت یافت که هوشنگ بطمع ملک پدر را زهر داده بکشت In the section about Mālwa he says منهیان خبر اوردند که بشاه مظفر گجراتی چنین خبر رسید که الپ خان پدر خود دلاور خان غوری را بواسطه حطام دنیوی زهر داده خود را

had been affection and fraternal feeling between Dilāwar Khān and Muẓaffar Shāh, (when they were both) in the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad Fīrūz Shāh, Muẓaffar Shāh put Sulṭān Hūshang and some of his adherents into prison; and installed his brother [1] Naṣrat Khān in the government of Mālwa.

Intelligence came at this time, that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had come out of Jaunpūr with the idea of seizing Dehlī. On hearing this Muẓaffar Shāh started towards Dehlī. When Sulṭān Ibrāhīm knew that Sulṭān Muẓaffar was coming with the intention of giving battle, he turned back from the way and returned to Jaunpūr; as the pen has narrated in the section about Jaunpūr. Sulṭān Muẓaffar on hearing this returned from the way and came back to Gujrāt.

He took [2] Sulṭān Hūshang with him in a state of captivity. (But) after a time the *ra'īyats* and soldiers of Mālwa (aggrieved)

سلطان هوشنگ نام نهاد. So far as I know Firishtah nowhere adjudicates on the rumour in the one place, or on what he had seen in certain *books*, in the other.

[1] He had been previously called Shams Khān Dandānī. Bayley appears to me to be unnecessarily puzzled about the identity of Naṣrat Khān. According to the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Ẓafar Khān had only one brother, who was called Shams Khān, till the time when he was left as the governor of Mālwa; but at that time he was called Naṣrat Khān without any explanation of the change in his name. Firishtah says the same. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 10) identifies the two names as belonging to one person, where he says "Shums Khan, entitled Noosrut Khan". Bayley spells the name Dandānī as Dindāni and says in a note on p. 95, called "Dindāni from *dandān* teeth". It appears from the text that the man had this name, because some of his front teeth had grown long and projected. If Dandānī is derived from Dandān, I do not see why it should be spelt Dindāni.

[2] Firishtah says that Muẓaffar Shāh made over Sulṭān Hūshang to the custody of his grandson Aḥmad Shāh, with the order to keep him imprisoned in a fort. Sulṭān Hūshang wrote a very humble supplication which Aḥmad Shāh showed to his grandfather with a suggestion that Hūshang might be released. As at this time there was a disturbance in Mālwa, Sulṭān Hūshang was released and after a time the territory of Mālwa with the insignia of royalty was given to him and he was sent with Aḥmad Shāh so that the latter might reinstate him in the government. Bayley's version is slightly different. According to him, Alp Khān sent his petition direct to Sultān Muzaffar and told him that Musa Khān who had been his lieutenant at Mandū had recovered a portion of Mālwah; but if he was released and sent there he would remain his obedient servant all his life. Sultan Muzaffar then sent him with Ahmad Khan and a large army to expel Mūsa Khān from Mandū. Mūsa Khān fled and Sultān Hūshang was then installed in Mandū (p. 85).

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at the harsh treatment (accorded to them) by Naṣrat Shāh rebelled against the latter. The [1] *Khwājahdār* rescued him from Dhār, and sent him to Gujrāt. Such of his adherents, as were left behind, were treated with harshness and suffered hardship. The people of Mālwa for fear of offending Sulṭān Muẓaffar made Mūṣa Khān, who was a relation of Sulṭān Hūshang their leader and they selected the fort of Mandū for their residence. Sulṭān Muẓaffar on receiving this news released Sulṭān Hūshang from imprisonment and sent Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh, that he might recover possession of Mālwa, and deliver it over to him. Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān arrived at Dhār, and taking possession of the country, made it over to Sulṭān Hūshang; and returned by way of [2] Dahūr to Gujrāt; as the pen forming letters black and fragrant as musk has narrated this clearly and explicitly in the section about Mālwa.

In short, in the year 812, intelligence came to Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh, that the [3] Rājpūts of Kuhnakōt, one of the dependencies of Kach, had raised the dust of rebellion. Immediately on hearing this news, he detached a large force for their punishment. It is said, that he sent Khudāwand Khān to attend on Shaikh Muḥammad *Qāsim* Budhū, (asking the latter) to pray that the army of Islām might return with victory and triumph. His reverence the Shaikh on examining the muster roll of the men who had been sent as

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[1] I do not know the exact meaning of *Khwājadār* which is in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. He might have been some kind of a palace official. Neither Bayley nor Firishtah gives any help, for although the former refers to the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī in this connection, neither says anything as to the way in which Naṣrat Khān retired from Dhār. *Khwājahwār* in the text-edition.

[2] The name may be دهور or دهور in one MS., and دهود in the other and in the lith. ed. The place is not mentioned by Firishtah or Bayley.

[3] The name of the place is کوٹ کهنه Kuhnakōt in one MS., and in the lith. ed.; and کوٹ کهننه Kunthakōt in the other MS. I cannot find any mention of the expedition in Firishtah or in Col. Briggs. It is mentioned in Bayley's History, which is based on the Mirāt-i-Iskandarī, but he places it in 810 A.H., the same year as the expedition to Mālwa; and he calls the place Kambh-kōt, which is very likely the correct name, but he adds a note that the Tārīkh-i-Alfī calls the place Kanth-kōt; and he says that Khudāwand Khān was sent in command of the expedition (p. 86).

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members of the army, drew his pen across certain names. It so happened that when the army returned under the wing of triumph and victory, every person across whose names the Shaikh had drawn his pen was found to have attained to martyrdom.

In the year [1] 813 A.H., Sulṭān Muẓaffar became ill in the city of Nahrwāla Pattan. He placed Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān on the throne of the empire in the presence of the nobles and chief men of the country; and conferred on him the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh. According to his orders, the *Khuṭba* was read in the prince's name on the pulpits of Islām. Three years and eight months and sixteen days had elapsed on that day since [2] the commencement of his rule. Five months and thirteen days after the accession of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh, he redeemed the pledge of life; and in the month of Ṣafar 814 A.H., he passed from the old caravansarai of the world, to the happy land of a future life. He is buried in the country of Pattan, and he has been styled *Khudā-i-gān Kabīr*.

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[1] Bayley (pp. 86, 87) says that according to the Mirāt-i-Ahmadī, Sultān Muzaffar reigned for eighteen years, eight months and fourteen days. He also quotes the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī about the period of his reign and the date of his death; and also quotes the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, in explanation of the statement made in the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, though an explanation was scarcely necessary. He also quotes a story from the Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī according to which Ahmad Khān imprisoned Sultān Muzaffar and gave poison to him, after obtaining an opinion from some learned men, that a son would be justified in killing a man who had killed his father. Sultān Muzaffar asked him why he was in such a hurry. Ahmad Khān answered him in words of the Kurān, "All men have their times appointed, and when the hour is come, they cannot delay or advance it a moment". Bayley after considering the facts given in the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī and the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, says that although the story told by the Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī is not absolutely irreconcilable with them, they are at least *prima facie* in conflict with it, and at any rate seem to dispose of the alleged motive of the crime. This is correct, if the haste to grasp the sovereignty be considered to be the motive, but not correct if the desire was to avenge his father's death.

Firishtah says nothing about these things. He says that Sulṭān Muẓaffar became ill at the end of Ṣafar 814 A.H., and died on the 8th of Rabī'-ul-ākhar, *i.e.*, after a month and a few days, and he appointed Aḥmad Khān to be his successor, as he considered him to be abler than his own surviving son. He was 71 years of age at the time of his death.

[2] Since his second accession, after the death of Muḥammad Shāh.

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An account of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar.

When Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh reclined on the pillow on the throne of empire and the seat of greatness, he conferred honours on the nobles and the chief men of the kingdom, the great men of the city and the chiefs of various groups; and gave a share of his gifts to all sections of the people. He kept the officers and writers charged with matters connected with the revenue in their former positions; and made great exertions in the matter of increasing the cultivation, and in the building up of the country and the administration of justice.

When the news of the accession of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh reached [1] Fīrūz Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh in the town of Barōda, he owing to his envy and jealousy, raised the standard of revolt and hostility. He conferred the position of *vazīr* on Jivan Dās Khattry. Amīr Maḥmūd [2] Barkī who was the governor of Kanbāyat also joined Fīrūz Khān. Other *amīrs*, who were wicked by nature, considering Fīrūz Khān to be a source of profit and success for themselves united with him. They took Fīrūz Khān to Kanbāyat; and in that town Haibat Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar had an interview with him, After a few days Sa'ādat Khān and Shēr Khān, sons of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, came and united with them. Fīrūz Khān gained strength and power from the union of his brothers, and advanced towards the town of Bahrōj. From that place they wrote a letter to Sulṭān Hūshang Ghūrī and requested him that he should help them with his spirit and courage; and agreed to pay him a certain number of

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[1] According to Bayley (p. 88) it was Mōdūd, the son of Fīrūz Khān, who was governor of Barodah, who raised the rebellion. Firishtah like Niẓām-ud-dīn says that it was Fīrūz Khān himself. Bayley says in a note that the Tabaqāt and Firishtah have Fīrūz, but the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh has Mu'id-ud-dīn; and this confirms the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. Among the rebel's adherents Firishtah has حاکم الملک و ملک شیر و ملک کرم خسرو و جیوند و بیاگداس کهتری. Col. Briggs has two names Jeevundas and Vinaikdas Kauhtry, while Bayley has Jīwan Dās and Payāg Dās. The name is جیونداس کهتری. in the MSS., and in the lith. ed.

[2] Firishtah calls him Amīr Maḥmūd Turk. Barkī seems to be incorrect, though it is found in several places further on, but Turk is also found in a few places.

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lakhs of *tankās* at each stage, as contribution to his expenses. They also sent to every *zamīndār* that was in the country of Gujrāt, horse and a robe of honour, to induce him to join them.

When this news reached Aḥmad Shāh, he collected his troops, and advanced rapidly towards Bahrōj. When he arrived there, he, in order to extinguish the flames of the disturbance, sent an emissary to the *amīrs*, with the following message :—

Couplet :

" Whom God had exalted, fate will not see abased,
Who to Him is dear, the world will not see him lowered.

As *Khudā-ī-gān Kabīr* (the great Lord), Muẓaffar Shāh took me by the hand, and placed me on the throne of empire, and the foundation of the high mansion, and the strong palace of my empire has been strengthened by the allegiance of the *amīrs* and the well-known men of the country, and of all sections of the people, it is right and proper that you should not place your foot outside the line of loyalty and obedience ; for the result of rebellion is destruction. Each one should be contented with the fiefs, which *Khudā-ī-gān Kabīr* Muẓaffar Shāh alloted to him, and should hope for other favours." When the emissary delivered this message, the *amīrs* consulted among themselves, and sent Haibat Khān who was the uncle of Aḥmad Shāh, with him. As Aḥmad Shāh lavished great favours on Haibat Khān, Fīrūz Khān and the other Khāns, becoming assured of safety and favour, hastened to attend on him. The latter cheered each one of them with fresh favours and tried to draw their hearts towards him. He confirmed their old *jāgīrs ;* and after arranging the affairs of that part of the country in the best possible way, arranged to return towards Pattan. At this time news was brought to him that Sulṭān Hūshang was advancing in that direction from Dhār, with the object of helping Fīrūz Khān.

Sulṭān Aḥmad immediately on hearing this news left the fort of Bahroj, and advanced by successive marches to the village of [1] Wantaj. At that place [2] Bhīkan Ādam Khān Afghān who during

[1] The name is وتنج and وسج in the two MSS., and شيخ in the lith. ed. I have not been able to find the name in Firishtah, in Bayley or in the Rās Mālā.

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 88), the rebels headed by Mōdūd (or Fīrūz Khān) " defeated Bīkan and Ādam Afghān, the king's men ".

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the reign of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh was the feudatory of Barōda, and at present on account of his hostility (to Sulṭān Aḥmad), was wandering about, came and attended on Aḥmad Shāh and was received with favour by the latter. As he had now completely settled the matter connected with Fīrūz Khān, he with perfect calmness, physical and mental, turned to the conflict and warfare with Sulṭān Hūshang, and sent 'Imād-ul-mulk in advance of himself to engage him. Hūshang in shame and humiliation returned to his own country. 'Imād-ul-mulk pursued him for several stages; and seizing the *zamīndārs* who had joined him brought them with himself to attend on the Sulṭān.

When Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh at the time of his return arrived at the town of Asāwal and the air (climate) of that place appeared to be congenial to him, he after consulting the omens, and taking the advice of the asylum of all truth, Shaikh Aḥmad Kanbū, may his tomb be sanctified! laid on the ground the first brick for building the great city of Aḥmadābād, which has no equal among the cities of Hindūstān, on the bank of the Sābarmatī, in the month of Dhīqa'dah 813 A.H. He laid the foundation of [1] a fort and a *Jāma'* mosque and many markets; and he built 360 *pūras* outside the fortifications, each of which contained a mosque and a *bāzār* and was surrounded by a wall. If, during the time when Aḥmadābād was in a most flourishing condition, some one had said that there was no other city in the whole world which was so grand, and which was so beautifully arranged and decorated, he would not have been guilty of any exaggeration.

Bayley (p. 88) says in a note, "the Tab.-i-Akbarī makes these the name of one man, but the probabilities are in favour of the text. Bīkan Afghān escaped and rejoined the Sultān". According to the context of the Ṭabaqāt the name appears to be that of one man.

In the lith. ed. of Firishtah Ādam Bhankar is said to have been ordered to fight the rebels, and to have been defeated by them, but this is not mentioned by Col. Briggs.

[1] دو قلعه two forts in the text-edition appears to be a mistake.

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Fīrūz Khān and Haibat Khān again revolted in the year 840 A.H., at the instigation of [1] Malik Badr 'Alā', who was a very near [2] relation of Muẓaffar Shāh, and again took the path of violence and rebellion ; and leaving the central part of the kingdom, took shelter in the hills of Īdar. Sultān Aḥmad Shāh on hearing this news advanced to destroy them ; and when he arrived in the town of Wantaj, he sent Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar in advance of himself. (But) he also at the instigation of [3] Saiyid Ibrāhīm Niẓām the feudatory of the town of Mahrāsa joined his brothers. Sulṭān Aḥmad on hearing this advanced towards Mahrāsa. Malik Badr 'Alā and Saiyid Ibrāhīm entitled Rukn Khān had a ditch dug around the fort of Mahrāsa ; and began to make the necessary arrangements for defending it. Fīrūz Khān and Haibat Khān summoned Raīmal, the Rāja of Īdar, to help them ; and they brought him to a place called Ankhōr, which is five *karōhs* from the town of Mahrāsā.

When Sulṭān Aḥmad arrived in the vicinity of the town, he first of all sent a body of learned men to Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān, that they might remove the veil of neglect from before their eyes, and might reveal to them what was right. When the emissaries did not receive such a reply as they had wished for, they came back. The Sulṭān out of his great mercy sent some other men and by their mouths sent the following messages: "I am giving you assurances of safety, you may go wherever you like." Malik Badr 'Alā and Rukn Khān sent the following reply : "If Niẓām-ul-mulk, who is the

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[1] Col. Briggs calls him Mullik Dear, but he does not say that he instigated the revolt. It is not clear how he was related to Muẓaffar Shāh. He is described as puzzle-headed in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. Bayley (p. 93, footnote †) speculates about his relationship with Muzaffar Shāh but cannot say anything definite about it.

[2] See note 1 above.

[3] Firishtah calls him Saiyid Ibrāhīm, who bore the title of Rukn Khān, and was the *jāgīrdār* of Mahrāsa. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 15) says as regards the name of the place, that Firishtah always spells it مهراسه, and so he has also called it Mahrāsa, but the correct name is Mowrasa. The name is spelled مهراسا in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt, but the lith. ed. has مهو راسا. Bayley has Mōrāsah. As regards the double name Ibrahīm Niẓām it appears from Bayley, p. 93, that it really means Ibrahīm the son of Nizām. He was the *jāgīrdār* of Morāsah under Sultān Ahmad, but was induced to join the rebels.

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nā'ib vazīr, and Malik Aḥmad 'Azīz who is the *kārguzār* (superintendent) and *nā'ib vakīldar* (the deputy *vakīl* in attendance), and Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk, and Saif Khwājah are sent to us, to take us with them, we would be assured of our safety, and come and attend on you." Sulṭān Aḥmad gave orders that the noblemen named should go to the gate of the fort, but they should be very careful of the deceit and treachery of Badr 'Ulā, and they should not go into the fort. The above-named *amīrs* then proceeded to the gate of the fort of Mahrāsa. Malik Badr 'Ulā and Rukn Khān kept a body of men in ambuscade; and themselves received the noblemen with courtesy and respect. They then separated Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk and Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk from the other *amīrs*, and engaged them in talk and conversation. At this time the men who were in ambush came out and seized Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk and Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk, and carried them into the fort. Niẓām-ul-mulk said in a loud voice, "Go and tell the Sulṭān that he should not allow any delay in seizing the fort. Whatever fate was allotted to us has overtaken us." Malik Badr 'Ulā put chains round the feet of both of them, and kept them guarded in a dark dungeon. The real reason for such conduct on their part was this, that Malik Badr 'Ulā knew that as long as these *amīrs* should remain in confinement, no injury of any kind would reach the fort.

When Sulṭān Aḥmad heard what had happened, he gave orders that batteries should be allotted to the different commanders and the fort should be attacked from every side. On the 5th Jamādi-ul-āwwal in the year 814 A.H. (1411 A.D.) the Sulṭān (in person) attacked the gate of the fort. The brave *amīrs* seeing this jumped into the ditch, and clambered to the fort and in the twinkling of an eye they mounted on the wall; and commenced to take measures for liberating Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk. As the moment of the death of those two beloved noblemen had not yet come, they were both brought out, and the rebels were completely routed and destroyed. Malik Badr 'Ulā and Rukn Khān, who were the leaders of the traitors and chiefs of the rebels, were executed. [1] Fīrūz Khān and the Rāja

[1] There was apparently two Fīrūz Khāns, (1) Fīrūz Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, and (2) Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān. The former led the revolt against Aḥmad Shāh, and fought with him. Finally however, the Rāja of Īdar

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of Īdar on hearing of the victory fled and took shelter in the hills of Īdar.

After some days, Ranmal, the Rāja of Īdar, wishing to redress and remedy what had happened behaved treacherously towards Fīrūz Khān, and having seized his treasures and elephants sent them for the service of Sulṭān Aḥmad. He also commenced with great humility and submissiveness to send tribute. The Sulṭān then returned to Aḥmadābād under the wings of triumph and victory. Fīrūz Khān fled with his brothers, and went to the country of Nāgōr. On the day on which Rāna Mūkul fought with Fīrūz Khān, the son of Shams Khān Dandānī, Fīrūz Khān the Shāhzāda attained martyrdom.

In the year 816, [1] Malik Aḥmad Sarkējī, Malik Shāh Malik and Malik Aḥmad son of Shēr Malik, Bhīkan Ādam Khān Afghān and Malik 'Isa Sālār again wakened up the disturbance which had fallen asleep, and they united some of the turbulent *zamīndārs* with them, and overran a part of the country; and every wretched man that was there came and joined them. About this time the Rāja of [2] Mandal, the Rāja of Nādōt and Badhūl

behaved treacherously towards him, and he fled to the other Fīrūz Khān, who had succeeded his father at Nāgōr. Here he was killed according to the Ṭabaqāt in the course of the fight between the other Fīrūz Khān and Rāna Mūkul. Niẓām-ud-dīn calls him Shāhzāda, to distinguish him from his namesake, when mentioning his death. According to Firishtah he went to Nāgōr, and was killed by the *ḥākim* of that place, *i.e.*, either by his namesake, or by some officer of his. As regards Fīrūz Khān No. 2, it will be remembered, that his father Shams Khān, after being expelled from Dhār, went to Nāgōr, and became the ruler there. This Fīrūz Khān was alive long after the death of the other which took place apparently in 815; for it appears that as late as 820 A.H., he sent a message to Sulṭān Aḥmad, to exculpate himself from all complicity with Sulṭān Hūshang and his partisans.

Col. Briggs is inclined to think that there was only Feroze Khan, and he was the son of his uncle Shums Khan. See footnote 2, page 19 of vol. IV of his work. According to Bayley it was Mōdūd who fled to Nāgōr, and was killed in a battle between Rānā Mokal, Rāja of Chitōr and Shams Khān Dindanī.

[1] According to Firishtah, Sulṭān Aḥmad invaded Jalwāra in 816 A.H. and it was during his absence that Malik Aḥmad Sark(g)jangī and Shāh Malik, son of Shaikh Malik and Ādam Bhankar raised the revolt. Col. Briggs (p. 17) has Kutchy instead of Sark(g)jangī and he calls Ādam Bhankar of the lith. ed. Adam of Bhukkur. Bayley (p. 95) calls 'Usmān Ahmad Sarkhejī. سركنجي Sarkanjī in the text-edition.

[2] Probably Mandalgarh.

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sent petitions to Sulṭān Hūshang, and incited and tempted him to come and conquer Gujrāt. Owing to his foolishness, he put his trust on the help of these rebels and advanced towards Gujrāt. Sulṭān Aḥmad saw that the dust of disturbance had risen from both sides, sent his own brother Laṭīf [1] Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh, with Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk the *nā'ib vazīr* to punish Malik Shāh Malik, and the other *amīrs*. He himself with a well-equipped army advanced to crush Sulṭān Hūshang. When he arrived at [2] Bāndhū which is in the neighbourhood of Chāmpānīr, he sent Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk Samarqandī with a large force, in advance of himself. When Sulṭān Hūshang heard that a slave of Sulṭān Aḥmad was coming to give him battle, he considered his grandeur higher than that; and returned to his own country. 'Imād-ul-mulk seized a number of the men who were the prime movers and the cause of the disturbance, and brought them before the Sulṭān. It can, however, be well understood by intelligent men, who know the niceties of things, that Sulṭān Hūshang was only seeking a pretext for a retreat. It was quite possible for him to send one of his slaves to meet 'Imād-ul-mulk; and he might also have advanced in person, when Sulṭān Aḥmad advanced to reinforce his own army.

About the time when the news of the retreat of Sulṭān Hūshang came, fast-moving couriers brought the news that Malik Shāh Malik and the other *amīrs* finding that they had not the strength to meet (the Sulṭān's army) had fled without waiting to fight. Shāhzāda Laṭīf Khān took up a position after pursuing them for some distance. Shāh Malik in consultation with the other disturbers of the peace, who had combined with him, made a sudden attack in the darkness of the night on the Shāhzāda's camp; but as the soldiers were all present and alert, they could not effect anything. They left a large number dead, and fled and took shelter with the *zamīndār* of Karnāl. The Sulṭān on receiving this news performed the rites of thanking God, and made the people of Aḥmadābād happy, by his gifts and favours.

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[1] According to Bayley (p. 96) Prince Latīf Khān had orders to bring Kānhā to account; and the latter was driven into the country of Sōrath.

[2] Bāndhū is called Pāndrū in Bayley, p. 96, and its situation is described as in *parganа* Sānouli, ten miles from the hill of Chāmpānīr.

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As the Rāja of [1] Karnāl had given shelter in his territory to Shāh Malik and the other rebels, the Sulṭān, in the year 817 A.H., determined on punishing him and teaching him a lesson. When he arrived at Karnāl, which is celebrated as Jūnagarh, the Rāja came out, and engaged him in a battle, but in the end he fled and retired into the citadel of Karnāl, and most of his best men fell, and departed to the city of eternity at the time of the flight. Sulṭān Aḥmad besieged the fort; and sent detachments every day for plundering and ravaging the country of [2] Sōrath. After a few days, in the month of Rajab of that year, he seized the fort by an attack in great force. The Rāja, with the others who were concerned in creating disturbance, fled to the top of the hill of Karnāl. Then in great humility and weakness, they came down, and begged for quarter; and again began to pay tribute according to the old custom. Sulṭān Aḥmad left Shāh Abūl [3] Khair and Saiyid Qāsim in order to collect the tribute, and returned to Aḥmadābād, his capital.

In the year 821, news came that Naṣīr, son of 'Ādil Khān the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, feeling very proud of his power and greatness had overrun some parts of Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār. Immediately on hearing this, (Sulṭān Aḥmad) marched rapidly towards Nadarbār. At the same time he sent a detachment to seize the fort of [4] Tambōl,

[1] According to Firishtah Sulṭān Aḥmad invaded Karnāl or Garnāl or Girnār because he had heard a great deal in praise of the place, and because the Rāja had never submitted to any Musalmān prince. When he was returning from Karnāl, he demolished a temple at a place called Saiyidpūr, (it is curious that the place should have such a name) which was adorned with various gems and pictures. It appears however from a quotation from a Muhammadan historian, apparently Firishtah, in Forbes's Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 329 (1856), that the name of the place where the temple was situated was Somāpoor.

Firishtah also says that Sulṭān Aḥmad sent Malik Tuḥfa, on whom he conferred the title of Tāj-ul-mulk on a *jehād* all over Gujrāt; and the latter slew many, and laid the burden of the *jiziya* and *khirāj* on others, and converted many to Islām. In 819 Sulṭān Aḥmad himself went on a similar expedition.

Firishtah mentions one Haḍrat Khān Walī of Dehlī coming to Gujrāt, but it does not appear who he was.

[2] سورت in the text-edition.

[3] Firishtah calls them two brothers, Saiyid Abul Khair and Saiyid Abul Qāsim.

[4] According to Col. Briggs (p. 19), "Tumbole, a small hill fort in the district of Buglana. The district from its local position naturally belongs to Kandeish, but it had from a very early period rajas independent of that province."

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which is situated on the boundary of the Deccan. When he arrived at Nadarbār, [1] 'Ādil Khān fled to Asīr. The forces that had been sent to the fort of Tambōl, took possession of it by giving assurances of safety to the commandant. As it was the rainy season, and the *chārwā* (beasts of burden ?) suffered great hardship in the open plains, Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh wanted to return to Aḥmadābād; but very swift couriers brought the news that the Rājas of Īdar and Chāmpānīr and Mandal and Nādōt had sent repeated representations to Sulṭān Hūshang; and had brought him into Gujrāt; and that he had arrived at the town of Mahrāsa.

At this time a man riding a camel who had come from the country of Nāgōr in the course of nine days arrived at Nadarbār, and brought a petition from [2] Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandānī, the purport of which was that Sulṭān Hūshang was coming to conquer Gujrāt; and as he had come to know from the letters of Jahān Khān that this *faqīr* (*i.e.*, he himself) was not honest and pure in his intentions towards Sulṭān Aḥmad, he had written to the *faqīr* that the *zamīndārs* of Gujrāt had sent repeated petitions to him, and had begged him to invade Gujrāt, and he was accordingly starting for that country. It would be right and proper that he also should make himself ready quickly and should come; (in which case) after the conquest of Gujrāt the country of Nahrwāla would be conferred on him. As His Majesty is his lord and master, he has thought it right and proper that he should send him notice of this.

Sulṭān Aḥmad, in spite of the rains, marched rapidly and crossing the Narbada, encamped on the bank of the Mahindrī; and when, in the course of a week, he arrived in the vicinity of the town of Mahrāsa, Sulṭān Hūshang's spies took the news to him, and he sent for and reproached the *zamīndārs*, and after scratching the back of his head, returned to his own country. As Sulṭān Aḥmad had come with only a small retinue, he halted there for a few days for collecting his troops. At this time news came that owing to the disturbances the Rāja of Sōrath had again neglected to pay his tribute; and

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[1] It was "Naṣīr son of 'Ādil Khān a few lines above but it is 'Ādil Khān here. The correct name however is Naṣīr, son of 'Ādīl Khān" (see p. 196).

[2] See note 1, pp. 193, 194.

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Naṣīr, son of ʻĀdil Khān the ruler of Asīr, had in concert with Ghaznīn Khān, son of Sulṭān Hūshang, besieged the fort of [1] Tālnīr ; and had by fraud and deceit taken possession of it ; and with the advice and concurrence of the Rāja of Nādōt had invaded the country of Sulṭānpūr ; and had retired after plundering and ravaging it. Sulṭān Aḥmad immediately on hearing this nominated Maḥmūd Khān with a large

[1] As regards Tālnīr or Thālnīr it appears from a note in page 101 of Bayley's Gujarāt that " Thālnīr had been assigned to Iftikhār-ul-mulk (who was Naṣīr Khān's younger brother), by their father, Malik Rāja, the first of the Fārūḳī rulers of Khāndēsh, and with it certain territories, as his inheritance. Naṣīr Khān, who seems to have been restless, ambitious, and unscrupulous, seized the fort from Iftikhār-ul-mulk ". Firishtah says it was taken by force, but the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī says by stratagem ; any way, he got it, and was assisted in doing so, by Ghaznīn Khān, who was his wife's nephew * * * whether their object at first was merely to seize Thālnīr, and the attack on Sulṭānpūr an after-thought, or whether this was designed from the beginning, the fact was that the two confederates renewed their attempt on these provinces, and, aided by the Rāja of Nādōt (Ṭabaqāt Akbarī), for a time carried all before them. On the whole it seems likely that the attack by Sulṭān Hūshang, the rising in Sōrath, and the second adventure of Naṣīr Khān in Sultānpūr, were concerted movements, and intended to be simultaneous; and, if it had not been for Sulṭān Aḥmad's prompt march to meet Sulṭān Hūshang, and the precipitate flight of that irresolute and treacherous prince, Sulṭān Aḥmad would have had a very serious task on his hand.

This is also confirmed by the Cambridge History of India, pp. 296, 297, where however Malik Rāja is called Raja Ahmad, and Iftikhār-ul-mulk is called Hasan. Malik Rāja divided his dominion giving the eastern portion to Nasīr, and the western to Hasan. Nasīr founded the city of Burhānpūr in 1400 A.D. and captured the strong fort of Asīr from a Hindū chieftain ; while Hasan established himself at Thālner. In 1417 Nasīr with the help of Hūshang, who had married his sister, captured Thālner, and imprisoned Hasan. Then Sultān Ahmad sent an army which compelled Nasīr to retire to Asīr, where he was besieged. Peace was made, Nasīr swearing fealty to Ahmad and the latter recognising Nasīr's title of Khān. Hasan retired to Gujarāt, where he and his descendant found a home and intermarried with the royal house.

From the treaty between Sulṭān Aḥmad and Naṣīr, an estrangement took place between Khāndēsh and Mālwa. Naṣīr resented Hūshang's failure to support him adequately against Sulṭān Aḥmad. In 1429 in spite of the former enmity between his family and the Bahmanīs, he gave his daughter in marriage to ʻAlā-ud-dīn Aḥmad, son of Aḥmad Shāh, the 9th Bahmanī King ; but this union engendered strife, and Khāndēsh after a disastrous war with the Bahmanīs, was at length driven into the arms of Gujarāt.

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force to proceed to the country of Sōrath ; and he went there and recovered tribute from the *zamīndārs*. The Sulṭān also sent Malik Maḥmūd Barkī, and Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk to go and punish Naṣīr the son of ʿĀdil Khān and to teach him a lesson. Malik Maḥmūd and Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk in the first instance raided Nādōt and a part of that country. The Rāja being too weak to withstand them, paid the tribute which had been agreed upon. Then when they arrived in the vicinity of Sulṭānpūr Ghaznīn Khān retired to his own country. Naṣīr Khān, son of ʿĀdil Khān, retired to the fort of Tālnīr, and prepared to defend himself there. After the siege had been protracted for a length of time, he prayed for the pardon of his offences, through the intervention of Malik Maḥmūd Barkī. Sulṭān Aḥmad drew the pen of forgiveness across his offences, and conferred distinction on him, by giving him a robe of honour and the title of Naṣīr Khān.

As Sulṭān Hūshang had repeatedly invaded Gujrāt, and had soiled and tarnished the brightness of Sulṭān Aḥmad's heart, which was the seat of peace and happiness, with the dust of pain, the latter in the month Ṣafar of the afore-mentioned year advanced to conquer the kingdom of Mālwa. On the way the representatives of the Rāja of Īdar and Chāmpānīr and Nādōt and other *zamīndārs* came and did homage to him ; and prayed for the pardon of their (master's) offences. They also engaged that they would remit double the annual tribute. Sulṭān Aḥmad shut his eyes to the offences of these men ; and accepted their excuses. As the Rāja of Mandal continued in his pride and rebellion, and did not try to discontinue his offences, Sulṭān Aḥmad left Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk to be the regent of the kingdom during his absence, and left the work of punishing the Rāja in his charge ; and in spite of the weather, and the narrowness of the road, himself advanced into Mālwa. When by successive marches he arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of [1]Kāliādah, Sulṭān Hūshang selected some broken land near it, and strengthened his position by having the river of Kāliādah on one side ; and having cut down large trees made a *khārband* (a sort of *zarība* made of trunks and branches of trees) in front of him. Sulṭān Aḥmad stood mounted

[1] The name looks like Kālīāwa كاليا in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs has Kaliada. According to Bayley (p. 103) Kālīādah is the name of the river on which Ujain is situated.

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on an extensive plain. He directed that [1]Amīr Maḥmūd Barkī should command the right wing, and Malik Farīd 'Imād-ul-mulk the left, while Naṣīr-ud-dīn 'Aḍd-ud-daula would be in the centre. It so happened that while seated on his horse he examined the battle-field, his attention fell on the circle fixed for Farīd ; and seated there on his horse, he sent a servant to summon him, so that he might confer his father's title, which was 'Imād-ul-mulk, on him. The messenger came back (and said) that the Malik had rubbed oil on his body, and he would arrive after a moment. The Sulṭān said "This is the day of battle. Farīd will find sorrow and shame on account of this delay" ; and without waiting any longer advanced to the battlefield.

When the two *bādshāhs* stood in front of each other, and the two armies met in great excitement and clamour, an elephant belonging to Sulṭān Aḥmad's army rushed on Sulṭān Hūshang's troops, and caused much havoc ; and scattered the horsemen in all directions. Ghaznīn Khān, son of Sulṭān Hūshang, coming within bow shot, shot many arrows on the forehead of the animal and wounded and killed it. From all sides warriors thirsting for battle rushed and fell on Sulṭān Aḥmad's army ; and there was great distress among the men of Gujrāt. At this time Malik Farīd mounted on his horse and followed by his men came towards the battlefield, but although he tried, [2]he could not find his way into it. At last a man told him, "I know a path by which you can get behind the enemy's army, and can launch an attack on it". Malik Farīd knowing the finding

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[1] Amīr Maḥmūd appears here to be called in one MS. as ترک. Turk, and not as in previous passages برکي Barkī. Firishtah all along calls him Amīr Maḥmūd Turk. Bayley, however, on page 102 calls him Malik Mahmūd Bargī. As regards Farīd, although he has been called Malik Farīd 'Imād-ul-mulk, he was the son of 'Imad-ul-mulk, but that title had not yet been conferred on him ; and the Sulṭān wanted to confer it on him there and then, as appears from the next sentence.

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 103) Farīd "came to the side of a river, where there was a difficult ford". After a little while a man pointed out a way to him which led to the rear of Sultān Hoshang's army.

The battle is mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, page 298, as a fiercely contested one, but the name of the place where it took place is not mentioned and no details are given.

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of the pathway to be a piece of unhoped for good fortune, advanced along it. At this time when the two armies were contending with each other, the detachment of Malik Farīd appeared before Sulṭān Hūshang's army; and he at once, and without hesitation fell on it, and there was a great battle. Although Sulṭān Hūshang was personally [1] bold and courageous, yet [2] not being victorious in the battle he took the road of flight; and fled galloping to the fort of Mandū. Much booty fell into the hands of Sulṭān Aḥmad, and his soldiers; and they went in pursuit till within one *karōh* of Mandū. Sulṭān Aḥmad also sent detachments in different directions, so that they plundered and ravaged the country, and cut down trees, both those that bore fruit and others that did not, in the vicinity of Mandū. As the rainy season had now arrived, they turned back and returned to Gujrāt. They trampled down (the crops, etc.) in the countries of Chāmpānīr and Nādōt, which lay on their way. After arriving at Aḥmadābād Sulṭān Aḥmad held many entertainments and festivities in the course of some months; and everyone, who had exerted himself even a little was distinguished by favours and kindnesses and had title conferred on him.

At the beginning of Dhīqa'dah in the year 821 A.H. (the Sulṭān) determined to punish [3] the Rāja of Chāmpānīr; and advancing by successive marches, besieged the hill of Chāmpānīr, which is three [4] *karōhs* in height, and seven *karōhs* in circumference. He shut up all entrances and exits, and waited for the blowing of the breezes of victory and conquest. After some days, the Rāja in great humility and distress sent a *vakīl*, and submitted that "This slave (*i.e.*, he

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[1] شجاع و مردانه in the lith. ed., but شجاع و فرزانه in the MS. I think the former is the better reading.

[2] The readings are doubtful. One MS. and the lith. ed. have اما فیروز جنگ نبودهٔ. The other has اما فیروز خان دیگر نبردهٔ. The former reading is probably correct. The latter certainly is not. فیروز جنگ نبود in the text-edition.

[3] He is called Tirbang Dās in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 104. Tirbang is a variant of *Tribhanga*, lit. broken in three; a name given to Krishnā, as indicating the posture in which he is shown as standing, in the ordinary pictures.

[4] This is absurd, but I cannot get the correct altitude of the hill anywhere. Probably the path to the fort was three *karōhs* in length.

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himself) has all along been a slave of that threshold, and has always caused himself to be written down as a [1] dependant of Aḥmad Shāh. If owing to his innate generosity he would accept the excuses for the offences of this humble one, the latter would send all his expenses for one year into the treasury, and would pay the annual tribute". As Sulṭān Aḥmad had at this time another achievement in his mind, he accepted the Rāja's excuses and took the tribute.

In the beginning of Ṣafar of 822 A.H. (1419 A.D.) he advanced towards the town of [2] Sōnkara; and having plundered and ravaged a part of the country round it, he encamped on the 22nd Ṣafar nearer the town; and ordered the erection of a *Jāma'* Mosque there, and appointed the necessary officers directed by the *Shara'*. He marched from that place on the 11th Rabī'-ul-āwwal of that year and encamped at [3] Mānkī, and ordered that a strong fort should be built there as a military post. On the 12th Rabī'-ul-āwwal, he started towards Mandū, and having punished the [4] inhabitants and infidels of the hill of Kāntū, he proceeded along the way by rapid marches. On the way Maulānā Mūsa and [5] 'Alī Ḥāmid came as emissaries from Sulṭān

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[1] The word is نرسنگهداس or برسنگهداس in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. I suppose it means a dependant or protegé; or is it only a variant of his name Tirbang Dās.

[2] The name is سونکهر or سونکهرا in the MSS., and سونگر Sōngar in the lith. ed. Bayley (p. 104) calls it Sōnkherah Bahādurpūr. Firishtah's account differs from that in the text. He says at the end of that year (821 A.H.) Aḥmad Shāh caused the fort of Sōnkara (or Sōngarh) to be repaired and built a mosque there; and then marching towards Andarun (Idar ?), and gave orders for plundering and ravaging Mālwa. Col. Briggs's (p. 22) account is similar, but he does not mention the building of the mosque; and he says that Ahmud Shah proceeded in person to Idur, and then sent a detachment into Malwa to lay waste that country. The place is called Songarh, in the Cambridge History of India, page 298; and is said in a note to be at 20°, 11″ North and 73°, 36″ East.

[3] The name is مانکي or ما کني in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. According to Bayley (p. 105) the name of the village is Māknī and it is a dependency of Sōnkherah. It is not mentioned by Firishtah. In the text-edition it is مانکتی Mānktī.

[4] They are called the infidels of the hill of Kanthur in Bayley; and are referred to in the Cambridge History of India, page 298, as the "infidels, of the Sātpūras".

[5] The name is علي حامد 'Alī Ḥāmid in one MS., and علي جماداد 'Alī Jamādār in the other. It is علي جامداد 'Alī Jāmdār in the lith. ed. Firishtah

Hūshang, and prayed, through the intervention of Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk the *nā'ib vazīr* and Malik Maḥmūd Turk and Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn with great submission and humility, that it was not right that a *bādshāh* professing the Islāmic faith should cause injury to the Musalmāns and the helpless people of Mālwa. The Sulṭān, noble spirited and generous of heart accepted their prayers ; and wrote an affectionate letter to Sulṭān Hūshang. He then turned back, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Chāmpānīr on the [1] 7th Rabī'-uth-thanī. He levelled to the ground, wherever there was an idol temple ; and then went back to Aḥmadābād.

[2] In the year 823 A.H., he moved out with the intention of building some forts. First of all he laid the foundations of a strong fort in Jīnūr on the bank of the Mahindrī. After that, he built a line of fortifications round the town of Dhāmōd, and tried to increase its population and cultivation. After that when he arrived in the town of Kārītha he ordered that the old fort which had been

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does not give the name, but describes them as the ambassadors of Sulṭān Hūshang. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 105, the correct name is 'Ali Jāmdār ; and *Jāmdār* means treasurer.

[1] One MS. has بستم 20th, but the other and the lith. ed. have هفتم 7th.

[2] Firishṭah does not mention the building of these forts ; but I find the following in Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 348. The passage is within inverted commas, but the work from which it is quoted is not mentioned. "Having also founded forts in such places, he left garrisons in them, among which may be mentioned the fort at the town of Jinoor in the Pergunnah of Bareah, and that of Shivpoor. After this he established the market town of Dahmod, among the mountains, where he erected a fortification. After this the fort of Karieh (Kaira or Kuree ?) built in A.D. 1304 by order of Alp Khān who governed the country for Allah-ood-deen Khiljy, was repaired, and named Sultanabad." It would be seen that the statements made in the quotation agree closely with those in the text. There are differences in the spelling of the names of the places where the forts were built in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. ; but I do not consider it necessary to mention them. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 105, the first fort is said to have been built at Janūr in the *pargana* of Bārā Sanwāl. After that the Sultān built the town of Dhāmōod, in the hills, and he erected a fort there. He repaired the fort at Kāreth which was founded in the time of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn by Alp Khān Sanjar, in 704 A.H. (1304 A.D.), but had fallen into decay, and he gave it the name of Sulṭānābād.

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erected in the year [1] 704 A.H. by Alp Khān Sanjar, the Deputy of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī should be entirely re-built; and having endeavoured to increase the cultivation and the population of the district, gave it the name of Sulṭānābād. He again marched in the direction of Chāmpānīr at the end of the year 824 A.H., 1421 A.D. He besieged it and extorted tribute; and on the 19th of Ṣafar, 825, he advanced towards Sonkhera. He arrived there on the 22nd Ṣafar, and laid the foundation of another *Jāma' masjid*.

At this time, news came that sometime ago [2] Sulṭān Hūshang had left Mālwa, and had gone away elsewhere; and had completely

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[1] The dates vary in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but as the year of the Christian era in the passage quoted in the preceding note is 1304 A.D., 704 appears to be the correct A.H. year.

[2] As to Sulṭān Hūshang's disappearance Firishtah's account is, that as he knew that the fort of Mandū was so strong that Sulṭān Aḥmad would not be able to capture it, and he wanted to achieve a feat that people would remember for a long time, he left it in charge of one of his chief officers, and went out himself with six thousand selected horsemen and left it by the Nāgōr gate, while Sulṭān Aḥmad was encamped in front of the Sārangpūr gate with the object of capturing some fine *mast* elephants in Jājnagar; and coming back with them. According to Firishtah Sulṭān Aḥmad did not know anything about Sulṭān Hūshang's departure, or his return, till he heard joy drums beaten, and saw flags hung out from the turrets of the fort of Mandū after he had returned. Apparently the siege was not at all a close one. Firishtah also gives another version from the Tārīkh-i-Alfī. According to this, Sulṭān Hūshang assumed the dress of a horse merchant, and went to Jājnagar in order to procure elephants. Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt, having heard that he had left his kingdom, and that his officers had divided it among themselves invaded Mālwa. In the first place he reduced the fort of Mahēswar and then marched to Mandū. I do not consider it necessary to give this version at greater length but I may point out that it agrees generally with the text.

The names of the *jāgīrs*, and of the *amīrs* on whom they were conferred, are not mentioned in the quotation from the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, but the collection of the *kharīf* revenue is. According to Bayley, page 106, Sultān Hoshang is said to have gone to Jājnagar elephant hunting; and the people in the fort of Mahēsar having no hope of relief surrendered the keys to Sultān Ahmad.

Bayley discusses at some little length, in a note on page 106, the reason and motives of Sultān Ahmad's attack on Mandū. He thinks that Sultān Ahmad is not likely to have been induced to attack Mandū, a Musalmān country, merely by the absence of Hoshang, with whom he was at peace. He comes to the conclusion that Sultān Ahmad might have been led to believe that Sultān

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disappeared. The *amīrs* and the chiefs of the different sections of the people had taken possession of the country, and had divided it among themselves. On hearing this news, the Sulṭān marched towards Mandū, and advancing by successive marches he laid siege to [1] Mahisra. The *thānadār* prayed for quarter, and entered the service of Aḥmad Shāh. The latter encamped on the 12th Rabī'-ul-ākhir at the foot of the fort of Mandū ; and sent many detachments to ravage the country. Then when the rainy season approached, he marched from the fort towards Ujjain. He divided the country among his *amīrs*, giving Dīpālpūr Banharīa in fief to Malik Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk, and [2] Kānthā to Malik Farīd 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Mahindpūr which is now celebrated as Muḥammadpūr to Malik Iftikhār-ul-mulk. The *amīrs* sent their officers to the *parganas* ; and realised the instalment of the *kharīf* (rainy season crops) revenue.

Sulṭān Hūshang returned at this time from his journey to [3] Jājnagar, where he had gone to buy elephants, a detailed account of this matter is given in the section about Mālwa, and entered the fort of Mandū. After the end of the rains, Sulṭān Aḥmad went from

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Hoshang had by some means come to an untimely end ; and he himself was as much entitled to the vacant throne as anyone else.

In the Cambridge History of India, page 298, Sultān Hūshang's expedition is called his famous (?) raid into Orissa. I do not think it was a famous raid in any way. It is clear from the account of the expedition given in Firishta that merchants frequently took their goods to Jājnagar from Mālwa, and the neighbouring country for the merchants of that country apparently knew what colour of horses the Rāy had a partiality for, and what merchandise his subjects were likely to buy. It was a whimsical raid certainly, to be undertaken by the ruler of a country which was exposed to attacks by a powerful neighbour.

[1] The name is مهر in one MS., and in the lith. ed., but مهر in the other MS. Firishta calls it the fort of مهیرا. In the quotation from the Tārīkh-i-Alfī it is called Maheswar. It is called Chola Mahēsar in Bayley, page 106. In the text-edition it is مهیر Mahīr.

[2] کانتها in the text-edition.

[3] Col. Briggs (p. 22) says that Jajnuggur "is a city situated on the Mahanuda river which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa. The forests of which have always been famous for wild elephants." There is no city of the name of Jājnagar at present in Orissa ; there is a town called Jājpūr, but it is not on the Mahānadī. Probably the name of Jājnagar was given to the province of Orissa. According to *Riyaẓu-s-Salātīn* (1902), p. 15, Northern Orissa was known as Jajnagar.

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Ujjain to Mandū on the 20th Ramaḍān; and sat down in front of the Dehlī gate. He distributed the batteries and laid siege to the [1] hill. He sent a *farmān* to Aḥmadābād, to summon [2] Malik Aḥmad Ayāz; so that he might bring with him treasure and some appliances. The Malik came on the 12th of Shawwāl; and waited on the Sulṭān. The latter conferred a robe of honour on him, and made over to him the duty of working the Tārāpūr battery. As on the return of Hūshang, Sulṭān Aḥmad's troops, which had taken possession of the country of Mālwa, and were engaged in managing the *parganas* had again collected together, Sulṭān Aḥmad thought it advisable that he should take up a position in the centre of the country and should send the *amīrs* to the towns and *parganas*. According to this decision he marched away from the foot of the fort, and advanced to Sārangpūr. Sulṭān Hūshang also betook himself to Sārangpūr by a different route. When the Gujrāt army arrived in the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr, Sulṭān Hūshang sent an emissary, and behaving with great humility and submissiveness agreed to pay tribute. When Sulṭān Aḥmad saw the humility and the weakness of the emissary, he became [3] sure of his safety, and neglected to dig the ditch and to erect the *zarība* round his camp.

The same night, which was the 12th Muḥarram in the year 826 A.H., Sulṭān Hūshang made a night attack on the camp. As the men were negligent a large number was slain; among them [4] Sāmat Rāy, Rāja of the country of Dandwāna, who was killed with five

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[1] It is کوہ, hill, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Probably the entire hill on which Mandū was built was besieged.

[2] He is called Muqarrab in the Tārīkh-i-Alfī. He brought battering rams and engines with him; and he was detached to secure the passage by the Tārāpūr gate, which according to a note by Col. Briggs (p. 24) was the southern entrance.

[3] According to Firishtah the emissaries spoke with such flattery and urgency that Aḥmad Shāh neglected not only to dig the ditch and make the thorn fence, but kept no night sentries.

[4] He does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah. Sāmat Rāy may be a corrupt form of Sāmanta Rāy. He is called Sāmant Rājpūt Grāsiah of the district of Dundāh who held the advanced post, in Bayley, page 108. The night attack is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, but may be one of the "desultory and inconclusive hostilities" mentioned on page 298. In the text-edition the name is سامت رائے راجہ ولایت دنداؤ.

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hundred Rājpūts around him. When [1] Sulṭān Aḥmad woke up he did not find a single person in his pavilion. There were two post horses there. He mounted [2] Malik Jūnā, his *rikābdār* (stirrup holder) on one, and himself mounted the other. Coming out of his suite of tents, he saw the whole camp being destroyed ; and not knowing what to do, went away towards the open country. After a little time, he sent Malik Jūnā back to the camp, so that he might make enquiry. When Malik Jūnā again got into the camp, he found that Malik Muqarrab Aḥmad Ayāz, and Malik Farīd had got their men together, and were going towards the royal pavilion. They asked him news of the Sulṭān. Malik Jūnā after ascertaining the real state of things, took the other two with him and went and waited on the Sulṭān. As the Sulṭān was "naked" (*i.e.*, probably he had only some kind of night-dress on him), Malik Muqarrab taking off his own arms put them on him. He also asked for leave to attack the enemy. The Sulṭān ordered "Wait a little while, so that the light of the morning may appear". Malik Jūnā was again sent to the camp, so that he might make further enquiry, and ascertain where Sulṭān Hūshang was, and how he was occupied.

Malik Jūnā returned, and said, that Sulṭān Hūshang's troops were busy plundering the camp, and he himself was standing with a few others, with all the royal horses and elephants collected round them. Sulṭān Aḥmad advanced with the thousand horsemen, who had come with Malik Muqarrab and Malik Farīd, at the approach of the dawn, which indeed was a dawn of good fortune, to effect the destruction of Hūshang. When the two forces met face to face, the Sulṭān with his followers attacked the enemy ; and doing all that was demanded of him in the way of activity and bravery, inflicted wounds on Hūshang, and also received a wound himself. Sulṭān Hūshang also in spite of the wound exerted himself with great bravery. About this time the [3] *fīlbāns* attached to the Gujrāt army, recognised Sulṭān

[1] He is said to have been awakened by Malik Munīr in Bayley, page 108 ; but we hear nothing more of this man.

[2] The name of the *rikābdār* is transliterated as Malik Jaunān in Bayley, page 108.

[3] According to Firishtah they were seated on their elephants, which had been seized by Sulṭān Hūshang.

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Aḥmad ; and drove Sulṭān Hūshang before them ; and although the latter tried to maintain his position, he was unable to do so, and in the end had to flee towards Sārangpūr. The tables were turned now, and the men who had been engaged in looting the Gujrāt camp, became food for the sword ; and all the elephants and horses and camels and war material that had been seized were recovered ; and [1] seven famous elephants, out of those brought from Jājnagar, which Sulṭān Hūshang had acquired with such great hardship and trouble were obtained as booty. Sulṭān Aḥmad then with victory and triumph betook himself to his pavilion, and bound up his wound. He then arranged a great public audience ; and did everything to please and encourage the *amīrs* and the heads of groups, and the brave warriors. On the next day, he sent Iftikẖār-ul-mulk and Malik Ṣafdar Khān Sulṭānī, with a well-equipped detachment into the adjoining country, that they might guard the animals belonging to the camp which had been sent out to collect fodder. It so happened that a detachment of the enemy's army had come out of their camp to attack and harass the men who were collecting fodder. The two bodies met and attacked each other, and did everything to slay and be slain. In the end, Sulṭān Hūshang's detachment fled and retired to Sārangpūr and Malik Iftikẖār-ul-mulk and Ṣafdar Khān Sulṭānī returned crowned with success and victory, and received favours from the Sulṭān.

Sulṭān Aḥmad for reasons of state now started for Gujrāt on the 24th of Rabī'-ul-ākẖir of that year. Sulṭān Hūshang immediately sallied out of the fort of Sārangpūr, and started in pursuit. Sulṭān Aḥmad turned back, and stood his ground ; and the flames of battle blazed up between the two armies. Sulṭān Aḥmad exerted himself with great gallantry. After much fighting and great struggle, Sulṭān Hūshang turned his back on the field of battle, and fled, and entered the fort. On this occasion also some of the Jājnagar elephants fell into the hands of the Gujrāt army. Sulṭān Aḥmad halted that day at that place, and on the next day he again advanced in the direction of Aḥmadābād. He arrived there on the 4th Jamādī-ul-

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[1] One MS. has سلسلہ, chain, after هفت, seven ; but the other and the lith. ed. do not have it. Ordinarily an elephant is described as یک زنجیر فیل. I suppose یک سلسله فیل also means an elephant.

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ākhir of that year ; and held great festive assemblies ; [1] and conferred distinctions on the *amīrs* and the soldiers in the form of reward and robes of honour and increase of emoluments ; and as during this expedition the troops had lost much of their accoutrements, he directed that they should not move for three years. The Sulṭān took up his residence in Aḥmadābād ; and spent most of his time, in inquiring into the cases of seekers of justice, and regulating the administration of the kingdom and increasing the cultivation.

While he was so engaged the *vazīrs* represented to him that [2] Pūnjā, son of Ranmal, the Rāja of Īdar, had shortened his hand (*i.e.*, had delayed) in remitting the tribute, during the time when the Sulṭān was engaged in waging war in Mālwa ; and having sent petitions to Sulṭān Hūshang had tried to combine with him. Accordingly in the year 829 A.H., Sulṭān Aḥmad sent a well-equipped army to attack Pūnjā. When the army arrived in the country of Īdar, and began to plunder and ravage it, Pūnjā met it with hostility, and placed the shield of resistance before himself. When the struggle was protracted, the Sulṭān advanced into Īdar in person, and planning the building of the city of Aḥmadnagar, on the bank of the river [3] Hātmatī, at a distance of ten *karōhs* from Īdar, laid the foundation

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[1] There are different readings here. The reading in one MS. which I have accepted is امرا و سپاهیان را بانعام و خلعت و زیادتي علوفه امتیاز بخشید ، و چون درین یورش سپاهیان بسیار بی سامان شده بودند ; the other MS. has امرا و سپاهیان را که بسیار بیسامان شده بودند خلاع و انعامات کلي داد . The reading in the lith. ed. is manifestly incorrect ; it has امرا و سپاهیان را که بسیار بی سامان شده بودند .

[2] The name is written in the MSS. as پونجا ولد رنمل, and in the lith. ed. as پونجا بن راو مانل. He is called Row Poonjā in Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 349. It is difficult to ascertain the derivation or correct Sanskrit form of Pūnjā. It may be Pujya the worshipped, the honoured. Ranmal appears to be Rānā Malla an athlete in war.

[3] The name of the river is Sābarmatī in the MSS., in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and in the text-edition ; but it is Hātmatī in the lith. ed. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 26) says, "Ferishta writes Hatmutty ; it should evidently be Saburmutty, the same river that flows to Ahmudabad". In the map before me Aḥmadnagar is not on the Sābarmatī, but on a stream which flows into it some distance to the south near a place which is called Cairah in the map. So I have retained Hātmatī.

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of a fort there. He made very great exertions in completing the building of it. He sent out detachments from Aḥmadnagar, in different directions, all round Īdar; so that they might burn *tar o khushk* or wet and dry, *i.e.*, growing crops, houses, etc.; and slay all that fell into their hands. Pūnjā, although he saw all this, was determined to carry on the war. He sometimes appeared suddenly from a distance before a detachment which went to escort the men who went for fodder; and in the meantime, whenever he accidentally got a chance, he launched an attack.

In the end, when he found that he could effect nothing, and could not endure any longer the onslaughts of Aḥmad Shāh's armies, he sent representatives, and with sincerity offered to pay a large tribute. But as he had (before this) several times broken his engagements, the Sulṭān did not accept his offer. He advanced in person against Īdar, and on the first day he seized three forts. Pūnjā fled and took shelter in the hills of [1] Visālnagar. The next day the Sulṭān sacked the city of Īdar and returned to Aḥmadnagar. As the construction of Aḥmadnagar was now completed, the Sulṭān in the following year, namely 830 A.H., again turned the bridle of his spirit to the conquest of the territory of Īdar, and sent his troops in all directions, so that they might plunder and ravage the country; and he himself also gave his attention to the work. Pūnjā in a state of great humility and distress sent emissaries and knocked at the door of peace; and agreed to pay a heavy tribute. As the Sulṭān had now formed a kingly determination to destroy him completely, he showed no favour to the words of the emissaries. Pūnjā, now utterly despondent, hovered moth-like round his territory; and wherever he could, made an onslaught. On a Thursday [2] in the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir in the year 831 A.H., he came upon a detachment, which had gone to the jungle to escort a body of men who had gone to bring grass. After exerting himself a great deal against them, he fled; but when

[1] It is Bījānagar in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but the correct name appears to me to be Visālnagar, but I find that the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī also calls it Bījānagar. The reading in the MSS. is followed in the text-edition.

[2] So in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but Firishtah who has copied the sentence from the text *verbatim* has پنجم, 5th, instead of پنجشنبه, Thursday, and this is apparently correct.

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he was galloping away, an elephant which had become separated from the detachment came into his view. He immediately turned round, and wounding the animal with his spear, drove it before him. As some brave men pursued him, he betook himself into some uneven ground where there were caverns and ravines; and by an accident, his horse shied at the elephant and [1] threw him into a cavern. Aḥmad Shāh's soldiers came up and turned the elephant back; but they did not know that Pūnjā had been thrown by his horse. About this time a poor man entered the cavern in order to collect fire-wood. He saw a well-dressed man lying dead; and from his appearance concluded that it must be the corpse of a great man. He cut off his head and waited with it upon the Sulṭān; and many people recognised it to be the head of Pūnjā. They say that a man at that time saluted the head and showed great respect towards it. When people asked him the reason of this, he said, "I served him for a long time". Sulṭān Aḥmad was pleased with the man's good manners, and rewarded him.

Couplet:

Neglect not good manners, and their results great;
For in the end, they will your fortune make.

The next day the Sulṭān advanced to Īdar, and sending troops gave them orders to devastate Īdar and Visālnagar. [2] Har Rāy, the son of Pūnjā, having through the intervention of [3] Ḵẖān Jahān Sulṭānī begged for the pardon of his offences; and engaged to pay an annual tribute of three *lakhs* of silver *tankas*. Sulṭān Aḥmad, on account of his great generosity and humanity, drew the pen of

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have افتاد, but the other MS. has انداخت. I have accepted the latter reading, for it does not appear that the dead horse was found near Pūnjā's corpse. The circumstances under which Pūnjā was killed are given somewhat differently by Firishtah. Col. Briggs does not say anything about the manner of his death. According to Rās Mālā, vol. I, p. 349, Pūnjā fell under his horse and was killed.

[2] So in the MS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah (lith. ed.) has پیراو, Pīrāū. Col. Briggs does not give his name; while the Rās Mālā has Naron Das. Bayley (p. 112) calls him Bīr Rāī; but says he is called Har Rāo in some MSS. He is called Harī Rāi in the Cambridge History of India, page 298, and is said to have been reduced to vassalage by Sultān Ahmad in 1428.

[3] One MS. has Ḵẖān Jahān Sulṭānī, and this is followed.

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forgiveness across his offences; and took him into the circle of his loyal adherents. He conferred the title of Ṣafdar-ul-mulk on Malik Ḥasan and left him with a large body of troops in charge of the military post of Aḥmadnagar. He then trampled over and plundered the country of [1] Kīlwāra, and went to Aḥmadabad. He made the citizens fortunate with rewards and favours. After some days, Malik Muqarrab gave letters, addressed to Har Rāy, to some of his personal adherents, for the payment of their wages. When these men arrived at Īdar Har Rāy made delays in the payment of the money and passed the time making evasions. He then got the news that the Sulṭān had come out of the city, and was engaged in collecting troops. In great fear he fled and took shelter in an out-of-the-way place. When this news reached the Sulṭān he [2] advanced on the wings of speed on the 4th Ṣafar, 832 A.H.; and on the 6th Ṣafar, he took up his residence in the fort, and after performing the rites of offering thanks to God, planned the erection of a *jāma' masjid*, and leaving a large force there went to Aḥmadnagar.

[3] In 833 A.H., when [4] Rāja Kānhā, the Rāja of Jhālāwār, knew that Sulṭān Aḥmad had nearly finished the matter of Īdar; and that

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[1] So in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah (lith. ed.) has كنكوارة, Kankwāra. Col. Briggs has Gilwara and Rās Mālā has Gudwārā.

[2] Instead of the peaceful march to, and entry into Īdar, described in the text, Firishtah says يكى از قلاع معتبر آيد مفتوح ساخته بقلهٔ درآمد, and Rās Mālā, vol. I, p. 350, follows him and says "he carried by storm one of the principal forts in that province, wherein he built a magnificent mosque".

[3] Bayley says (page 114), that for some reason, the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī gives only a brief summary of the latter years of Sultān Ahmad's reign; and he has supplied the deficiency by extracts from the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī. As regards the war between Sultān Ahmad of Gujarāt and Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī no additional information can be obtained from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

[4] So in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the lith ed. of Firishtah he is changed to two Rājas راجه كانها و راجه جالوارة Rāja Kānhā and Rāja of Jālwārah, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 26) has Kanha Ray, the Raja of Jhalode. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī his proper name was Kānhā Satarsāl, Rāja of Jhālāwār. He had joined the rebellion of 1413 and had therefore good reason for being afraid of Sultān Ahmad's displeasure towards him. The rebellion of Kānhā is also mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, page 296, where it is said that it called "Ahmad into Kāthīāwār".

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as soon as he would be free, he would attack other *zamīndārs*, he considered that it would be most advantageous for him to leave his own country; and he accordingly fled. The force, which was deputed to punish him, went in pursuit of him into the territory of Asīr and Burhānpūr. Naṣīr Khān, the ruler of Asīr, on account of the fact that Kānhā had presented [1] two worn-out elephants as tribute to him, and [2] exchanging the rights for benefits conferred, for injuries, gave him a place (*i.e.*, an asylum) in his kingdom. After some days, Kānhā went to Gulbarga [3] and brought a force from Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī to assist and help him; after which he plundered and ravaged parts of Nadarbār.

When this news reached Sulṭān Aḥmad, he appointed his eldest son, Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān to inquire into and redress this matter; and sent great *sardārs*, such as Saiyid Abul Khair, and [4] Saiyid Qāsim, son of Saiyid 'Ālam, and Malik Muqarrab Aḥmad Āyāz, and Malik Iftikhār-ul-mulk with him. Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān fought a battle with the Dakinī troops, and gained the victory; and a large number of the Dakinīs were slain, and others were taken prisoners. The remainder who escaped the sword fled to Daulātābād. When this intelligence reached Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī, he sent his eldest son, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, and his second son, Khān Jahān, to carry on the war with Shāhzāda Muḥammad. He also entrusted the

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[1] One MS. has دو فیل لکات, the other has دو فیل لکات مفکوک. The lith. ed. has دو فیل رکار. Firishtah has دو فیل لکات مفلوک. Col. Briggs says (vol. IV, pp. 26, 27) Kanha presented two elephants which he had succeeded in bringing with him, when he escaped from a detachment, which was sent in pursuit of him. Bayley (p. 116) in his translation of the Tabakāt has two large elephants, but says in a note, some MSS. have "one".

[2] The sentence in the text حقوق تربیت بعقوق عدل ساخته is obscure and cryptic. Firishtah is more intelligible. He says و او باستظهار قرابتی بادشاهان دکن, *i.e.*, and he (*i.e.*, Naṣīr Khān) relying on the strength (he felt) from the fact of his relationship with the bādshāhs of the Dakin, exchanged the rights, which the Sulṭān of Gujrāt had on him for benefits he had conferred, for injuries.

[3] Firishtah says specially that it was a small detachment.

[4] The names are somewhat different in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Saiyid Qāsim is called Saiyid Abul Qāsim. Saiyid 'Ālam is not mentioned as the father of Saiyid Qāsim, but as a separate chief.

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affairs of the army to the judgment of Qadr Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs* of the Deccan. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, in consultation with Qadr Khān, arrived by successive marches at Daulatābād; and took up his residence there. At this station, Naṣīr Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, and Kānhā Rāja of Jhālāwār also joined the camp of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn; and he was much strengthened by them. Muḥammad Khān also advanced towards Daulatābād with the intention of giving battle. When the two armies approached each other closely, Muḥammad Khān arrayed his ranks, and the fire of [1] battle flamed up from both sides. At this juncture Malik Muqarrab Aḥmad Āyāz and Qadr Khān, both of whom were commanders, fought hand to hand. Qadr Khān fell from the back of his horse on the dust of destruction. Malik Iftikhār-ul-mulk seized a large elephant as booty. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn fled and took shelter in the fort of Daulatābād. Naṣīr Khān, the ruler of Asīr, also fled, and went to the hills of [2] Kaland, which are situated in the country of Asīr. Muḥammad Khān carried out the customs of offering thanks to God, and as he knew that it would be impossible to capture the fort of Daulatābād, he returned from there; and having trampled down a part of the territory of Asīr and Burhānpūr, took up his quarters in the town of Nadarbār. From that place he notified the true state of things to his father. Sulṭān Aḥmad wrote in reply that he should continue for a few days longer at Nadarbār, in order to arrange and regulate the affairs of that quarter.

In the year 834 A.H. [3] Quṭb, the officer-in-charge of the island of Mahāim, and other sufferers (*meḥnat zadhā*) sent a petition to

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[1] This battle is said, in the Cambridge History of India, page 299, to have taken place at Mānikpunj about 38 miles N.-W. of Daulatābād.

[2] One MS. has گولکند, Gōlkund, which is clearly a mistake. The other has کلند, Kaland. The lith. ed. has کلید, Kalīd. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has Kaland. Col. Briggs simplifies matters by saying (vol. II, p. 28) "took refuge in the hills of Kandeish".

[3] He is called Quṭb without any addition, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs, however, calls him Kootb Khan. Firishtah's account, however, differs from that in the text inasmuch as he says that it was after the death of Quṭb, that Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī, who was always thinking of retaliating for his previous defeat, sent the Malik-ut-tujjār, and the latter took possession of the island. In the Tārīkh-i-Alfī Quṭb is called Rāī

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Sulṭān Aḥmad that Malik [1] Ḥasan, who had the title of Malik-ut-tujjār and was one of the *amīrs* of Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī, had come from the country of the Deccan, and had seized the island of Mahāim, and neighbouring country with great violence and ferocity; and had ravaged a Musalmān country, and had carried Musalmāns away in bondage. Sulṭān Aḥmad sent Shāhzāda Ẓafar Khān to destroy Malik-ut-tujjār; and he appointed some great *amīrs*, who had previously done (great) deeds to serve under him. He also wrote to Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk, the *kotwāl* of Dīb (Dīū), that he should get the ships belonging to the different ports, and should proceed to attend on Ẓafar Khān. Malik Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk fitted out [2] seven hundred ships, large and small, from the town of Pattan, and [3] the Port of Dīb and the district of [4] Kambāyat. He came and waited upon Ẓafar Khān in the neighbourhood of the country of Mahāim. It was decided in consultation with the *amīrs*, [5] that the ships should be sent to the country of Thāna and he should himself remain with Ẓafar Khān.

When they arrived near Thāna, Ẓafar Khān sent Iftikhār-ul-mulk and Malik Suhrāb Sulṭānī, in advance, to surround that country. At the same time, the ships filled with armed men arrived by sea; and closed the approach (by sea). When Ẓafar Khān began to conquer that district, the governor of Thāna sallied out of the fort, and fought with bravery. He was, however, unable to withstand the onslaughts of the Gujrāt army, and fled. The Shāhzāda, with the advice of the *amīrs*, left a body of troops there, and advanced on Mahāim. Malik-

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Quṭb, and Bayley thinks that "He was the Rāī of Mahaīm, whose daughter Prince Fath Khān is said, in the sequel, to have married". He was probably one of the petty local princes. It is said in Rās Mālā, page 350, vol. I, that he was "a tributary Hindoo prince with the title of Rāee, who afterwards gave a daughter to the harem of the son of Shah Ahmed".

[1] For an account of him, see the history of the reign of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, p. 49 onwards.

[2] According to Firishtah and Col. Briggs and Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 352) there were only seventeen ships.

[3] One MS. has بندر گھوگا *Bandar* Ghogāh instead of *Bandar* Dip; but Bayley, p. 117, has both Dīū, and the port of Ghōgah.

[4] کنبایت Kanbāyat in the text-edition.

[5] Col. Briggs's translation is slightly different. It is that the ships with part of the army should go to Tanna, and the remainder should go by land.

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ut-tujjār had cut down large trees, and had built a barricade with the branches along the shore of Mahāim. When the Gujrāt army came up, Malik-ut-tujjār came outside the barricade and fought with gallantry. From the approach of the light of dawn to the setting of the sun, the brave men of the two armies showed no deficiency in courage and hardihood. But in the end, Malik-ut-tujjār fled and got within the barricade. When the ships arrived, and the Gujrāt army had the command both by sea and land, Malik-ut-tujjār sent a petition to Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī and prayed for help. The Sulṭān sent ten thousand horsemen, and [1] sixty and odd *mast* elephants with two of his sons from Daulatābād, and sent his *vazīr* Khān Jahān with them, so that they might act according to his advice and counsel. When the Deccan army arrived near Mahāim, Malik-ut-tujjār being assured of the safety of the island and of the barricades of trees, had the honour of waiting on the two Shāhzādas. After much discussion, it was decided, that they should in the first instance endeavour to recover possession of the district of Thāna; and they started in the direction of that place.

Shāhzāda Ẓafar Khān also made necessary preparations, and started to re-inforce the men at Thāna. After the two armies had met (near Thāna), they fought with each other from morning till sun-set; and in the end, defeat fell on the Deccan army. Malik-ut-tujjār fled to [2] Jālna; and his troops, for fear of their lives, abandoned the island of Mahāim. Ẓafar Khān crowned with success and victory landed there; and sent out ships, and seized some of the officers of Malik-ut-tujjār, who had fled by way of the sea. He despatched some boats after [3] filling them with various kinds of rich fabrics and

[1] Both MSS. have شصت و چند, sixty and odd. The lith. ed. has شصت sixty. Bayley, p. 117, has sixty odd, but Firishtah has شصت و چند sixty and odd, Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 29) has sixty.

[2] The MSS., the lith. ed. have جالنه. Bayley, p. 118, has Jālnah. Firishtah has جاکنه, (which does not differ very much from جالنه) but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 30) says, he fled to Chakun.

[3] The passage is somewhat obscure. The MSS. and the lith. ed. have از اقسام اقمشه و تنگهای بار چند کشتی پرکرده. Bayley, p. 118, has translated the passage, "Several ships were loaded with stuffs and clothes and precious stones". Firishtah has رقشه و زر سرخ. Col. Briggs has "Some beautiful gold and silver-embroidered muslins". Rās Mālā has the words as Col. Briggs, and puts them

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tankas, as offerings to Sulṭān Aḥmad. He took possession of the entire district of Mahāim and divided it among the *amīrs*, and the heads of different groups of people.

When all these facts reached the ear of Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī, he was extremely depressed; and equipped his army in order to revenge himself; and marched against the country of [1]Baglāna, which is near the port of Sūrat. Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who was in the country of Nadarbār and Sultānpūr sent a representation to his father to the effect, that he had been deprived of the honour of serving His Majesty for a period of four years and some months; and on account of this long residence of his in a distant land, the retainers of the *amīrs* and *khāns* had gone away to their own countries; and a large force had not been left there. He also said that he had heard that Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī had marched into the country of Baglāna; and intended to advance in the direction of Nadarbār.

When this representation reached the Sulṭān, he postponed the seige of Chāmpānīr to some other time; and advanced towards Nādōt, and after plundering and ravaging that country, advanced by successive marches, and encamped in the vicinity of the town of Nadarbār. Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān and the *amīrs* who were with him had the honour of offering their services; and each one of them received a special favour in accordance with his rank and position. The spies brought the news at that station in the year 835 A.H., that Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī, on receiving the information of the arrival of the Sulṭān (Aḥmad Gujrātī), had left a detachment on the boundary of his kingdom, and had gone back to Gulbarga. The Sulṭān was pleased and delighted on hearing this news, and turned back towards Aḥmadābād. He had crossed the [2]Tīptī after successive marches, when

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between inverted commas, which shows that they have been taken from Col. Briggs's History. The difficulty in the passage lies in the words تنگهای, which I am inclined to translate as *tankas* but which Bayley has translated as precious stones. The word does not occur in Firishtah, so he can be left out of account. As between *tankas* and precious stones, I have never seen the latter called سنگ. They are always called جواهر. Firishtah's red gold may mean gold and red *tankas*.

1 بکلانه instead of بگلانه in the text-edition.

2 پتنی Patnī in the text-edition.

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news arrived that Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī had again beseiged the fort of [1] Tambōl; and Malik Sa'ādat Sulṭānī was leaving nothing undone in bravely defending it. Immediately on receipt of this news, he turned back, and advanced on wings of speed towards Tambōl. When Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī became aware of this fact, he cheered and encouraged a body of *pāiks*, with robes of honour and great rewards; and told them, "Reinforcements are coming to the garrison. If to-night [2] you will play a great game, so that the hand of my hope should reach the skirts of success, I shall give you such rewards, that you will never again be in want". When a part of the night had passed, the *pāiks* went to the foot of the fort, and slowly and silently under the shelter of the rocks, climbed to the top of the rampart and dropped into the fort. They wanted to open the gates; but Malik Sa'ādat Sulṭānī, being on the alert, fell upon them; and slew most of them. Those who escaped the sword threw themselves from the ramparts and perished. Malik Sa'ādat Sulṭānī did not consider this sufficient; but opening the gate, he made a sudden attack on a battery which was in front of it. The men in the battery, who were asleep, were most of them wounded.

At this time the Sulṭān of Gujrāt approached near; and Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī leaving the foot of the fort, advanced to meet him. He summoned his *amīrs* and the commanders of his army and told them, "The armies of Gujrāt have several times defeated the armies of the Deccan; and they have also taken possession of Mahāim. If this time also, I show inactivity and am defeated, I shall lose the Deccan altogether". He then arrayed the ranks of his army, and took up a position on the battlefield. Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī also came, and met him with his armies arranged for battle; and there was a

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[1] Called Batnol in the Cambridge History of India, page 299.

[2] The words are somewhat obscure. The MSS. have نقشی یافتید, and the lith. ed. has تقشی یافتید. The lith. ed. of Firishtah in the corresponding passage also has نقشی یافتید. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 31) calls the pāiks "Naigs", but he does not translate the Shah's words to them. Bayley has pāiks, and he says immediate action is necessary; but it is not clear what meaning he has given to the words in question. I have adopted نقشی یافتید, while the text-edition has نقشی باختید.

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terrible conflict. [1] Dāūd Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs* of the Deccan, having challenged the Gujrātī *amīrs*, was taken prisoner by 'Aḍd-ul-mulk. The two armies fought together and showed great gallantry. When evening came, both sounded the drum of return, and turned back to their respective encamping grounds. As large numbers of the Dakinī army had been slain, Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī, in great distress, took the path of flight.

The next day Sulṭān Aḥmad entered the fort of Tambōl, and showed great favour to Malik Sa'ādat Sulṭānī, and leaving a detachment to reinforce him started towards [2] Tālnīr; and having rebuilt the fort there, [3] plundered and ravaged the towns and villages. He conferred the title of Mu'īn-ul-mulk on Malik Tāj-ud-dīn and [4] directed that he should remain there. He then returned to Aḥmadābād by Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār. After a few days, he brought the daughter of the Rāy of Mahāim into the bond of wedlock with Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān.

(It appears in my mind) that in the Tārīkh-i-Bahmanī the [5] story of the siege of the fort of Tambōl has been narrated in a different way, from what my double-tongued pen has described, in the section about the Dakin. (It may be said here) in brief that as the period of the siege was protracted to two years Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Gujrātī,

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[1] The name is Dāūd in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and also in Bayley's translation; but Firishtah says that it was اژدر خان, Azhdar Khān, who challenged the Gujrāt *amīrs*, and Col. Briggs calls him "Ajdur Khan, a young Deccany nobleman" (vol. IV, p. 31).

[2] تهانیر instead of تالنیر in the text-edition.

[3] The MSS. have بلاد و دهات را تاخت و تاراج کرد but the lith. ed. has دهات ان بلاد را تاراج کرده. Firishtah who copies the Ṭabaqāt frequently word for word has in the corresponding passage نادوت و امانت و تاراج نموده. This last version appears to me to be the best, but I have retained the words of the MSS. بلاد دهات را without conjunction و in the text-edition.

[4] The reading in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. which is ملک تاج الدین را معین الملک خطاب داده انجا ماند appears to me to be incomplete. I would insert some words like فرمود که or تعین کرد که between داده and انجا ماند.

[5] The word is قفسهٔ and قصید in the two MSS., and قصد in the lith. ed. Firishtah has قصه in the corresponding passage and this is followed in the text-edition.

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in the way of kindness and friendship, sent an ambassador to wait upon Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī; and made a request through him, that this fort might be left in his possession. Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī did not accept this proposal. In the end, Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī marched straight from the boundary of his kingdom and invaded the Deccan, in order to have his revenge; and commenced to plunder and ravage it; and Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī had no further opportunity for besieging it. It appears to my mind, that the author of the Tārīkh-i-Bahmanī has not narrated the facts in a plain, straightforward manner; and what is narrated in the history of Gujrāt is nearer the truth.

In the month of Rajab in the year 836 A.H. (1432 A.D.), the Sulṭān advanced to conquer the countries of [1] Mewār and Nāgōr; and when he arrived in the town of [2] Harpūr, he sent his troops and plundered and ravaged the towns and villages; and he levelled to the dust any temple that came anywhere into his view. After some days, he encamped in the town of Dūngarpūr; and [3] Gaṇēsā, the Rāja of the place fled; but later feeling ashamed and repentant, came and waited on the Sulṭān; and becoming enlisted in the band of his defendants, paid a suitable tribute. Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh then trampled down and ravaged the country of Kīlwāra; and then invaded Dīlwāra, and having rased to the dark ground the palaces and other structures of [4] Rānā Mūkul, the Rāja of Dīlwāra, which had lifted up their

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[1] In the translation of this part of the Tabakāt, given in Bayley, p. 120, the name of Kōlīwārah is inserted after Mewār and Nāgōr. Firishtah in the lith. ed. has میوات و ناگور; and Col. Briggs also has towards Nagoor and Mewat. Mēwāt seems to be a mistake for Mēwār. Rās Mālā says, he marched into Rajpootana.

[2] The MSS. have برپور Barpūr and هر پور Harpūr; the lith. ed. has سبز پور Sabzpūr; and Bayley, p. 120, has Sidhpur. Firishtah does not mention the place, and at once takes Sulṭān Aḥmad to Dūngarpūr.

[3] The name is کنیسا in the MSS., and کنیسای in the lith. ed. Bayley has Ganesā. Firishtah does not mention any name, but says the Sulṭān extorted tribute from the *zamīndārs* of the place. Col. Briggs has Raja, and Rās Mālā has Rāwul. کنیا in the text-edition.

[4] With reference to Rānā Mūkul the lith. ed. of Firishtah has ولایت کیلواره و دیلواره که تعلق برابا موکل داشت. Col. Briggs paraphrases Kīlwāra and Dīlwāra as the country of the Kolies and Bheels. Rās Mālā has "the country of the Bheels".

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heads to the sky (with pride), demolished the temples and destroyed the idols. He also had some turbulent men who had fallen into his hands, executed, [1] by throwing them under the feet of elephants. He left Malik Mīr Sulṭānī in those places for the purpose of collecting *khirāj* (tribute); and turned to the country of the Rāthōrs. The [2] Rāthōr chiefs offered him allegiance, and paid tribute, and behaved with loyalty. [3] Fīrūz Khān, the son of Shams Khān Dundānī, and the nephew of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who was the ruler of Nāgōr came and waited upon the Sulṭān, and brought some *lakhs* of *tankas* as tribute. [4] Sultān Aḥmad gave back the tribute; and leaving a body of troops in certain *maḥāls* of Mawās, in the way of a military outpost, returned to Aḥmadābād. As on every occasion when the Sulṭān returned from journeys and wars, he held grand festive assemblies, and conferred distinctions on each of the *amīrs* and other soldiers, who had performed commendable services, by the grant of rewards and favours and increase in their stipends and promotions in their ranks, and also granted kingly favours on all the inhabitants of the country of Gujrāt, both great and small, and Shaikhs and deserving persons, on this occasion also he arranged a similar festive assembly; and conferred new favours on every deserving person.

In the year 839 A.H., news came from the country of Mālwa, that Maḥmūd Khān, the son of Malik Maghīth, who had been the *vazīr* of Sulṭan Hūshang, had murdered Ghaznī Khān, the Shāhzāda, who had, after the death of Sulṭān Hūshang, succeeded him, by giving poison to him; and having raised the standard of his own rule had taken the name

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[1] I do not exactly understand the words which I have translated by throwing them, etc. They are پی سپر فیلان گردانید in the MSS. and بی سپر فیلان گردانید in the lith. ed. Firishtah has no corresponding passage.

[2] Instead of Rāthōr chiefs, Firishtah in the lith. ed. has و چون بولایت میوات و لقمهٔ و باز بابلاد و لانمی رفت و از ما رایان باج و خراج گرفت. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p.32) has "the rays of Kota, Boondi and Nowlaya", and Rās Mālā (p. 351) has the Rows of Kotah Boondi and Nudoolaye.

[3] This is also mentioned by Firishtah and also by Col. Briggs; but neither of them says anything about the leaving of the military outpost in certain Maḥāls of Mawās.

[4] The Cambridge History of India, page 299, mentions the question of an indemnity from Fīrūz Khān, but does not say that it was given back to him.

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of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. At the same time, Masa'ūd Khān, the Shāhzāda of Mālwa, fled from his own country, and came (to Sulṭān Aḥmad) for protection. The Sulṭān advanced with a well-equipped army, and [1] took possession of the greater part of the country of Mālwa; and intended to place Shāhzāda Masa'ūd Khān on the throne of his great ancestors. At this time, by a strange mischance, a great pestilence made its appearance in Sulṭān Aḥmad's army, so that people had no time for placing the dead into shrouds, and for burying them. In the course of two days some thousands of people died; and the Sulṭān himself having been attacked, had against his wishes to return to Gujrāt. He gave hopes of being able to help Masa'ūd Khān in the course of the next year. The particulars of this brief statement have been narrated in greater detail in the section about Mālwa.

Fate did not give a further lease of life to Sulṭān Aḥmad; and he passed away on the [2] 4th of Rabī'-ul-ākhir in the year 846 A.H. (4th July 1443 A.D.). He was born in the metropolitan city of Dehlī on the night of Friday the 19th of Dhī-ḥijjah in the year 793 A.H.; and this has been referred to on a preceding page. [3] They say that from the time of his attaining to majority, till the time of his death, he had never omitted to perform the prescribed religious duties. He

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[1] Firishtah narrates the different operations of the campaign, and it appears from what he says that Sulṭān Aḥmad was not so successful as Niẓām-ud-dīn wants to make out. In fact according to Firishtah, Sulṭān Maḥmūd (the usurper) was well able to withstand the Gujrāt forces, as well as those raised by 'Umar Khān, a son of Sulṭān Hūshang. It appears from Firishtah that there was famine in the Gujrāt camp before the plague broke out, while Sulṭān Maḥmūd was well provided with food and ammunition. As to the plague (وبا) Firishtah says that it rarely occurs in India (و وبا که در هندوستان کمتر باشد). Col. Briggs has a note about this (p. 34, vol. IV), the meaning of which is not quite clear to me. The Cambridge History of India, page 299, calls Mahmūd Khaljī a cousin of Ghaznī Khān.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 300, gives August 16th, 1442, as the date of his death.

[3] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. has after هرگز طریقه بادشاه پسندیده اطوار و مائل بطاعت بود , ازو قضا نشد. The other MS. omits the sentence from بادشاه to بود. The lith. ed. has after گشت مدفون. گویند بادشاه پسندیده و نیک کردار بود . I have adopted the reading of the first MS.

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was a *bādshāh* of agreeable manners, just and god-fearing. He attained to sovereignty in his 22nd year and he ruled his kingdom for 32 years and six months and twenty days. He was buried in the centre of Aḥmadābād. After his death he has been mentioned in letters and *farmāns*, as *Khudāigān Maghfūr* (the pardoned Lord).

An account of Ghiyas-ud-duniyā-wad-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh.

When [1] two or three days' mourning was over, the *amīrs* and the *vazīrs*, and the great men of the city, and the well-known men of the kingdom placed Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān on the throne of the empire [2] on the 7th of Rabī'-ul-ākhir, in the year 846 A.H. (7th July 1443 A.D.); and gave him the title of Ghiyâs-ud-duniyā-wad-dīn Muḥammad Shāh. The ceremonies of offering presents and thank offerings were carried out. The gold that was showered over the royal umbrella was distributed among the meritorious people. The Sulṭān conferred distinctions on the *amīrs*, and the great men of the kingdom, by conferring titles and high appointments on them. From the time of his accession the kingdom gained a new grandeur and greater splendour. He opened his hands with such liberality, that the common people gave him the name of Muḥammad Shāh [3] *Zarbakhsh*, *i.e.*, the giver of gold. On the 20th Ramaḍān, in the year 849 A.H., Muḥammad Shāh had a son born to him, and the prince

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[1] In the text-edition روز دو three days only is adopted.

[2] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 125) gives 845 A.H., as the year of the accession of Muhammad Shāh; but his coin (see Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, page 353) gives the name and title as it is given in the text; and the date of the accession as the 3rd Rabi'-ul-ākhir, 846. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 129) gives him credit for his liberality, but says he gave himself up to pleasure and ease, but the capacity of his understanding did not attain to the lofty heights of the concerns of the state.

[3] There is a very great difference between the accounts of this reign as given by Niẓām-ud-dīn and by Firishtah respectively. According to the latter, it was in the year of the accession, and not after three years, that Muḥammad Shāh invaded Idar, and espoused the Rāy's daughter. According to Bayley (p. 129) the version in the Ṭabakāt is probably correct. The Cambridge History of India, page 300, says, Muhammad Shāh was surnamed *karīm* or the Generous. This is scarcely correct. He was popularly called *Zarbakhsh*, and after his death he was called *Khudāigān Karīm*.

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received the name of Maḥmūd Khān. The Sulṭān gave grand entertainments, and conferred rewards and favours on the *amīrs* and the great men of the kingdom.

After the time of the entertainments was over, in the same year he advanced to the country of Īdar, in order to devastate it; and he did not omit a single *minutia* in the practices of plunder and rapine. [1] Rāy Har, son of Pūnjā, Rāja of Īdar, came forward in great distress, and brought his daughter in the shape of tribute. That lady owing to her great beauty kept Muḥammad Shāh bound to her by her personal charm. After some days she prayed that the fort of Īdar might be bestowed on her father. The Sulṭān gave the fort of Īdar to Har Rāy; and advanced towards the country of [2] Bākur; and Ganēsā, the Rāja of Dūngarpūr, fled and concealed himself in the caverns in the [3] hilly country. When he saw that the country was suffering from the ravages of calamities, he came out; and through the intervention of [4] Malik Mīr Sulṭānī, who had the title of Khān Jahān did homage to the Sulṭān, and having paid tribute kept his kingdom in safety. From that place Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh returned to Aḥmadābād. [5] He advanced in the year 853 A.H., (1449 A.D.), to

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[1] The Cambridge History of India here calls the son of Pūnjā, Raja Bīr, though on page 298 it had called him Harī Rāi. Earlier, Har Rāy (*vide* p. 211).

[2] It is written as باکر in the MSS., and is so printed in the lith. ed. Firishtah does not mention the place. Bayley (p. 130) has Bāgar. According to the Cambridge History of India, page 300, "Muhammad next attacked at Bāgor, Rānā Kūmbha of Mewār, who fled and took refuge with the Rāwal of Dūngarpur, the chief of his house, but afterwards appeared before the invader, and purchased peace with a heavy indemnity". This does not agree with the text, according to which it was Ganēsā of Dūngarpūr, (and not Kūmbhā of Mēwār) who paid the tribute. In the text-edition the name of the King is کنیا.

[3] One MS. inserts و جنگل after کوهستان.

[4] ملک منیر in the text-edition.

[5] I have already noted that there is considerable difference between the accounts of this reign as given by Niẓām-ud-dīn and by Firishtah. According to the latter the expedition to Chāmpānīr took place in 954 A.H. and not in 953 A.H. The Rāja of Chāmpānīr is called کنگداس, Kangdās in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and Gangadas by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 35). The Cambridge History of India, page 301, calls him Gangādās, but the name can only be transliterated as Kankdās, Kangdās, or Gangdās and not as Gangādās. He is said after the

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conquer the fort of Chāmpānīr; and when by successive marches he arrived in its neighbourhood, Rāy Kank Dās, the Rāja, sallied out of the fort with his men; and fought bravely; but in the end, he fled and re-entered the fort. Sulṭān Muḥammad blockaded the fort from all sides; and employed all his energy in capturing it. Rāy Kank Dās sought the intervention of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī and asking him to his aid, agreed to pay a *lakh* of *tankas*, at every stage, as a contribution towards his expenses. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī being tempted by the money, advanced to help and support him. When he arrived in the town of Dahūd Sulṭān Muḥammad, rising from the foot of the fort

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battle to have been driven into the hill fortress of Pavagarh (?) Pavangar, the fort of the winds. Then as regards the invasion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, Firishtah says that as soon as Sulṭān Muḥammad heard of it, he set fire to his surplus tents and other equipages, because many of the beasts of burden in his camp had perished on account of hard work; and there was also a certain amount of faint-heartedness; and commenced to retire. And although his *amīrs* incited him to carry on the war, he did not agree, and retired with precipitation towards Aḥmadābād. Then when the Sulṭān of Mālwa again advanced with a hundred thousand men to conquer Gujrāt, Sulṭān Muḥammad could not be induced by his *amīrs* to fight against him; and in fact wanted to flee to Dīp. Then the *amīrs* went to his wife, and asked her whether she wanted that her husband should live or that Gujrāt should be lost to the dynasty. The queen had to agree; and the *amīrs* gave him poison in his food; and he was killed on the 7th of Muḥarram 855 A.H.

His reign, according to Firishtah extended to eight years and nine months, and fourteen days. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 36) reduces the period of his reign by ten days; and says in a note that according to the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh, he died on the 10th Muharram A.H. 855, 12th February, 1451.

Bayley (p. 132) says that the Sulṭān asked the advice of a *bakāl* or grain dealer; and the latter advised him to place his treasures and family on board ships; and amuse himself with fishing. The Sultān accepted this advice and commenced secretly to make his preparations; but Sāid 'Alā-ul-lah, one of the great nobles came to know of this, and asked the *bakāl* why he gave such advice. The man replied that as the Sultān did not ask the advice of the *amīrs*, but of a man like him, he gave him such advice as he considered best. Then Sāid 'Alā-ul-lah told the King's son, what his father intended to do; and asked him what he would do if he was in his father's place. The prince said, he would fight for his kingdom and if necessary die on the battlefield. Then poison was given to Sultān Muhamad (pp. 133, 134).

The Cambridge History of India, page 301, says nothing about poison being given to the Sulṭān: and says he died on the 10th February 1451.

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retired towards Aḥmadābad. He halted in the village of [1] Kothrah, and busied himself with the mustering of troops, and the collection of materials of war and of the arms and weapons of offence. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī also stopped at the place where he had arrived, and did not advance any further.

In the month of Muḥarram 855 A.H., Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh accepted the summons of the just God. After his death in formal matters people have written of him as *Khudāigān Karīm* (the merciful Lord). The period of his rule was seven years and nine months and four days.

[2] An account of the reign of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh.

The *amīrs* and the great men carried out the rites of mourning for three days; and then on the 4th day, which was the [3] 11th of Muḥarram in the year 855 A.H., they placed the eldest son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, who was in his twentieth year, on the throne of empire; and they gave him the title of Sulṭan Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh. His name is Aḥmad but he is celebrated by his title. At the time of his accession, they carried out the rite of *Nithar*, wave offering; and they distributed the gold to the deserving men of the country of Gujrāt, and made them happy and contented. He made the *amīrs* and the great men of the kingdom happy by royal gifts, and titles and high appointments.

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[1] The place is called Godhra in the Cambridge History of India, page 301; and it is said there, that Muhammad in spite of his illness advanced as far as Godhra to meet Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī and the latter on hearing this retired to Mandū.

[2] The headings in the MSS., and in the lith. ed., all give the whole genealogy. Firishtah has a shorter heading ذکر سلطنت سلطان قطب الدین بن محمد شاہ گجراتی .

[3] Firishtah does not mention the date of the accession, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 37) says indirectly that he was born on the 8th of Jumad-oos-Sany, 855 A.H.; and he ascended the throne in the 49th year of his age. As a matter of fact he was born on the 12th Jamādī-ul-ākhir, 835 A.H. and ascended the throne in his 20th year.

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It so happened that when Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh died, and Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn took his place. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, who had come to aid the Rāy of Chāmpānīr, [1] and was still on the boundary of Gujrāt, thinking that (the conquest of the country) would be within his power advanced into the country with great rapidity. On the day on which he arrived in the neighbourhood of [2] Barōda, a *mast* elephant belonging to his army entered the village of Barnāma. The *zunnārdārs* (Brahmans) of Barnāma killed the elephant and the driver. The Sulṭān was amazed at the boldness of the *ra'īyats*; and ordered, that in revenge the town of Barnāma should be destroyed.

As it was yet the beginning of the reign of Quṭb-ud-dīn, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd had invaded the country with great strength and violence, [3] Sulṭan Quṭb-ud-dīn consulted with a *baqāl* (grain dealer), who held a position of great proximity (to his person) in his service. The *baqāl* said, "The best course would be that the Sulṭān should withdraw into the country of Sōrath. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd should go back to his own country, after leaving an army in Gujrāt, the Sulṭān would be able to drive away those troops with ease." Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn made inquiries of the truth of this, and wanted to act accordingly. The *amīrs*, however, did not allow him to do so, but took him along to carry on the war. When they gained the victory,

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[1] Contrary to what is stated in the text, the Cambridge History of India, page 301, says Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī advanced from Mandū with an army of one hundred thousand horse and five hundred elephants.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have برودرہ, Barōdra, while the other MS. has برودہ Barōda. I have adopted Barōda, which is the name by which the place is known; though I have heard that Barōdra is the correct ancient name.

[3] The story of the *baqāl* is mentioned by Firishtah in much the same language as in the text. Col. Briggs gives a slightly different version, in which he says that the Sultan "was advised by some of his courtiers to retreat to Sorut (in a note, Western Guzerat called also Kattywar) and allow the king of Mālwa to occupy for the present the eastern provinces", etc. It will be remembered (see note, page 225) that in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, a *bakāl* is said to have given somewhat similar advice to Sultān Muhammad the father of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari does not say that Sultān Quṭb-ud-dīn sought the advice of the *baqāl*; but apparently a *baqāl* was consulted either by the father, or by the son.

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they were angry with the *baqāl*; and questioned him. He said, "If the Sulṭān had the wish to fight, he would have consulted you. As he wanted to flee he asked me."

In short Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn met Sulṭan Maḥmūd in the village of [1] Kaparbanj which is twenty *karōhs* from Aḥmadābād. At this place [2] Malik 'Alā'-ud-dīn Suhrāb, who was the *thānadār* of Sulṭānpūr, and who had been compelled to join Sulṭān Maḥmūd, fled from him, and waited on Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn. He was honoured by having seven robes of honour conferred on him in the course of a day, and received the title of 'Alā'-ul-mulk. As there was now a distance of three *karōhs* between the two armies, Sulṭān Maḥmūd wrote this couplet, and sent it to Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn.

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[1] The name is كبريج and كريج in the MSS. and كبر ينج in the lith. ed. The correct name appears to be كپر بنج Kaparbanj. The Cambridge History of India, page 301, calls it Kapadvanj. كيربخ in the text-edition.

[2] Bayley (p. 135) quoting from the Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī says that 'Alā-ud-din "shut the gate of the fort (of Sultānpūr) in his face and opened fire both with guns and musketry. Mahmūd Khiljī besieged the place for seven days. After that through the mediation of Mubārak Khān, son of Ahmad Shāh and uncle of Kutb-ud-dīn, who had gone to Sultān Mahmūd at Mandū during the previous reign, and had joined his court", he surrendered the fort, and joined Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī's service. When asked to swear allegiance to the latter, he swore it in an evasive language. The Cambridge History of India, page 301, calls the fort Nadarbār (or Nandurbār and not Sultānpūr); and says that 'Alā-ud-dīn Suhrāb made no attempt to hold it, but surrendered it at once; and sought his own safety by swearing allegiance to the invader, and entering his service. It goes on to say that after this, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī marched on Broach, and summoned Marjān, the governor to surrender it. Marjān refused; and Muhmād was about to besiege the town when, by the advice of 'Alā-ud-dīn Suhrāb, he decided, instead to attack the capital at once, and marched to Baroda, where he was joined by Gangādās of Chāmpāner and other chiefs. Crossing the Māhī river he advanced to Kapadvanj, where 'Alā-ud-dīn deserted him and joined his old master. Nothing of this appears in the Ṭabaqāt or in Firishtah. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has a long account of Kutb-ud-dīn's going to a *faqīr* or saint to intercede for him. At last we come to the fact that 'Alā-ud-dīn returned to his old master, and was received with favour. He told Kutb-ud-dīn, that Sultān Mahmūd was advancing by Kaparbanj, and advised him to proceed thither (p. 143).

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Couplet:

[1] I hear you play the ball without a *chaugān*, in your house,
If you wish to challenge, come; this is the ball, and this the field.

Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn ordered Ṣadr Jahān to write a reply to the couplet. Ṣadr Jahān wrote in reply.

Couplet:

If a *chaugān* I take in my hand, thy head like a ball shall I hurl;
But I am ashamed to torment my prisoner in this way.

In this couplet there is a hint to the fact, that Sulṭān Hūshang, who was the master and patron of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, had been captured and had been kept as a prisoner by Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh, who had, however, afterwards treated him with favour and had given back to him the kingdom of Mālwa; as the pen has conveyed this meaning in the account of the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh. After this, after some days on the night of the [2] 3rd Ṣafar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd mounted with the intention of making a surprise night attack; [3] but being defeated went away to Mālwa, as has been described in detail in the section about Mālwa. On the way the Kōlīs and Bhīls greatly harassed (Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army). Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn returned to Aḥmadābād, his capital, crowned with victory and triumph.

After a time the *vazīrs* said that [4] Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandānī, who was the ruler of Nāgōr, had died. His brother Mujāhid Khān took possession of Nāgōr; and Shams Khān, his son, for fear of his [5] uncle had fled, and sought the protection of Rānā Kūmbhā, son

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[1] There are some verbal differences in the couplet as given in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I have adopted the version which appeared to me to be the best.

[2] Firishtah has در سلخ صفر "towards the end of Ṣafar"; and the Cambridge History of India, page 301, says that the abortive night attack was made on the night of the 1st April, 1451.

[3] Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India, page 301, give somewhat detailed account of the abortive night attack, and the battle which took place on the following morning.

[4] Fīrūz Khān died in 860 A.H., 1453 A.D.

[5] Both MSS., and the lith. ed. have برادر, brother, which is of course incorrect. Firishtah has عم uncle. برادر in the text-edition.

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of Rānā Mūkul. Rānā Kūmbhā determined that he would recover Nāgōr from the possession of Mujāhid Khān, and make it over to Shams Khān, but on the condition that the latter would demolish three of the turrets of the citadel of Nāgōr. His reason for this was that before this Rānā Mūkul had fled in great distress and disgrace from Fīrūz Khān, and in that battle three thousand Rājpūts had been slain; and if now his son demolished three of the bastions of the fort, the people of the world would say that, although Rānā Mūkul had fled, yet he having acquired power over the fort had had his revenge. Shams Khān, who was helpless, accepted this condition in his great distress. After some days Rānā Kūmbhā having collected troops marched against Nāgōr; and Mujāhid Khān being unable to meet him, went and begged for help from Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī. Shams Khān then went and took possession of the fort of Nāgōr. Rānā Kūmbhā sent him a message, that he should now carry out his promise. Shams Khān summoned the *amīrs* and the heads of the clans and brought up the matter for discussion. Some of them said that it was a matter of pity that Fīrūz Khān had not begotten a daughter, so that she might have saved the honour of the family. Shams Khān replied in a spirit of shame and self depreciation and anger and said that it was not possible that any part of the fort should be demolished, till many heads should have been cut off. Rānā Kūmbhā on hearing this news went back to his own country, and having collected a large army again advanced on Nāgōr. Shams Khān having repaired the ruined parts of the fort, left all his army and the heads of the clans in it, and himself went on wings of speed to Aḥmadābād to seek for help. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh conferred many favours on him, and married his daughter in the *nikāḥ* form. After the marriage festivities were finished, he sent [1] Rāy Rām Chand Nāik, and Malik Gadāī and some other *amīrs* to re-inforce the men of Nāgōr; and kept Shams Khān in attendance on himself till the day, when it was reported to him, that Rānā Kūmbhā had fought with the men of Nāgōr, and had slain a large number of them; and had devastated wherever there was any cultivation and people outside the fort.

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[1] رای امین چند پایک in the text-edition.

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On hearing this news, the spirit of anger and daring of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn was excited, and he advanced against the fort of [1] Kūmbhalmīr in the year 860 A.H. When he arrived in the vicinity of [2] the fort of Ābū, Gītā Dēōrah, the Rāja of the fort came out and did homage, and represented that Rānā Kūmbhā had taken the fort from him by force, and had left his own *thānadār* there. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn appointed Malik Sha'bān Sulṭānī, who had the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk in charge of the fort of Ābū, and himself advanced towards his original destination. Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk, who was inexperienced, immediately commenced a battle, and had a large number of his men slain. When this news reached the Sulṭān, he declared, that he would, at the time of his return capture the fort of Ābū, and make it over to Gītā Dēōrah. He sent a messenger to summon 'Imād-ul-mulk; and himself advanced to seize the fort of Sirōhī. When he arrived in its neighbourhood, the Rāja engaged him in a battle and was defeated.

From that place, the Sulṭān invaded the country of Rānā Kūmbhā; and sent troops in all directions, so that they might ravage the country, and destroy the temples. When he arrived at the fort of Kūmbhalmīr, Rānā Kūmbhā sallied out of the fort, set the fire of warfare ablaze; and having had a large number of his followers slain,

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[1] Called Kumbhalgarh in the Cambridge History of India, page 302. Bayley, page 149, calls it Kōmbhālmīr and says in a note, quoting Tod's Rājasthān, Chapter VIII, that it was one of the 32 fortresses erected by Rānā Kōmbhā. In Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 352) it is called Komulmer and it is said to be the greatest of the 32 fortresses attributed to Koombho. Altogether there are 84 fortresses erected for the defence of Mewār. The correct name of Rānā Koombho appears, according to an inscription in a temple, which stands at the village called Rānpoor, about five miles from the town of Sādee or Sāduree in Mewār, to have been Rānā Shree Koombh Kurn, or according to correct transliteration Rānā Srī Kumbhakarna (note on page 353).

[2] The Cambridge History of India makes no mention of the incidents, which took place at the fort of Ābū. Firishtah does, but he says nothing about the Rāja rendering homage to the Sulṭān. The name of the Rāja of Ābū is given in the MSS. as گیتا دیورہ and in the lith. ed. as کیتا دیورہ. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 149) he is called Khatiā Dēōrah, Rājah of Sirōhī. This can scarcely be correct, as the Rāja of Sirōhī appears to have fought with Quṭb-ud-dīn, and to have been defeated by him.

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again retired into the fort. He, however, sent out parties every day; and fought battles; and each time defeat fell on him. In the end, Kūmbhā came forward in distress and humility, and offered suitable tribute. The Sulṭān then returned to Aḥmadābād.

[1] At the end of the year, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī sent [2] Tāj Khān who was one of his great *amīrs*, to the boundary of Gujrāt, to knock at the door of peace. The *amīrs* and the chief men of Gujrāt induced Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn for the benefit of the people, to agree to the treaty. [3] Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn and the prince of the learned men Ṣadr Jahān came to Chāmpānīr from the side of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Qāḍī Ḥisām-ud-dīn and some others went from Aḥmadābād. They drew up the treaty in this way, that the armies of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn should plunder and ravage such parts of the territories of Rānā Kūmbhā as were contiguous to Gujrāt; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd should seize [4] the country of Mēwār and Amhar, and the neighbouring country. (It was also agreed that) whenever necessary they should not fail to give help and assistance to each other. Letters of peace

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[1] According to the Cambridge History of India, page 302, Ghiyās-ud-dīn, son of Mahmūd Khaljī, led a raid into his dominions as far as Sūrat, but retired hurriedly on hearing of Qutb-ud-dīn's return; and it was after this that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī sent the mission to propose a treaty of peace. The raid led by Ghiyās-ud-dīn is not mentioned in the text or in Firishtah or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or in Rās Mālā.

[2] Firishtah says Tāj Khān was the وزیر کل, minister in-charge of all departments of Sulṭān Mahmūd Khaljī. Neither the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name of the ambassador.

[3] The names of the men sent to draft the treaty do not appear to be mentioned in any other history.

[4] The lith. ed. of Firishtah has بلاد و قرابادی میوات و امهر, and Col. Briggs the districts of Mewar and Aheerwara. The other histories do not give the names of the districts which were to be ravaged respectively by the Gujrāt and Mālwa armies. The Cambridge History of India, page 302, says, that the western part of the Rānā's dominion were allotted to Gujarāt, and the eastern parts to Mālwa. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 150) is less definite. According to it, Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī would assail the Rānā from one side and Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn from the other. Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 353) says that the treaty was to the effect that Rānā Koombho's dominion should be partitioned "between the two Mohummedan powers".

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containing these terms were written, and made over to the great men of the age.

In the year 861 A.H. (1451 A.D.) Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn again marched to invade Kūmbhalmīr, and on the way he took the fortress of Ābū, and according to his promise, delivered it over to Gītā Dēōrah. From Ābū he advanced towards Kūmbhalmīr; and Rānā Kūmbhā left that place and retired to the fort of Chitōr. On the way he saw an uneven and difficult place, and halted there. After the two armies had met, the fire of war blazed up; but when night came, they retired to their respective places. On the next day, the battle began again, and Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn himself fought like Rustam. Rānā Kūmbhā then hid himself in the hills; and sent emissaries, and begged for pardon. He sent [1] four maunds of gold and some elephants, and other tribute, and entered into an engagement, that he would after that never again cause any injury to the country of Nāgōr. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn returned with victory and triumph, and went back to Aḥmadābād.

But three months had not yet elapsed, when news came that Rānā Kūmbhā was again attempting, with an army of fifty thousand horsemen, to devastate Nāgōr. The same day that the news came, [2] the Sulṭān came out of Aḥmadābād, and halted for a month outside the city, for the purpose of mustering his troops. Rānā Kūmbhā, hearing the news of the Sulṭān's preparations, retired to his own station and took up his position there. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn also on hearing the news returned, and entered the city, and spent his time in pleasure and enjoyment.

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[1] Firishtah makes it fourteen *mans* of gold and two large elephants and other fine things. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 42) says that 14 maunds of solid gold and two elephants which carried it were paid to Kootb Shah; and a seasonable donation was also made to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy; but that was after the latter had advanced on Chitor.

[2] Firishtah is more explicit about the Sulṭān's promptitude in starting. He says that the messenger bearing the report came to Aḥmadābād at night, when the سلطان بصحبت شراب مشغول بود. He went to the *vazīr*, who went the same night to the Sulṭān, but found him drunk and senseless. He could not wait, but put the Sulṭān in a *miḥaffah* (a litter), and took him one stage the next day; and then they halted for one month for the استعداد لشکر or mustering of the troops.

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In the beginning of the year [1] 862 A.H., the Sulṭān made a strong resolution to punish the *zamīndārs*; and marched to Sirōhī. The [2] Rāja who was a relation of Rānā Kūmbhā fled to the hills, and took shelter there; and for the third time Sirōhī was burnt down; and the other towns were raided and ravaged. Then (the Sulṭān) sent detachments to ravage the dominions of Rānā Kūmbhā; and himself advanced to the fort of Kūmbhalmīr. At this time intelligence came that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had advanced towards the fort of Chitōr, by way of Mandsūr; and seized all the *parganas* near the last-named place. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn now besieged the Rānā in the fort of Kūmbhalmīr with a firm determination; but as a considerable time elapsed, and he knew that it would be difficult to seize it, he gave up the siege, and advanced towards the fortress of Chitōr; and after plundering and ravaging the country around it, [3] went back to Aḥmadābād. To everyone of the soldiers whose horses had become disabled during the campaigns, the Sulṭān gave the price of one from the treasury; and thought it proper, in this way, to show kindness to them. Rānā Kūmbhā sent ambassadors after the Sulṭān and in great humility and distress prayed to be excused for his offences; and the Sulṭān again drew the pen of forgiveness across his guilt; and sent back the ambassadors, pleased and happy.

And again in the year 863 A.H., the Sulṭān wanted to march with his army; but he happened to fall ill. He then went one day to see Saiyid Muḥammad, who was celebrated as Quṭb-i-'Ālam, who lived in peace and contentment in the town of Batūh; and resolved in his mind, how nice it were if the holy and high God should bestow on him a

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[1] The year is اثنين و سبعين و ثمانمائه in both MSS., (one of which also gives it in figures, 872), and in the lith. ed., but this is incorrect; the correct year being 862 A.H. or perhaps 861 A.H. Firishtah has 861; Col. Briggs 861 A.H., 1457 A.D., and the Cambridge History of India, 1456 as the year of the destruction of Sirōhī. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley) has 862 A.H., 1456 as the year. It will be seen that later on the MSS. and the lith. ed. give the correct year 863 A.H.

[2] He is called Sains Mal in the Cambridge History of India, page 302. I cannot find his name anywhere else.

[3] Firishtah says that Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn returned to his capital with غنيمت بيقياس, *i.e.*, plunder that could not be conceived; but contrary to that Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 42) says that the Rana gave fourteen maunds of solid gold and two elephants. See note 1, page 233.

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worthy son. His Holiness the Saiyid, the beloved of God, may God sanctify his tomb! knew what was in the Sulṭān's mind by his spiritual illumination; and said "Your younger brother, who is like your son will keep the dynasty of Muẓaffar Shāh alive". The Sulṭan rose in despondence; and day by day his illness increased. He died on the [1] 23rd Rajab of the afore-mentioned year, and was buried in the enclosure of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh's tomb. In proclamations and *farmāns* they styled him Sulṭān Ghāzī. The period of his reign was [2] seven years and six months and thirteen days. He was a *bādshāh* noted for his bravery and high spirits; but at the times when the fire of his wrath flamed up, and specially when he was intoxicated with wine, he did many evil deeds and was greedy and reckless in killing and shedding blood.

When Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn died, his *amīrs* put Shams Khān son of Fīrūz Khān to death, on the suspicion that his daughter, who was a *nīkaḥ* wife of the Sulṭān, had given him poison; and the mother of the Sulṭān made her over to the slave girls, who tore her to pieces, and thus killed her with torment.

[3] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN DĀŪD SHĀH, SON OF AḤMAD SHĀH, SON OF MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF MUẒAFFAR SHĀH.

When the *amīrs*, and the pillars of the state, and the great men of the kingdom had carried out the ceremonies of mourning for

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[1] Col. Briggs gives the 25th May, 1459, as the date of his death whereas the Cambridge History of India, page 303, has May 18th, 1458. Neither the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī nor Rās Mālā gives the date of his death or the period of his reign; but the former has some curious stories about his wounding himself in the knee; but (Bayley, p. 158) quoting the Tārīkh-i-Bahādar-Shāhī says that Shams Khān's daughter gave him poison at the instigation of her father. Firishtah's account of the way in which Shams Khān and his daughter were murdered is somewhat different as regards the particulars. The Cambridge History of India, page 303, says "Qutb-ud-dīn's officers at Nāgaur put Shams Khān to death", which cannot be correct if it implies that he was put to death at Nāgōr. As regards his daughter it says, that she was made over to her jealous co-wives. Firishtah does say that she was made over to زنان و کنیزان که ازو خونین دل بودند, but the statements are hardly identical.

[2] Firishtah has seven years and seven months.

[3] There are slight differences in the heading. I have translated it as it is in one MS. The other MS. omits the word سلطان; and the lith. ed. substitutes سلطنت for سلطان.

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Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, they placed Shāhzāda Dāūd Khān, son of Aḥmad Shāh, who was the uncle of the deceased Sulṭān on the throne of empire. As the recorder of destiny and fate had not written the order of *salṭanat* against his name, he began to commit unworthy deeds and to perpetrate wicked acts. Some acts, which bore the suspicion of meanness of spirit were perpetrated by him from time to time and became the cause of the abhorrence of the people. [1] For instance, he made the promise of conferring the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk on a [2] *farrāsh* who was his neighbour at the time when he was a Shāhzāda; and the *amīrs* and great men seeing such [3] ill-regulated acts of his, became annoyed with him; and they directed, that he should be excused from the work of government. They sent Malik [4] 'Alā-ul-

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[1] There is a difference in the readings. Both the MSS. have ایضاً یکی از فراشانرا, but the lith. ed. has از انجمله فراشی.

[2] The man was a *farrāsh*. A *farrsh* is a kind of cotton cloth which is spread on the ground for people to sit upon; and the *farrāsh*, strictly speaking, is a man who spreads such cloth and keeps it in his charge; and generally, a man who keeps the house, and the furniture in it, swept and garnished. He is, however, different from an ordinary sweeper; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 45) is wrong in calling him "one of the common sweepers of the household". Bayley (p. 159) calls him more correctly a carpet-spreader; and unlike Firishtah, who says that Sulṭān Dāūd conferred the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk on the man, and made him one of the great *amīrs*, agrees with Niẓām-ud-dīn, and says he only held out the hope of granting the title to him. The Cambridge History of India is indefinite, and says that the new Sultān conferred high honours on unworthy favourites. Sulṭān Dāūd's act was unconventional, and must have given umbrage to the *amīrs* as a body, but it did not, I think, involve any moral turpitude.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have نا منتظم, but the other MS. ناملایم. I have adopted the former.

[4] Malik 'Alā-ul-mulk in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk in the other MS. There is a good deal of confusion about this. Firishtah lith. ed., says nothing about anybody being sent to the mother of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn; but says that by the advice of 'Imād-ul-mulk, they raised Maḥmūd Khān, the younger brother of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, who was in his fourteenth year to the throne. The Cambridge History of India, page 303, says that the *amīrs* raised his (which would mean Dāūd's, which is certainly incorrect) younger brother Abu-'l-Fath Mahmūd on the throne. Bayley (p. 160) says that the *amīrs* deputed 'Ala-ul-Mulk bin Suhrāb to the mother of Fateh Khān. I have adopted 'Alā-ul-mulk. عماد الملک has been adopted in the text-edition.

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mulk *bin* Suhrāb to the palace of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the widow of Sulṭān Muḥammad, who was a [1] daughter of one of the Sulṭāns of *Hind*, so that he might bring Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh; and all of them combined together to place him on the throne. Makhduma-i-Jahān said in reply, "Please keep your hands off my [2] son; for he has not the strength to bear this heavy burden." It so happened, however, that Malik 'Alā-ul-mulk went privately to wait on Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān, and made him mount a horse, and took him to the royal palace. The other *amīrs* hastened to wait on him; and carried out the ceremony of congratulating him; and on that very day, which was Sunday, the first of Sha'bān of that year placed him on the throne of empire; and gave him the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

The period of the reign of Dāūd Shāh was [3] seven days.

[4] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD SHĀH, SON OF MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd ascended the throne of Gujrāt on Sunday, the [5] first day of Sha'bān 863 A.H., according to the advice and counsel

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[1] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 160, she was Bībī Moghalī, who appears to have been a daughter of one of the Jāms of Sind.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have فرزندان sons; but the other MS. has فرزند son.

[3] The period of the reign of Dāūd Shāh is not mentioned by Firishtah or by Col. Briggs. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley (p. 160), agrees with Niẓām-ud-dīn, and has seven days. Rās Mālā says indefinitely, only a few days; but the Cambridge History of India, page 303, gives him a reign of "no more than 27 days". This is incorrect; and is contradicted by the fact that the date of the death of Qutb-ud-dīn is said in the same page to have been May 18th, 1458, and that of the accession of Sultān Mahmūd, also in the same page, May 25th. Unlike others Dāūd Shāh does not appear to have come at once to a violent end. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley (p. 160), says "Sultān Dāūd got out of a window facing the river Sābar, and went in to hiding. He reigned only seven days. It is related, that he entered as an inquirer into the monastery of Shēkh Adhan Rūmī, and became one of his attendants; in a short time he obtained advancement (in spiritual rank). He soon afterwards died."

[4] That is the heading in both MSS. The lith. ed. has ذکر سلطنت فتح خان المخاطب محمود شاہ بن محمد شاہ بن احمد شاہ .

[5] Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs gives the date of the accession. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī gives the same day and date as in the text; and the corresponding A.D. date as 18th June, 1459. Rās Mālā does not give the date.

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of the *amīrs*, and sat in the place of his father, he made the various sections of the people happy by his universal benefactions in accordance with their respective ranks. They say, that on that day, in addition to Arab, 'Iraqī and Turkī horses, and valuable robes of honour, and jewelled-belts and swords, and daggers embossed with gold, a *karōr* of *tankas* was given away.

When six months had passed, [1]Malik Kabīr Sulṭānī, who had the title of 'Aḍd-ul-mulk, Maulānā Khiḍr, who had that of Ṣafī-ul-mulk, Piārah Ismā'īl, who bore that of Burhān-ul-mulk, and Jhajū Muḥammad, who had that of Ḥisām-ul-mulk, from the wickedness of their natures and the refractoriness of their dispositions, prepared to create turmoil and disturbance. They resolved amongst themselves, that they would cause Malik Sha'bān [2] 'Imād-ul-mulk, in whose grasp of power the reins of the *vazārat* were, to be removed (from his office), so that this wicked intention and dishonest determination of theirs might gain currency and success. In order to carry out this resolution, they represented (to the Sulṭān) in private, that 'Imād-ul-mulk wanted to place [3] his own son, Shahāb-ud-dīn, on the throne; and like Malik Mughīth Khaljī has determined that the rule of the empire should be

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The Cambridge History of India, page 303, does not give the A.H. date but gives an A.D. date different from that given by Bayley, *viz.*, May 25th, 1458.

[1] The names and titles of the conspirators are the same in the MSS. and the lith. ed., except that the last name which is جهجو محمد Jhajū Muḥammad in the MSS. appears to be منجهو محمد Manjhū Muḥammad in the lith. ed.

Firishtah mentions the first three of the conspirators by their titles alone. Col. Briggs gives the titles of all four. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 163, gives slightly different names and titles; *viz.*, Kabīr-ud-dīn Sultānī entitled Burhān-ul-Mulk, Maulāna Khizr entitled Safī-ul-Mulk, Hāmid bin Isma'īl entitled 'Azd-ul-Mulk, and Khwājah Muhammad entitled Hisām-ul-Mulk.

[2] This عماد الملک appears to be the same person who is designated علا الملک earlier on. See note 4 on p. 236.

[3] Firishtah and Col. Briggs and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley) all agree that the conspirators accused 'Imād-ul-mulk with the intention of raising his *own* son Shahāb-ud-dīn, on the throne; and Niẓām-ud-dīn's reference to Malik Mughīth Khaljī confirms this; but the Cambridge History of India, page 303, says quite incorrectly, that the conspirators accused 'Imād-ul-mulk of the determination of placing Sultān Mahmūd's own son, whom it gives the name of Shihāb-ud-dīn, and describes as an infant, on the throne, so that he might be able to govern the country as regent.

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transferred to his own family. Maḥmūd Shāh told them, that he had also inferred the same thing from 'Imād-ul-mulk's behaviour. He gave orders for the latter being arrested, and placed in confinement. He was kept under guard on the upper floor of the gate of Aḥmadābād. The Sulṭān placed five hundred of the men whom he trusted to guard him. 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and the other conspirators, (thinking that they were quite) successful, went to their own houses.

It so happened, however, that Malik 'Abd-ul-lah, the superintendent of the elephants, who was one of the men, in whom the Sulṭān reposed confidence, asked for a private audience, and having reported the deceit and treachery of that deceitful crew, stated that they had taken [1] Shāhzāda Ḥasan Khān to the house of one of themselves, and having made asseverations and taking oaths, had made the imprisonment of 'Imād-ul-mulk, a means for attaining their own objects. Sulṭān Maḥmūd made enquiries, and having impressed the true state of things on his mind, and keeping some of his old and faithful adherents, such as [2] Ḥājī and Malik Bahā-ud-dīn and Malik Kālū and Malik 'Aīn-ud-dīn with him, said to Malik 'Abd-ul-lah, that he should get all the elephants ready and bring them to the *darbār*, so that he might throw 'Imād-ul-mulk under the feet of an elephant. He also ordered Malik Sharf-ul-mulk, that he should bring the wicked and ungrateful Sha'bān to the *darbār*, so that the superintendent of the elephants may throw him under the feet of an elephant. When Malik Sharf-ul-mulk went to bring 'Imād-ul-mulk, the guards said, that they could not hand him over without the permission of Malik 'Aḍd-ul-mulk. He came back, and reported what the guards had said, to the Sulṭān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd then ascended to the top of the bastion, and said in

[1] Firishtah also says that the conspirators wanted to raise prince Ḥasan Khān on the throne, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 46) has changed the name to Hoossein. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 164), however, says that the conspirators wanted to raise Habīb Khān on the *masnad*; and Bayley says in a note, that according to Firishtah and the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, the accession of Habīb Khān was the real object of the plot. The statement as far as Firishtah is concerned appears to me to be incorrect. The Cambridge History of India, page 303, agrees with Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah, that it was Ḥasan Khān, whom the conspirators wanted to place on the throne.

[2] The name is Ḥājī without any prefix or suffix in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed.; but Firishtah and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī both call him Malik Hājī.

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a loud voice; "Bring Sha'bān quickly, and throw him under the feet of an elephant". When the men heard these words from the Sulṭān himself, a large number of people went and brought him. When the Sulṭān's eye fell on him, he ordered "bring that wicked man here, so that I may ask him some questions". When they brought him up, (the Sulṭān was evidently standing on a platform), he [1] ordered that the chain should be removed from the hands and neck of this faithful servant, so that he might inquire into the conduct of, and punish the wicked wretches. Some of the connected *amīrs* (*i.e.*, apparently those who were connected with the conspirators), who were occupied with the duty of guarding him, on seeing this threw themselves down from the top (of the bastion, or some platform some way up), and some of them raised a cry of mercy.

When this news reached 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and the other conspirators, they were amazed at the result of their action, and commenced to collect their retainers. At the approach of the true dawn, Sulṭān Maḥmūd came to the window of the *darbār-hall*, and saluted the people. He placed the fly-whisk in the hand of 'Imād-ul-mulk, so that he might drive away the flies. Malik 'Abd-ul-lah, the superintendent, had all the elephants there. About three hundred (thirty hundred ?), men including both free men and slaves attended to perform the *kūrnish* (royal salute). [2] At this time, the rebel *amīrs* came towards

[1] The Sulṭān who was up to this time calling 'Imād-ul-mulk a *harām khwār* (lit. one who eats forbidden foods, a wicked wretch) now calls him according to the MSS. *halāl khwār* (lit. one who eats unforbidden food, an honest man). The behaviour of the Sulṭān is somewhat enigmatical. If as Firishtah says he had understood the deceit of the conspitators from the beginning, he acted with a good deal of dissimulation and astuteness for a lad of fifteen; and there is no other explanation. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 47) says, "He had sufficient discretion to see the matter in its true light and at the same time too much prudence openly to avow his sentiments." Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 355) says, that though only fourteen years of age he evinced a determination to protect a faithful minister against his enemies. On the other hand, the Cambridge History of India, page 303, says that new to political intrigues, he believed the conspirators, but later on after consulting his mother and a few of his immediate attendants he determined on a course of action.

[2] Somewhat contrary to this, Firishtah on the authority of Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandahārī, says that the rebels came with thirty thousand horse and foot ready for battle; and that at that time there were not more than سی صد thirty

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the *darbār-hall* attended by the riff-raff of the city, and their own retainers. When they came near 'Imād-ul-mulk and Malik Ḥājī and the other *sardārs*, with the immediate servants (of the Sulṭān) placed the elephants before them, and made an attack on the rebels; and 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and the other traitors fled. Their soldiers threw away their arms in the lanes of the city, and hid themselves. Out of the rebel *amīrs*, Ḥisām-ud-dīn went to his brother, Rukn-ud-dīn, who was the *kōtwāl* of Pattan; and from that place they both went away to Mālwa; 'Aḍd-ul-mulk, with a single retainer went among the *grāssias*; and as his retainers had slain some of the *grāssias* of that neighbourhood, they recognised him and slew him; and they sent his head, [1] filled with turbulence, to Aḥmadābād. As Burhān-ul-mulk was a man of big size, he could not run away, and concealed himself

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hundred or three thousand men including free men and slaves with the Sulṭān; and they all washed their hands of their lives, and became thoroughly frightened. Some said let us go into such and such a mansion and shut the doors and defend ourselves. Others said, let us collect as much of the jewels and treasure as we can, and make our escape. The Sulṭān did not approve of either of these counsels, but armed himself, and bound his quiver round his waist; and with the thirty (three) hundred followers, and the elephants which did not exceed two hundred in number came out of the palace to meet the rebels. He posted the elephants at the heads of the various approaches so that the enemy might not attack from different sides, and advanced with the greatest calmness and composure. The people on seeing this immediately deserted the rebels, and some joined the Sulṭān, and others hid themselves. Col. Briggs's account (vol. IV, p. 48) agrees with the above but he makes the number of the rebels thirty thousand and that of the Sultan's followers, 300; although in the Persian text the one is سی هزار سوار و پیادہ and the other سی صد سوار. It must be said, however, that the number of the Sulṭān's followers is also given in the Ṭabaqāt as سیصد.

Bayley (p. 165) also says that the Sultān's followers amounted only to three hundred in number; and some of them suggested that they should get out of the palace by the windows on the side of the Sābar(matī), and collect men and then return; but the Sultān did not listen to these cowards.

[1] There is some difference in the readings. The MSS. have سر پر شور head filled with turbulence, and سر بر تیر, head placed on an arrow; and the lith. ed. has سربر سر, which is not intelligible. None of the readings is quite satisfactory, but I have adopted the first. Firishtah has سر او را بریدہ, having cut off his head.

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near the town of Sarkhéj, in the uneven ground near the Sābarmatī. It so happened that one of the eunuchs went to circumambulate the tomb of Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū, may his soul be sanctified! He saw Burhān-ul-mulk seated there, and immediately seized him, and brought him to the *darbār*, where by order of the Sulṭān he was [1] executed. Maulānā Khiḍr, Ṣafī-ul-mulk, [2] was seized and sent to Dīp in imprisonment. As this disturbance was suppressed in this way, and friend was discriminated from foe, [3] 'Imād-ul-mulk threw the skirt of his spirit over the grandeur of the *vazārat*; and like men freed (of the cares of the world) he held his hand from all worldly affairs; and took kindly to the nook of contentment and [4] seclusion; and relinquishing his *jāgīr* became a beadsman. [5] Sulṭan Maḥmūd began to show favour to his soldiers, granted [6] favours to fifty-two of his own servants, so that in the course of a short time, the number of his soldiers became double that of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn and of the former Sulṭāns. He conferred titles on all his own slaves; Malik Ḥājī was honoured with the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk, and the office of the paymaster of the forces. Malik Bahā'-ud-dīn was made Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, Malik Tughān Farḥat-ul-mulk, Malik 'Ain-ud-dīn Niẓām-ul-mulk, and Malik Sa'ad Bakht Burhān-ul-mulk.

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[1] Firishtah says بزیر پای فیل مست انداخته با خاک یکسان ساختند, *i.e.*, he was trodden to death under the feet of a *mast* elephant.

[2] Firishtah says he was not executed as چون چندان گناه نداشت, *i.e.*, as he was not so guilty as the others.

[3] According to Firishtah the Sulṭān did not forget 'Imād-ul-mulk's services. He says و سلطان محمود نیز حقوق خدمات شایسته او منظور داشته اورا معذور داشت و پسر بزرگ او شهاب الدین احمد را خطاب ملک الشرف داده از امرای کلان گردانید

[4] The lith. ed. has کنج, before عزلت, but as both the MSS. omit it, I have also omitted it.

[5] Some of these matters are mentioned with some variation in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 166).

[6] It is not clear who these fifty-two servants or slaves were; and why the favours shown to them led to the increase in the number of troops. As to the increase the actual words are دہ بست, in the MSS. and دہ بیست in the lith. ed. I have adopted the readings of the MSS., and think that it means in the proportion of twenty to ten, *i.e.*, double. Some of these events are mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 167).

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[1] In the year 864 A.H. he marched in the direction of Kaparbanj; and having gone hunting as far as the boundary of Mālwa returned. In the course of this expedition he regulated the administration of the *thānas*, and of the *parganas*; and attended with care to the condition of the oppressed. In the year [2] 866 A.H., he started from the capital city of Aḥmadābād with the object of seeing the country and hunting; and encamped on the bank of the river Khārī, which is fifteen *karōhs* from Aḥmadābād. At this time he received a letter from [3] Niẓām Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, the ruler of the Deccan in which after complaining (of the injuries he had received) at the hand of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, he asked for assistance and reinforcement. [4] Maḥmūd Shāh with a very large army and five hundred elephants advanced to help Niẓām Shāh. When he arrived at Nadarbār and Sulṭānpūr, another letter came (to the effect) that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, in his pride of his large army, had advanced against this *faqīr* (*i.e.*, he himself) by rapid marches; and after the two armies had met, in the first instance he was defeated; and the soldiers of the writer plundered his camp, and seized fifty elephants. But Sulṭān Maḥmūd came out of ambush with twelve thousand horsemen, when his (*i.e.*, Niẓām Shāh's) men were engaged in plundering. Sikandar Khān Bukhārī and Khwājah Jahān Turk (who were commanders of Niẓām Shāh's army) exerted themselves, as much as they could; (but) Sulṭān Maḥmūd

[1] This excursion is not mentioned by Firishtah or any other historian except the author of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 175).

[2] The year is 866 in the MSS., but 865 in the lith. ed. Firishtah also has 866 and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 49) 866 A.H., 1462 A.D. Bayley (p. 175) also gives the same year, and he calls the river Kahārī, and says, on the authority of the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, it is eleven *kōs* from Ahmadābād.

[3] He was a mere child at this time, and the government was carried on by his mother and the prime minister, and there was a certain amount of jealousy and intrigue (see pp. 87, 88 in the history of his reign).

[4] Firishtah says that the *amīrs* and the chief men of the city attempted to dissuade Maḥmūd Shāh from going away on a distant expedition, so soon after his accession, specially as Dāūd Khān was attempting to recover the throne, which he had occupied for a week; but he did not agree with them, and advanced arguments based on philosophical and humanitarian grounds in support of his determination. This is referred to by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 49), but it does not appear to be mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or in the Cambridge History of India.

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himself advancing within bowshot, shot an arrow, which hit the forehead of Sikandar Khān's elephant. The animal turned round, and caused much havoc to the Deccan army; and Sikandar Khān and Khwājah Jahān Turk seized the bridle of the *faqīr's* horse, and started for Bīdar. The *faqīr* is at present at Fīrūzābād; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd is besieging the city of Bīdar. As His Majesty has advanced in this direction, with the object of helping the *faqīr*, it is hoped that he would come with all rapidity.

Maḥmūd Shāh directed his attention to the Deccan. He heard on the way that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had turned back, and was going towards Mālwa. Maḥmūd Shāh advanced into the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr, that he might close the path[1] of his flight; and encamped in the neighbourhood of Tālnīr, which is in the country of Asīr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī leaving the well-known road travelled by way of[2] Gōndwāna; and owing to the difficulty of the road, and want of water, his men suffered great hardship. They say that more than thousand men perished for want of[3] water. Maḥmūd Shāh wrote and sent a letter to the effect, that "Whenever that[4] pupil of the

[1] One MS. inserts برو between گویز and مسدود. I think this is correct and have inserted it, though it is not found in the other MS. and in the lith. ed.

[2] The Cambridge History of India (p. 304) instead of saying that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī travelled through Gōndwānā like the other histories, says that he was compelled to retire through the Mahādeo hills into Northern Berar, where his army suffered severely both from want of water and from the attacks of the Korkus. I have nowhere else come across the name of the Mahādeo hills or of the Korkūs. In the Persian text of Muntākhab-al-labāb, edited by Sir W. Haig, the editor of the Cambridge History of India, the retreat of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī (vol. III, p. 98), is said to have been through Gōndwāna, and it is said that there was no sign of water along the route anywhere, and the troops are said to have suffered from thirst and at the hands of robbers roaming over the hills. In the Index of the Cambridge History of India the Mahādeo hills are mentioned only once in this particular place, and the Korkūs are mentioned only thrice. From one of these references (p. 358), it would appear that the "Korkūs" is only another name for the Gōnds.

[3] One MS. adds راه و تنگی, and the narrowing or difficulty of the road.

[4] Both MSS. have فرزند سلطنت, but the lith. ed. has قرة العین سلطنت. I have retained the latter, as it is the common form of the word, which means lit. the pupil of the eye, but is applied figuratively to some one who is very dear, such as one's son or daughter.

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eye of empire shall have need for help and assistance, he should notify the fact to the writer; and there will be no neglect in according such help". He then returned to Aḥmadābād.

[1] It is recorded by tradition, that in this army there were seventy thousand well armed and picked horsemen with Maḥmūd Shāh; and that he had given away the whole of the country of Gujrāt in *jāgīr* (fiefs) to the soldiers; and there was not a single village as *khālṣā* or royal land; and that in the course of four years, he had disbursed a [2] tenth part of the treasures left behind by his ancestors.

In the year 867 A.H., another letter from Niẓām Shāh arrived, to the effect that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had invaded the Deccan with ninety thousand horsemen; and as the promise of help and assistance had been inscribed with the tongue of the pen, the writer hoped that he would direct his great spirit to the fulfilment of that promise. Maḥmūd Shāh with a well-equipped army marched towards the Deccan. When he arrived at Sultānpūr and Nadarbār, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī having raided and ravaged the neighbourhood of Daulatābād had gone back to his own country. [3] An epistle containing his excuses (? thanks) came from Niẓām Shāh, with presents and offerings to the Sulṭān; and he turned back and went to Aḥmadābād. He wrote to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, that it appeared to be contrary to the law of Islām and against humanity, to invade without any reason, a country inhabited by Musalmāns; and to return without fighting after such an invasion is reprehensible. If after this he again attempts to injure and harass the inhabitants of the country of Deccan, he should know for a certainty, that the writer would invade the country of Mālwa. Sulṭān Maḥmūd replied, that as he (the Sulṭān of Gujrāt) had directed his noble spirit to the aid of the Deccan, no injury would after this happen [4] from him to the inhabitants of that country.

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[1] These facts with some variations are also mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, pp. 176, 177).

[2] دو حصه in the text edition.

[3] This is also mentioned by Firishtah and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 177) and the Cambridge History of India (p. 305).

[4] There is a little variation in the readings. The MSS. have ازینجانب, while the lith. ed. has از من. There is not much difference, and I have retained the reading in the lith. ed.

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In the year 869 A.H. (1465 A.D.) it was reported to the Sulṭān that the *zamīndārs* of [1] Bāwar and of the fort of Dūn had for two years been causing damage to the ships; and as they had never received any punishment from the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt, they had got into a habit of refractoriness and revolt. Although his loyal advisers did not consider it advisable that he should march to attack them, owing to the difficulty of the route and the strength of the fortress, he determined to conquer that tract, and punish the rebellious chiefs. When after enduring a thousand hardships and difficulties, he advanced to the vicinity of the fort, the commandant came out to give battle; and made gallant efforts. (But) when night came, he again took shelter in the fort; and for some days, he fought battles every day, and fulfilled the duty of making war-like and gallant exertions. It happened, however, that one day the Sulṭān went to the top of the hill of Bāwar with his retinue and soldiers. When the men of the fort [2] saw the royal umbrella, and became aware of the large number of soldiers, they with humility put their hands [3] on the skirt of peace; and [4] the

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[1] The MSS. have زمین دار باور و بندر دون and امین داران باور و بندر دون, and the lith. ed. has زمیندار و باور و بندر. I have adopted the reading of the second MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has قلعهٔ ماورا و بندر دون. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 51) calls Bāwar, Bavur "an extraordinary hill fort". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 178) has the mountain of Bāwar, and Bayley says in a note that the best accounts of the expedition are to be found in the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, Firishtah and the Tārīkh-i-Alfī; and he quotes from the first two, which both have Bāwar. As to Dūn he says there is a small port marked Dunnu near to a spot where a spur of the ghats runs into the sea. He gives the various variants of Bāwar in the different MSS. and the MS. of the Tārīkh-i-Alfī; and they all have some resemblance to Bāwar; yet the Cambridge History of India, without a single word of explanation or a single reference to any authority, transforms the *zamīndārs* of Bāwar and of the port of Dūn to "the Hindu chief of Pardī near Damān" (see page 305). The conjunction و between باور and قلعهٔ دون has unfortunately been changed into د in the text edition, and as a result باور reads باورد.

[2] It would appear that the men in the fort were not up to that time aware of the presence of the Sulṭān in the camp.

[3] Both the MSS. have صلح; but the lith. ed. has بدامن صلح. I have retained the last reading, as it has the correct oriental metaphor.

[4] Both MSS. have only سردار, but the lith. ed. has دو سردار. Here I have adopted the reading in the MSS.

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commandant came in all haste to wait on the Sulṭān, and prayed for quarter. Sulṭān Maḥmūd on account of his great mercy, drew the pen of forgiveness over their guilt; and gave assurances of safety to all of them. When the commandant of the fort and the chiefs of the neighbouring country came and waited on the Sulṭān, he distinguished them all by bestowing robes of honour and favours on them. He then mounted his horse and went to inspect the fort. After he had finished the inspection, the commandant presented a large tribute. The Sulṭān bestowed the amount of the tribute on him in the same *majlis*; and also conferred on him a special robe of honour and a golden belt. He also fixed the amount of the annual tribute, and entrusted the defence and government of the country to the commandant. He then returned, with success and prosperity, and took up his abode in Aḥmadābād.

In the year 870 A.H., 1466 A.D., the Sulṭān went out hunting towards Aḥmadnagar. On the way Bahā'-ul-mulk, son of Alf Khān, killed Ādam Silāḥdār (trooper) without any apparent cause; and fled into the country of Īdar. [1] Sulṭan Maḥmūd sent Malik Ḥājī and Malik Kālū 'Aḍd-ul-mulk; and these men having gone a part of the way, allowed a falsehood to enter their minds; and [2] they induced two

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[1] The readings are different here. One MS. has عماد الملک و عضد الملک با جماعت تعین نمود انها دو شخص بیگناه را اوردند و بانها قرار دادند که بگویند دو کس از نوکران بهاء الملک که قاتل سلاحدار ما بودیم the other MS. has را اوردند و بانها قرار دادند که بگویند ملک حاجی و ملک کالو عضد الملک را فرستاد و انها چو پارهٔ راه رفتند تزویری بخاطر رسانیده دو کس از نوکران را برین اوردند که قاتل ادم سلاحدار ما بودیم. The reading in the lith. ed. is I have after comparing the three readings and that in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, which contains more details, adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best. In the text edition is عضد الملک instead of ملک کالو عضد الملک.

[2] According to Firishtah, they induced the two men by giving them some money با جزوی مال فریفتند. They also told them that the bādshāh was merciful, and would pardon them; and besides, he would not pass a sentence of death, without consulting them. The poor men, tempted by the money, and also actuated by good feeling towards their master, said as they had been taught. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 179) has a similar account, but it says that the men sent in pursuit of Bahā'-ul-mulk actually found him, but apparently let him go.

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of the servants of Bahā'-ul-mulk, to say that they were the murderers of Ādam Silāḥdār; and returning from the way, they reported to the Sulṭān, that they had seized and brought the murderers of Ādam Silāḥdār, and they were confessing their guilt; and [1] Bahā'-ul-mulk had fled into the country of Īdar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd ordered that those two innocent men should be executed. After some days when the veil was raised from the face of the matter, and it was known for certain, that those two poor men were not the murderers of the Silāḥdār; and 'Imād-ul-mulk had by fraud and deceit induced them to confess, the Sulṭān ordered that 'Imād-ul-mulk and 'Aḍd-ul-mulk should also be executed; and all the property and villages left behind by them should be escheated to the *khālṣa* (the Sulṭān's treasury). Malik Iḵhtiyār-ul-mulk was made 'Imād-ul-mulk; and the appointment of *nā'ib ghaibat* (regent in the Sulṭan's absence) was conferred on him; and all the soldiers of 'Imād-ul-mulk were made over to him.

[2] The Sulṭān marched out in the year 871 A.H. (1467 A.D.) to conquer the fort of Karnāl which is now known as Jūnāgarh. They

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Bayley says in a note that every copy of the Mirāt-i-Sikandāri says that the men sent in pursuit of Bahā'-ul-mulk actually found him; but he also quotes the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī to say that they returned after going a part of the way towards Īdar. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, the two men were induced to confess, as they were told that the Sultān would sentence them to short terms of imprisonments, and they would be soon released at the intercession of those who asked them to confess. Rās Mālā and the Cambridge History of India do not mention the incident. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 51) refers to the incident "As an instance of the impartial justice of Mahmood Shah". It was impartial, as even great *amīrs* were not spared; but it is also an instance of a great miscarriage of justice. In the text-edition the reading adopted is دو شخص بیگناہ.

[1] This sentence, which occurs in both MSS. and in the lith. ed., appears to be redundant, unless it is taken as part of the false report.

[2] Firishtah says that in 871 A.H. the Sulṭān saw the Prophet Muḥammad in a dream, and that the latter bestowed on him two dishes of delicious viands. This was interpreted to mean that he would have two great gifts, *viz.*, the conquest of the country of Dīu, and the forthcoming conquest of Karnāl. There is no mention of it in the Ṭabaqāt and I cannot find any mention in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī also. Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 355) has a slightly different version, and refers only to an invitation "to the conquest of infidels, by spreading before him, in a vision, a magnificent banquet of the most delicious viands."

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say, that for nearly two thousand years, this country had been in the possession of the ancestors of Rāy[1] Mandalīk. After Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh and Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Gujrātī, the hand of the possession of no one else had reached this country. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh advanced towards it, placing his trust in divine help and support, and in the course of the march he ravaged the country of Sōrath. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the hill of Karnāl, the inhabitants of the district placed their property and their families in distant places, and in hills filled with trees, and themselves took shelter in a strong place. Tughlaq Khān, who was descended from the Sulṭāns of Sind, and was the maternal uncle of the Sulṭān, informed the latter of this. On the following day the Sulṭān proceeded in that direction, as if hunting along the way.[2] In spite of the

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[1] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 53) says in a note that the Manduliks, as he writes the name, are "like dessaies, natgowrs, reddywars, zemindars and poligars so called in other parts of India". *Mandalika* is from *Mandala*, a circle or a part of a country, and means the lord of the *Mandala*. In the same note Col. Briggs on the authority of the Moontukhib-ool-Towareekh says that the name of this Mandalik was Humbur Ray. I cannot find his name anywhere else but the Cambridge History of India, page 305, calls him Mandalak Ṭhūdāsama, but does not quote any authority; and Mandalak is certainly incorrect. It appears from a note in Bayley, page 183, that according to the Tārīkh-i-Sōrath, Mandalik was also used as a proper name by the Raos of Girnār (Karnāl).

[2] The meaning is not very clear, but it appears from the Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 184), that the Karnāl people, or the infidels of the country round, "gathered together their women and children and provisions, and went into the defile of Mahābalah, which is an exceedingly strong position" (mahābūla means very strong). The Sultān "resolved to carry the place". Prince Tōghlak (the Tughlaq Khān of the text) told the Sultān that it would be very difficult to seize the place. But the Sultān replied, "Please God, I will conquer it." "One day the Sultān mounted his horse to go hunting, and went in the direction of the Mahābala defile. When the Hindūs saw the small party, they took no heed to it. Suddenly the Sultān attacked them, and the infidels after a little fighting, fled into the jungle" (p. 185). Firishtah gives a somewhat different account. According to him, the Sulṭān, guided by Shāhzāda Tughlaq Khān, went with a selected body of warriors to the *darra* or defile of Mahābala, without the Hindūs knowing anything. The Rājpūts, who were left to guard the place, and who were called Barāos, on becoming aware of the Sulṭān's approach fought bravely, but being unprepared and unarmed were all killed. Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 356) gives another version, according to which, the Sulṭān sent

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difficulties of the paths and the entrances (probably passes), he succeeded in reaching that place; and after much effort and endeavour, the Rājpūts fled, and threw themselves into the fort of Karnāl, by way of the hills and jungles. [1] Many prisoners and much property fell into the hands of the army. From that place the Sulṭān went towards the temple of the people. A body of Rājpūts who are called *Pardhāns* (*Pradhānas* or chiefmen), determining to die, placed their hands on their swords and lances inside the temple; and in the twinkling of an eye became food for the sword. The next day (the Sulṭān) started from that place, and encamped at the foot of the fort of Karnāl; and sent detachments to plunder and ravage the surrounding country. The Rāy Mandalīk, in great humility and helplessness, asked for pardon of his offences; and sent a large tribute. [2] Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on account of the exigencies of the times, deferred the conquest of the fort to the next year, and treating the Mandalīk with gentleness went back to Aḥmadābād.

In the year 872 A.H. (1468 A.D.), it was reported to the Sulṭān that the Rāy Mandalīk on account of his haughtiness and pride had an umbrella held over his head; and placing valuable ornaments, on his [3] arms and neck sat in public. Immediately on hearing this news (the Sulṭān) appointed forty thousand horsemen with famous elephants to punish him. At the time of bidding adieu to them,

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a detachment under Toghluk Khān "to occupy two outworks called Mohabilla. The Rajpoots who were entrusted with the post were surprised and cut off". The Cambridge History of India makes no reference to the matter.

[1] According to Firishtah they comprised the زنان و پسران درهٔ مهابله, *i.e.*, the women and children of the men who had been left to defend the Mahābala defile.

[2] Firishtah says that the Sulṭān agreed to receive tribute and to defer the conquest for another year, because immense quantities of valuable jewellery and other booty had fallen into the hands of the soldiers; and the weather having become very hot, it was impossible to continue longer in that hilly country.

[3] The MSS. have دست and کرفتن (unintelligible) و کردن in one, and دست و گردن in the other. The lith. ed. has simply برخود. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has دست و گردن, leaving out the middle word. Firishtah says plainly, that the Sulṭān was simply waiting for a pretext, and this report enabled him to undertake another expedition.

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he told the *amīrs* and the heads of clans, that if the Mandalīk came forward in the way of submission and fealty, and delivered up the umbrella and the valuable jewels, which on the days of idol worship he puts on his person, and pays the tribute which had already been fixed, they should not interfere in any way with his country. When the army of Gujrāt arrived near the country of the Mandalīk, the commandant sent a body of men to him, and communicated to him (through them), what the Sulṭān had said. The Rāy Mandalīk came forward to meet the emissaries with all respect; and sent to the *amīrs*, the umbrella and the jewels and valuable ornaments which on the days of worshipping the idols and on other auspicious days, he used to put on his person, together with a large tribute; and having tried to win their heart turned them back. When the *amīrs* (after their return) waited on the Sulṭān, and placed before him all the things which they had brought, the latter in his festive assembly and convivial meetings, [1] gave the things away to story-tellers and readers.

[2] In the year 873 A.H., 1469 A.D., the news of the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, the ruler of Mālwa, came. The *amīrs* represented

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[1] Firishtah quoting Niẓām-ud-dīn, says the same thing in identical words; but because such prodigality appeared to him, as it certainly appears to me, to be somewhat incredible, ends with the pious ejaculation, و الله اعلم بالصواب *i.e.*, God alone knows the truth. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 55) says in his translation, the Sulṭān distributed the money produced by this expedition, in one night, among a set of female dancers. He may be right, but گویندگان و خوانندگان means story-tellers and readers, and not female dancers. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 186) modifies the story a little, and says the Sultān distributed the garments among his musicians. Bayley in a note finds some kind of fault with Firishtah, and says the latter places this expedition in 872 A.H. It appears to me that Firishtah does nothing of the kind; he places this expedition before the occurrences of 873 A.H. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 55) however places this expedition in 874 A.H., which might have led to Bayley's mistake.

[2] This matter about the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah. The Cambridge History of India, p. 305, mentions it, giving the 31st May, 1469, as the date of Sultān Mahmūd Khalji's death. It also refers to the discussion about the invasion of the country, and Sultān Mahmūd's refusal to undertake it; and then says that the Sultān "committed an act as wanton, by leading into Sorath a large army against the Mandalak of Girnār".

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to Sulṭān Maḥmūd that at the time, when Sulṭān Muḥammad, the son of Aḥmad Shāh had accepted the summons of the just God, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī arrived at the town of [1] Kaparbanj, intending to attempt the conquest of the country of Gujrāt. If the Lord of the world (meaning the Sulṭān) at this time, when the appliances for the conquest of the country are all at hand and ready, advances towards Mālwa, that country would come into his possession with very little effort. Sulṭān Maḥmūd declared, that it was not right in Islām and Musalmānī, that Musalmāns should fall out amongst themselves, and that people should be trampled down in the calamities which would occur. Besides, at this time, when the Sulṭān has died, and the affairs of the state have not been arranged, it would be removed from the rules of humanity and the customs of generosity to invade his country. He then left Aḥmadābād with the object of hunting, and having spent some days in the jungle, again took up his abode in Aḥmadābād.

In the year 874 A.H., he again sent armies to plunder and ransack the country of Sōrath; and within a short time, they returned after devastating the country, and bringing an enormous quantity of plunder. Among the great incidents of the year, one was this that Sulṭān Maḥmūd, mounted on an elephant, went towards [2] *Bāgh-i-Iram*. On the way [3] another *mast* elephant, having broken his chain turned on the Sulṭān's [4] retinue. The other elephants seeing it, turned their faces in flight, and it advanced on the elephant which the Sulṭān was riding. The latter after bearing two or three onsets, also fled; and when it was running away, the other elephants rushing forward, struck it (apparently with their tusks) on the shoulder; and the Sulṭān's leg was injured by its tusks and blood began to flow from it. At this

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[1] كيرينج Kēryanj in the text-edition.

[2] Apparently some beautiful park or garden, called the garden of Paradise. Firishtah's account agrees with that in the text, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 55) gives a somewhat different account. He says that the Sultan was on a hunting excursion, and when he was attacked by the *mast* elephant, all his companions fled, etc.

[3] This word shows that the Sulṭān was also riding a *mast* elephant; and Firishtah says so, but neither the MSS. nor the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt say that the Sulṭān was on a *mast* elephant.

[4] The word is *fauj*, apparently the Sulṭān's retinue or followers.

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time, the Sulṭān with great bravery hurled a spear on the elephant's forehead. The blood was now flowing, but the elephant made another onset, and had another spear hurled at it. The blood now bubbled out of its forehead as from a fountain. The animal now trumpeted and gave another blow to the Sulṭān's elephant; but it received another spear with such force, that it had to turn tail and run away. The Sulṭān went to the palace with safety; and made all deserving persons happy by the distribution of votive offerings and [1] charities.

After a few days he summoned the *amīrs* of the marches, and with a well-equipped army advanced to conquer the fort of Jūnāgarh and the hill of Karnāl. He distributed five *krors* of gold in the course of a night and day among his soldiers; and included amongst these were two thousand and five *Turkī* and *'Iraqī* and 'Arab horses, the prices of some of which amounted to as much as twelve thousand *tankas* each, which were bestowed on the men. He also distributed five thousand jewelled swords and seven hundred jewelled belts and one thousand and five daggers with gold and embossed scabbards. When he arrived in the country of Sōrath by successive rapid marches, he sent detachments in every direction to plunder and devastate (the country). Rāy Mandalīk in a state of extreme humility and helplessness waited on him; and represented that this slave (he himself) had lived a whole life-time within the bounds of allegiance and fealty; and no act which might have the least suspicion of any breach of engagement or promise had been committed by him. He was also at the present moment prepared to pay any tribute which His Majesty might order. The Sulṭān said, "All my energies are at present directed to raise the standards of Islām in this country, after bringing it into my possession, so that the institutions of Islām might be established here. I have no other object in view, except the introduction of Islām and the capture of the fort."

[2] When Rāy Mandalīk understood from the purport of these words, that this army with other armies was ready to conquer the

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have خیرات, charity, but the other MS. has شکرانه, thanks offering.

[2] The meaning of the sentence, این لشکر با لشکرهای دیگر نمی نماید is not clear. The sentence is the same in both MSS. and in the lith. ed., except that

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country, he waited for an opportunity; and fled at night and retired into the fort of [1] Jūnāgarh. The next day the Sulṭān moved forward, and encamped close to the citadel of Jūnāgarh. One detachment separated from the army, and advanced on the fort. A body of Rājpūts sallied out, and after fighting fled. The next day also there was some fighting; and on the third day the Sulṭān himself attacked the fort, and there was severe fighting from morning to evening. On the 4th day the Sulṭan's pavilion was raised near the gate, and the fort was closely besieged; and covered passages were laid down from all sides. The Rājpūts at all times sallied out of the fort, and made violent attacks; and many good men were slain. For instance, they fell on a particular day on the battery of 'Ālām Khān Fārūqī, and made a martyr of him. Sulṭān Maḥmūd made the siege such a close one, that the stones thrown by the ballistas sometimes fell in front of the Sulṭān's throne. Although Rāy Mandalīk made proposals of peace and of the payment of tribute, they had no effect whatever as the Sulṭān had determined on the conquest of the fort.

In the end, Rāy Mandalīk, in his extreme humility and distress, prayed for mercy; and after surrendering the fort, took shelter with all his Rājpūts in the [2] hill of Karnāl. Sulṭān Maḥmūd performed the rite of offering thanks, and occupied himself with settling the affairs of the country. After some days, he laid siege to the hill of Karnāl. In the end, Rāy Mandalīk, having no other alternative,

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the lith. ed. has by mistake ماند instead of نماید. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has exactly the same words, except that it has instead لشکر با لشکرهای بار دیگر.

[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 305, says, Rāy Mandalak retired to his citadel Uparkot. Uparkot of course means upper citadel; but I have not seen the place, to which Rāy Mandalīk retired, called Uparkot in any other history. It is called Jūnāgarh in the other histories.

[2] Firishtah calls it the fort of Karnāl, and he adds شروع در دزدی و راهزنی کردند. This is however not mentioned in any other history, not even in Col. Briggs's translation. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī however (Bayley, page 188) says that every day they sallied out and fought; and although Firishtah says that the Sulṭān became very angry, and himself led an attack on Karnāl, and seized it, his subsequent treatment of Rāo Mandalīk does not make it very probable that the latter had committed theft and robbery.

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joined the service of the Sulṭān; and having prayed for the safety of his men, surrendered the hill of Karnāl also. [1]After this, as he for several days went every day and waited on the Sulṭān, and observed his pleasant manners and his praise-worthy morals, he submitted one day, that from the auspicious effect of the society of Shāh Shams-ud-dīn Darvīsh, the love of Islām and of Musalmāns had had a great effect on his mind; and now that he had been attending on the Sulṭān, and had become cognizant of the truth of the faith of Islām, he wished that he should join the Musalmān community. Sulṭān Maḥmūd with great eagerness taught him the creed of the unity of God, and conferred the title of Khān Jahān on him. And in order that the institutions of Islām should be current in that country, he laid the (first) brick for building the city of Muṣṭafā-ābād in the ground; and he ordered all the *amīrs* that they should lay the foundations of mansions for their residence there. In a short time, the city of Muṣṭafā-ābād became a model of Aḥmadābād.

When the *amīrs* and the soldiers took up their residence in Muṣṭafā-ābād, everywhere where there were thieves and disturbers of the peace round about Ahmadābād, they raised their heads and began to commit thefts and highway robberies; and the roads, by which people went about from place to place, became closed. When this news reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he conferred the title of Muḥāfiẓ Khān on Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn, son of Shaikh Malik, who was [2]the *kōtwāl* of the camp (provost-marshal), and who was entrusted with

[1] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 190) gives another version of the story of the conversion of Rāo Mandalik. According to this, he went in attendance on the Sultān to Ahmadābād. One day he went to Rasūlābād, where his Holiness Shāh 'Ālam lived, and is buried. He saw many horses and elephants and men assembled there, and inquired what *amīr* lived there. He was told that His Holiness Shāh 'Ālam resided there. He went and saw him, and was converted by him. It may be mentioned here as an extremely curious fact that according to Rās Mālā, Row Munduleek, who was throughout his life so unremittingly persecuted by the Musalmāns, was as Khān Jehān worshipped under the guise of a Muslim saint, by the descendants of the men who had persecuted him, at his tomb in Ahmadabad, up to the time, when Rās Mālā was published in 1856, and may be worshipped up to the present day. (See Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 357.)

[2] The word كوتوال appears to me to be incorrect, although it is found in the MSS., and also in the lith. ed. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I would either insert the word عهدة before كوتوال, or change كوتوال to كوتوالى.

the supervision of the *silāh k̲hāna* (stores of arms and ammunition), and gave him a standard and a [1] trumpet; and sent him to Aḥmadābād after investing him with the post of *shaḥna* and *kotwāl* (Superintendent of manners and morals and of police) of that place.

Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn, Muḥāfiẓ K̲hān put the city of Aḥmadābād into such order as the heart could wish for, within a short time; and had five hundred thieves hanged. As this work of his met with the approbation of the Sulṭān, he had other appointments conferred on him; and the office of the *iṣṭīfa'-i-mumālik* was added to his other offices; and [2] gradually his affairs reached to such a position, that one thousand and seven hundred horses were collected in his stables;

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[1] The word is طاس in both MSS., and قوطاس in the lith. ed. Firishtah has کوناے instead.

[2] The whole of the passage about the appointment of Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn, and the increase of his power down to the end of the paragraph is copied almost *verbatim* by Firishtah; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 57) in his translation makes certain changes. Instead of the 1,700 horses in his stable he mentions 1,700 "bargeer-khass", or persons equipped by him, and riding his own stable horses. He also says that his powers were so little under control, that his son, "in the absence of the king, marched without orders, and obliged the Rays of Idur, Wagur and Serohy, to pay him tribute". This might have been correct; but neither Niẓām-ud-dīn nor Firishtah explicitly says so. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 192), "His son exacted tribute from the rebellious chiefs who had never paid it before". It appears also from a note on the same page that there is probably some MS. of Firishtah, which contains statements identical with those made by Col. Briggs. Bayley however quotes from Col. Briggs, and attributes the statement of Firishtah (see the note *, page 194). The Cambridge History of India (page 306) says something quite different. According to it, while Mahmūd "was besieging Girnār, Jai Singh, the son of Gangādās of Champānēr had been committing systematic brigandage and highway robbery in the country between his stronghold and Ahmadābād. He therefore sent Jamāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, conferring on him the title of Muhāfiz Khān to govern this tract, and he put down thieving and highway robbery with such a firm hand, that the inhabitants, we are told slept with open doors". This is not quite correct, Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn, or Muḥāfiẓ K̲hān was appointed *kōtwāl* and *shaḥna* of the city of Aḥmadābād, and not governor of the country between that city and Chāmpānīr. There is nothing said in any of the histories of any connection between Jai Singh and the thieves and robbers, except that he allowed the rebels of Barōda and Dabhoī to pass through his territory; and Malik Jamāl-ud-dīn is not said to have had anything to do with him except that he waited on the Sulṭān, when the latter was marching against Jai Singh, and was appointed the *vazīr*.

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and wherever there was a good soldier, he was included among his retainers. His power and splendour reached such a height, that his son Malik Khiḍr extorted tribute from the Rājas of Bākar and Īdar and Sirohī.

In the beginning of 876 A.H., 1471 A.D., it was reported to the Sulṭān that Jai Singh, the son of Gangdās Rāja of Chāmpānīr, having become proud by the help and patronage of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn of Mālwa, had allowed the rebels of Barōda and Dabōhī, a passage through his territory, and had the disposition of raising a rebellion. The Sulṭān marched from Muṣṭafā-ābād, and advanced to punish him. On the way, Muḥāfiẓ Khān had the honour of waiting upon him; and the appointment of *vazīr* was added to that of *kōtwāl*. He left his deputies to perform the duties of the *kōtwāl*, and occupied himself with the affairs of the *vazārat*.

When the Sulṭān heard of the disturbances created by the *zamīndārs* of Kach (Cutch); and their persecution of the Musalmāns was reported to him, the Sulṭān gave up the determination to conquer Chāmpānīr, and marched against that country with a large army. When he arrived [1] on the edge of the saline country, which is known as the Ran, he made a very rapid march and in the course of one day traversed a distance of [2] sixty *karōhs*. Out of his total army, not more than [3] six hundred horsemen were with him at the end of the

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[1] Firishtah has بجای رسید که موسوم ست بشور instead of موسوم برانست ورسید, which Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 80) has translated as "came suddenly upon the enemy's encampment at Sheevur". It appears from Firishtah that this part of Cutch was contiguous to Sind, and was inhabited by people whom he calls ماجینان Mājīnān. According to the Cambridge History of India, page 306, the place is what is now known as the Thār and Parkār district.

[2] There is some doubt as to the possibility of a march of this length, in the course of one day, as in the text, or a شبانه روز, or a night and a day as in Firishtah, though Bayley, quoting Col. Briggs, makes it "without a halt", in a note on page 193; and comes to the conclusion, that it is impossible to cover the distance in one day, but it is possible though hardly likely to do so in one day and night. I should note here also that both MSS. have sixty *karōhs* as the length of the march, but the lith. ed. has sixty-one *karōhs*; and it appears from the note in Bayley th the MS. which he had had sixty-one *karōhs*.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. has six hundred horsemen, but the other MS. has three hundred. Firishtah lith. ed. has six hundred, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV,

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march. When he reached the other side of that dangerous country, the enemy could be seen before them. They say that there were twenty-four thousand archers. The Sulṭān, in spite of the fact that he had such a small number of men, and the enemy were in such large numbers, dismounted and armed himself. When the enemy saw the boldness and gallantry of the Sulṭān, they [1] came forward with sincerity; and made excuses for their offences. The Sulṭān drew the pen of forgiveness across their offences, and made peace with them, after taking a large subsidy. He also took some of their chiefs with him to Muṣṭafa-ābād, and taught them the tenets of Islām and Musālmanī; and making everyone of them happy with largesses and favours gave them permission to go back. He granted a suitable *jāgīr* to each one of them, and retained those in his service who of their own free will chose to remain with him.

In the year 877 A.H. (1472 A.D.), it was reported to the Sulṭān, that forty thousand turbulent and refractory archers had collected together in the neighbourhood of the country of Sind, and [2] were harassing (the inhabitants of) the towns and villages on the border. He equipped an army and again turned in that direction. When he

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p. 58) has "only three hundred cavalry". He makes the enemy consist of four thousand archers, though Firishtah like Niẓām-ud-dīn has twenty-four thousand. The Cambridge History of India, page 306, gives the correct number, but makes them horse (horsemen) instead of archers.

[1] Firishtah's account of what happened, when the Sulṭān with his six hundred horsemen met the archers, agrees generally with that in the text, but he says that the hostile men became confused and frightened and the chiefs came forward with swords and shrouds hanging from their necks. Col. Briggs has a somewhat different account. He says they were defeated, and numbers of them were slain, after which the remainder came forward with their weapons slung round their necks to implore for mercy. The accounts in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 194) and the Cambridge History of India (p. 306) agree generally with that in the text; but Bayley quotes in a note Col. Briggs's account and attributes it to Firishtah.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 306, has forty thousand "rebels had risen against Jām Nizām-ud-dīn, the ruler of Sind", but neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah nor the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī mentions Jām Niẓām-ud-dīn. On the contrary they say that 40,000 men were harassing the residents of the parts of Gujrāt adjacent to their country.

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arrived in the salt country, he ordered that [1] each horseman should take two horses with him, and take with him water and food for seven days. Then relying on divine help, he entered into that dangerous country, and traversed a distance of sixty *karōhs* each day. When he arrived in the country of Sind, [2] the rebels became scattered and dispersed and there was no sign or vestige left of them. The country of Sind now came into his possession without any hindrance. Some of the *amīrs* submitted, that they had traversed all that distance with very great trouble and it was right that a ruler (*ḥākim*) and a superintendent (*dārogha*) should be left in the country. The Sulṭān replied: as the Makhduma-i-Jahān was descended from the Sulṭāns of Sind in the line of chieftainship and royalty, the consideration of the rights of relationship was incumbent on him; and it appeared very far from kindliness and humanity to seize their territory. He hunted as far as the bank of the Indus, and returned to Muṣṭafa-ābād.

After a time, the resolution to conquer the port of [3] Jagat, which is a place of worship of the Brahmans, entered the Sulṭān's mind. But owing to the narrowness and the difficulty of the road, he deferred carrying it out. It happened, however, that one day a learned man (*fāḍil*) of the name of [4] Maulānā Muḥammad Samarqandī,

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have هر سوار, each horseman, but the other MS. has هزار سوار, one thousand horsemen. Firishtah also has یک هزار سوار چالاک, one thousand active horsemen.

[2] The account of what happened is more circumstantial, and somewhat different in Firishtah, but it does not add very much to our information. According to Firishtah the inhabitants were Balūchīs, they concealed themselves, but some of them were dragged out and killed, and their camp was plundered. The Cambridge History of India, page 306, says that before the Sulṭān returned, he received gifts and a letter of thanks from the Jām, who also sent his daughter, who was married to Qaisar Khān, grandson of Hasan Khān, Iftikhār-ul-Mulk of Khāndesh, who had taken refuge in Gujarāt. For the account given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, see Bayley, page 195.

[3] Jagat appears to be identical with Dwārkā. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī the name is associated with Sānkhōdhār and in Rās Mālā with Beyt. The country, according to a note in Bayley, page 195, was called Okémandal, "and the Rajpūts, as they are to-day, were Pāghars and Wāghars, a poor but brave and hardy race, much given to piracy and robbery".

[4] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 60) describes him as "one of the most learned philosophers of his age"; but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 195, describes

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some with his two sons with their heads and feet bare and waited on the Sulṭān; and submitted that they had embarked in a ship to go from the Deccan to Samarqand; and were sailing towards Hormuz (Ormuz); that when they arrived opposite to Jagat, a body of men came out in boats filled with weapons of war, blocked their way, plundered them, and carried away the women and children of the Musalmāns into imprisonment. [1] Among them he and his sons had also been imprisoned. Sulṭān Maḥmūd showed kindness to the Maulānā, and sent him to Aḥmadābād, and fixed an allowance on him. At the time of bidding him farewell, he told him, "You rest assured, that whatever has been taken from you will be returned to you in its original condition; and those men will receive condign punishment". Then incited by his sense of shame, and his desire to help (Musalmāns), he sent for the *amīrs* and the chiefs of the different sections to attend on him; and said to them, "If on the day on which inquest will be made of our actions, they ask me, 'In your neighbourhood the *kāfirs* committed such oppression, and in spite of your having the power to stop it, you procrastinated', what reply shall I give?". The *amīrs* opened their lips for prayer and praise; and [2] said, "These slaves have nothing to do except to carry out your orders; and the destruction of these people is incumbent and due on our spirits".

The Sulṭān being confirmed in his determination, moved out on the 16th Dhī-ḥijjah of that year towards [3] Jagat; and when with very great hardship on account of the narrowness of the way, and the dense jungle, they arrived at Jagat, the infidels fled to the island

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him as "a man skilled in the rules and practice of poetry". The Cambridge History of India, page 306, calls him a learned poet and merchant. Bayley interprets the sentence, I think incorrectly, by saying that Maulānā Muhammad's literary name or *non de plume* was Fāzilī.

[1] According to Firishtah the Maulānā told the Sulṭān that his wife was still in the custody of the *Kāfirs*. According to Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 196, "the pirates turned the Mullā (as he is called there) and his two sons adrift, but kept his women, his property and the ship". As the boys were of tender age, the Mullā had to carry them by turns, and in this way he traversed the distance of seventy *kōs*, and came to the Sultān.

[2] According to Firishtah the *amīrs* were tired of the annual expeditions undertaken by the Sulṭān.

[3] One MS. inserts بندر, port, before Jagat. جکت Jakat in the text-edition.

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[1] of Beyt. Many snakes appeared there. At the place where the Sulṭān's pavilion had been put up, seven hundred snakes were killed in the space of one *pahar*. [2] Many tigers and lions and wolves caused much loss to the men in the island; and many of the wild animals were also killed. They ravaged the temple of Jagat, and pulled it down. Sulṭān Maḥmūd had to wait there for four months at this place; and during this time many boats were prepared to carry the soldiers and the artillery; and then they started for the island of Beyt. The men in the island embarked in boats, and advanced to fight; but in the end, they retreated to the island. The brave warriors (of the Sulṭān's army) drove the ships, and threw themselves into the island; and having captured the citadel of Beyt, slew a vast number of Rājpūts. The Rāja of the place, who had the name of Rāy Bhīm, got into a boat, and fled to some place. The Sulṭān embarked a number of his men in boats, and sent them in pursuit of him. He himself entered the city of Beyt, and released all the Musalmāns who were imprisoned there. He got much plunder and an enormous number of prisoners of war. He left Malik Ṭūghān, who had the title of Farḥat-ul-mulk, as the *thānadar* of the place, and crowned with success and victory [3] returned to Muṣṭafa-ābād. On Friday the 13th of

[1] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have بیت, Byet, but the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has شکوندهار, Shakūndhār. The two appear to be names of the same island.

[2] The MSS., as well as the lith. ed. have شیر و ببر و پلنگ. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 61) has lions, leopards and wolves. As to the number of snakes killed, Firishtah (lith. ed.) also says that seven hundred were killed in the course of one *pahar*. Col. Briggs, however, has seventy killed in a day; and says in a note that the number would not appear to be exaggerated to any one who has been in India. The Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī also says that seven hundred snakes were killed in one night within the royal enclosure. According to the Cambridge History of India (p. 307) the Sultān moved from Jagat or Dwārkā to Arāmura, at the extreme N.W. point of the peninsula, and it was here, that the army was troubled by lions and venomous snakes and insects. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 196) mentions the village of Arāmrah; and Bayley says in a note that the name is variously spelt in the different MSS.

[3] According to Firishtah, Rāy Bhīm was seized and brought before the Sulṭān before the latter left for Muṣṭafa-ābād; and he was taken to that place. At Muṣṭafa-ābād the Sulṭān ordered that a letter be written to the Maulānā; but while the letter was being written he arrived; and his wife and children were

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Jamīdī-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year, the men who had gone in pursuit of Rāy Bhīm brought him under arrest and in fetters, and made him stand in front of the Sulṭān's hall of audience. The Sulṭān sent for Maulānā Muḥammad Samarkandī from Aḥmadābād, and sent the wretched and miserable Bhīm Rāy to Muḥāfiẓ Khān, so that he might cut him up into four strips, and hang them up at the four sides of the city of Aḥmadābād, so that other turbulent men might be terrified by the sight.

[1] In the month of Rajab of that year (874 A.H.), the Sulṭān left a number of his officers at Muṣṭafa-ābād, and started towards the fort of Chāmpānīr. On the way he received the news that a body

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made over to him. Rāy Bhīm was also made over to him, to do what he liked with him; and the Maulānā asked the Sulṭān, that he should be made over to Muḥāfiẓ Khān, and should be taken round the city and killed with torture. Col. Briggs's account is slightly different. The Cambridge History of India does not say that the Maulānā's wife and children were returned to him; but he was asked to identify his property out of the immense quantity of plunder and he was given all that he identified, besides some big presents. Raja Bhīm was also made over to him but he returned the raja, and he was sent to Ahmadābād, and impaled (p. 307).

[1] The account of this incident as given in Firishtah (lith. ed.) does not differ materially from the text. The date is ماه رجب سنه سبع و ثمانمائه ٨٨٧ in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, which is defective as in the words, the word for the tens is omitted. In figures the year is 887, and in Col. Briggs's translation the year is 887 A.H. and 1482 A.D. In the Cambridge History of India, page 307, the attack on the Malabar pirates is said to have taken place between October 1473 and January 1474, *i.e.*, about 8 years before the date given by Col. Briggs. The correct year would be 877 A.H., اربعه و سبعین و ثمانمائه, as given in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. There are some details in Firishtah not mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn such as the fact that the Sulṭān's men were armed with توپ وتفنگ و تیر و کمان. Col. Briggs's account (vol. IV, p. 65) differs a great deal. He calls the Mālābārians Bulsar pirates, and he says that they had gained such an ascendency at sea, as to threaten the invasion of his dominions; and had already intercepted the trade. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī's (Bayley, p. 199) account is different, as it does not appear from it that the Sultān himself embarked on board his ships, and a battle was fought with the pirates; but Bayley in a note quotes the Ṭabakāt about the Sultān having commanded the fleet and fought a battle. He also says that according to Firishtah the pirates were of Bulsar. The Cambridge History of India, page 307, says that the Malabar pirates made a descent on his coasts.

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of [1] Malābārīs had collected a large number of boats and were harassing people travelling by sea. Immediately on hearing this news, (the Sulṭān) arranged some ships, and himself, with a body of brave warriors, embarked in them; and relying on divine help and victory lifted the anchors. When they arrived near the ships of the Malābārīs, the latter fled, and some of their boats fell into his hands. He then sailed to the port of Kanbāyat, and disembarked there. He returned to the capital city of Aḥmadābād in the month of Sha'bān. [2] At the end of Ramaḍān, he raided a part of the country of Chāmpānīr, and again returned to Aḥmadābād.

[3] In the year 875 A.H. the Sulṭān sent Malik Bahā'-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk to the *thāna* in the town of [4] Sonkhir, and Qawām-ul-mulk to that in the town Kodhrā, Farḥat-i-mulk to the *thāna* at fort Beyt, and Jagat, and Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk to the *thāna* at [5] Kīz; and

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[1] بیپاریان traders in the text-edition.

[2] This sentence is to be found in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but is omitted from the other MS. The Sulṭān is said to have returned to Aḥmadābād according to both the MSS. and the lith. ed., but it is more likely that he went to Muṣṭafa-ābād.

[3] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not give the reasons of these appointments. It appears from Firishtah that the people (*amīrs*?) were tired of the continual expeditions of the Sulṭān; and with the order to change their residence from Aḥmadābād to Muṣṭafa-ābād; and were in a mood to rebel. So the Sulṭān made these appointments so that the *amīrs* might keep their *thānas* in order, and he himself might have the leisure to organise the administration of the newly acquired territory of Karnāl or Sōrath. Col. Briggs says briefly that the Shah conceived his dominions to be too extensive for his own immediate management. The Cambridge History of India also refers to the tireless energy and ceaseless activity of the Sultān which had become wearisome to his soldiers and officers. I may point out here that the Cambridge History of India, page 307, suddenly jumps, in the course of about half a dozen lines, from January 1474 to December 1480.

[4] سونگهر in the text-edition.

[5] This name is کیز in one MS., is illegible in the other, and کنیر Kanīr in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is میز Maiz. According to Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 62), Nizam-ool-Moolk was sent to Tanna. The Cambridge History of India does not give the names of the governors and of their stations. تهانیسر in the text-edition.

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appointed [1] Khudāwand Khān to be the *vazīr* of the kingdom, and left him in attendance on Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān at Aḥmadābād. He occupied himself with the administration of Jūnāgarh and the surrounding country.

One day Khudāwand Khan, owing to his sincere attachment and intimacy with the Rāy [2] Rāyān, told him in private "[3] I am much aggrieved at the many activities of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Not a single year or a month passes, that he does not take up an enterprise and does not march the army about. If with your own men, and taking five hundred of my soldiers with you, you go to the house of 'Imād-ul-mulk and get him out of the way, we can to-morrow raise Shāhzāda

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[1] Firishtah says Khudāwand Khān, who was the *vazīr*, was made the *atālīq* or guardian of Shāhzāda Muẓaffar Khān, and was left at Aḥmadābād. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 62) calls him Khoodabunda Khan "preceptor of the Prince Moozuffur Khan". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī agrees with the Ṭabaqāt; and Bayley in a note says that the Tabakāt and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī are correct as to the name of the prince; but he says that Firishtah says that Khudābandah Khān was made governor of Ahmadābād, which is certainly not correct. But Bayley always means Col. Briggs when he says Firishtah. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Khudāwand Khān was induced by some designing men to acquiesce in the conspiracy (Bayley, p. 201).

[2] His name does not appear, but as his title implies, and as the Cambridge History of India (p. 308) says, he was the chief Hindu noble.

[3] Firishtah does not give the conversation between Khudāwand Khān and the Rāy Rāyān, but goes on at once to say that they sent for 'Imād-ul-mulk and other nobles to Aḥmadābād, and after swearing 'Imād-ul-mulk on the *Qurān* made them join the conspiracy. 'Imād-ul-mulk joined it, as he did not have his soldiers with him. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī's account is very brief; and Bayley considered the account in the Ṭabakāt had such details, and the matter was of such importance, as explaining the reasons why Prince Ahmad was passed over, that he has incorporated a translation of it in his book. I find, however, that his translation is not quite correct, if he made it from a text which was identical with mine; for instance he says that Khudāwand Khān told Rāy Rāyān, if *I* were to take my own followers and five hundred soldiers to 'Imād-ul-mulk's house, *I* could easily get him out of the way.

The account of the conspiracy as given in the Cambridge History of India, page 308, agrees with that in the text, except that it says that the Rāy Rāyān refused to be a party to 'Imād-ul-mulk's death. I do not know whether he would have actually refused; but all that the text says is that he believed that he would be able to gain him over, and that the conspirators would be all the stronger by his joining them.

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Aḥmad Khān to the *salṭanat*. For killing 'Imād-ul-mulk, we will not have a better time (than this), when all his retainers have gone to his *thāna*. I have submitted this matter to Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān; and he agrees with me, and is willing to join us". The Rāy Rāyān said, "'Imād-ul-mulk is sincerely attached to me, and tells me all his private matters. As he is also aggrieved with the Sulṭān, and has complaints against him, it is extremely likely that he would join with us in this matter, and by his union with us, our plans will acquire a new strength. Although Khudāwand Khān forbade the Rāy Rāyān to communicate with 'Imād-ul-mulk, it was of no avail. The Rāy Rāyān, relying on the friendship and affection of 'Imād-ul-mulk, at first swore him in private on the *Qurān*, that he would not disclose this secret, and later brought the matter into discussion. As 'Imād-ul-mulk saw that his men had gone to his *jāgīr*, on the spur of the moment he signified his consent, and said, "In this matter I am at one with Khudāwand Khān; but it appears to me that as Ramaḍān is drawing to a close, we should attempt to carry out our intention after it is over". The Rāy Rāyān was pleased (with this suggestion); and communicated the message to Khudāwand Khān.

After the Rāy Rāyān had gone away, 'Imād-ul-mulk sent for [1] Malik Miyān to come to him in private; and said to him, "In Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's time, I used to desire that I might have a second horse, and I could not have it; and now owing to the greatness of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, there is not a greater man than myself in his service". He immediately wrote a letter to [2] Malik Farḥat-ul-mulk, who had encamped in the town of Sarkhēj, and asked him to come and meet him. He also sent a letter to Malik Qāyām-ul-mulk at [3] Rakhīāl, that he should not march from that place for some days. Early the next morning, Malik Farḥat-ul-mulk arrived at 'Imād-ul-mulk's house with five hundred horsemen. They had an interview for a little while; and then Malik Farḥat-ul-mulk was sent to his own house. After a time 'Imād-ul-mulk sent for Muḥāfiẓ Khān the *kōtwāl* of the city, and said to him, "As there is relationship between us it is right

[1] فرزندیان in the text-edition.

[2] Contrary to this, Firishtah says he sent for his own troops.

[3] The name of the place is printed as Rakhiāl by Bayley also, but he has (?) after it (p. 203). رکھیال in the text-edition.

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that we should [1] endeavour to do good to each other. Your loyalty consists in your being present to attend to the affairs of the city, lest a disturbance should be created. On the day of the *'Īd*, you should be ready with your followers and retainers, and attend on Prince Aḥmad Khān at the [2] *maṣlā*; and till midday you should make every endeavour to guard the city".

Khudāwand Khān on hearing the words (the news ?) became anxious in his mind. He sent for Rāy Rāyān to his presence, and said (to him), "Did I not tell you, that 'Imād-ul-mulk would not agree with us in this matter. Now things have come to such a pass, that all our houses (families) would be ruined". When the *'Īd* passed of, and 'Imād-ul-mulk's retainers all arrived, [3] Khudāwand Khān did not for fear (or consequences) disclose (his intentions); and his resolution remained in this way unaccomplished. It so happened, however, that after some days, [4] a popular rumour reached Muṣṭafa-ābād that Khudāwand Khān had killed 'Imād-ul-mulk on the day of the *'Īd*, and all the *amīrs* had joined with him, and they had placed Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān on the throne. One of the (amīrs), who were with the Sulṭān, went with some audacity, and without any hesitation repeated the rumour to him.

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[1] The translation in Bayley, page 203, is "we must rival each other in loyalty". This does not appear to me to be correct.

خیر خواهی does not mean loyalty (to the Sulṭān); but in the next sentence apparently means loyalty to him.

[2] I do not know what the meaning of مصلا is. The translation in Bayley, page 203, does not say where he was to go in attendance on prince Ahmad Khān.

[3] The sentence یکی از مقربان گستاخ رفته بی تحاشی این خبر بسلطان محمود گفت is somewhat cryptic; but the corresponding sentence in Firishtah which is و قیصر خان که از امرای مقرب سلطان بود و در مصطفی آباد خبر اراجیف شنیده پنهانی بسع سلطان رسانید makes the meaning clear.

[4] According to Firishtah the rumour reached Muṣṭafa-ābād; and Qaiṣar Khān secretly communicated it to the Sulṭān, and the latter determined on making a secret investigation. The Cambridge History of India, page 308, says "Qaisar Khān Fārūqī, who was at Ahmadābād, privately informed the king of the affair, so that it came to naught". It does not appear, however, that Qaiṣar Khān was at Aḥmadābād, or that he knew the real facts; and the Sulṭān did not know them till some time afterwards, when he got 'Imād-ul-mulk to divulge them.

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[1] Immediately on hearing this news, the Sulṭān sent for Qaiṣar Khān and Fīrūz Khān to his private chamber and said, "The news of the illness of the Shāhzāda had come before this, and to-day my mind is very sad as to what has happened to him. Go out a distance of two *karōhs*, and come back with correct and detailed news from anyone (when you may meet), who should be coming from Aḥmadābād. When [2] Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk had gone a part of the way, he saw one of his own relations, who was coming from Aḥmadābād. He asked him how things were there. He said I was in Aḥmadābād on the day of the [3] 'Īd-i-Fiṭr. The Shāhzāda came to make his *namāz*, and Khudāwand Khān and Muhāfiẓ Khān were in attendance at the *darbār*. When the Shāhzāda went back to the palace, Muhāfiẓ Khān was present at the *darbār*, till two *pahars* of the day had passed. But the men of the city say that 'Imād-ul-mulk does not give his permission that the *amīrs* should go to their *thānas*; and they are all at their houses. Malik Sa'īd-ul-mulk came back, and reported all that he heard. The Sulṭān said, "A man had told me a falsehood, to the effect that the Shāhzāda had been ill". After two or three days he sent for Qaiṣar Khān and Fīrūz Khān into his private chamber, and having told them the whole [4] story, said, "I will tell people that I intend to go on a pilgrimage to the *Ḥijāz*. Whoever approves of this determination of mine, I shall know that he does not want me". After some days he gave orders that ships should be made ready, and he gave some *lakhs* of *tankas* to the superintendent of the ship, so that he might buy things that would be required in Mecca for devotional offerings. He then went from Muṣṭafa-ābād to the port

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[1] The account in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 205) agrees with the text; but Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India, page 308, without giving any of the intermediate incidents, at once go on to say that the Sultān wanted to give out that he was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 204, the Sultān told Kaisar Khān and Fīroz Khān to send Malik Sa'd-ul-Mulk to find out the true facts. The name is Sa'd-ul-mulk in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt in one place, and Sa'īd-ul-mulk in another, but it is Sa'īd-ul-mulk in both MSS.

[3] The *'Id* of the opening or breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān, which takes place on the 1st Shawwāl.

[4] It is not clear how he got hold of it, or how much he knew.

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of [1] Ghōgha, embarked in the boats; and disembarked at the port of Kanbāyat.

When this news reached Aḥmadābād, all the *amīrs* [2] hastened to wait on the Sulṭān. The latter said that the Shāhzāda had come to a good age (*buzurg shudah*); and the *amīrs* have been trained as the heart might desire. "My mind is composed about the welfare of the kingdom, and it has occurred to me that I should now obtain the happiness of the *Ḥaj*". 'Imād-ul-mulk said, "Your Majesty should go once to Aḥmadābād, and then do whatever may appear to be proper". The Sulṭān knew that the [3] cup is only half filled; and proceeded towards Aḥmadābād. When he arrived in the city, he sent one day for all the *amīrs*, and said, "Please give me permission that I might come back after performing the *Ḥaj*; as long as you do not give a reply, [4] I shall not have any desire for food". The *amīrs* knew that the Sulṭān was testing them. All of them placed the seal of silence on their mouths. When the great luminary reached the meridian, 'Imād-ul-mulk said to the *amīrs*, "The Sulṭān is hungry, some reply should be given to him". [5] Niẓām-ul-mulk went and waited

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[1] The name is کهوکه in the text-edition.

[2] Firishtah and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī agree; but the Cambridge History of India, page 308, says that the nobles were summoned from Ahmadābād to Cambay to consider this proposal, *i.e.*, the proposal of the Sultān that he should go on a pilgrimage.

[3] The sentence in both MSS., and the lith. ed. is که درین کاسه نیم کاسه هست. Firishtah has a slightly different sentence مکه زیر کاسه نیم کاسه هست.

[4] This is a curious and very early instance of a hunger strike.

[5] Both the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India make Niẓām-ul-Mulk the spokesman of the *amīrs*, and attribute the speech to him; but Firishtah assigns it to 'Imād-ul-mulk. Niẓām-ul-mulk is called in the Cambridge History of India (p. 308) Nizām-ul-Mulk *Aisan*; and is described as the oldest courtier. It would appear, however, that Firishtah is right, and the others are wrong. The fact that 'Imād-ul-mulk suggested to Niẓām-ul-mulk later, that as he was the oldest, he should go to the Sulṭān confirms it. This also appears from Firishtah. If Niẓām-ul-mulk had first gone to the Sulṭān there would be no necessity to ask him to go a second time on the ground that he was the oldest of the *amīrs*. Besides it is not likely that the Sulṭān would have said to Niẓām-ul-mulk, that the government of the country could not go on in his absence. He could have only said this to 'Imād-ul-mulk. As to the name of Niẓām-ul-mulk I have not seen it with the affix Aisan anywhere else; but in

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on the Sulṭān and submitted, "As the Shāhzāda has reached the stage of perfection, and the son of this slave, Malik Badeh, has acquired much experience, and knows how to endure the heat and cold of the times, this slave hopes that the *thâna* of this slave should be made over to the slave's son; and that Your Majesty would not leave this slave behind him, when he goes on the auspicious pilgrimage". [1] The Sulṭān said, "It is a great good fortune, if it can be secured; but the government of the country cannot go on [2] without you, [3] go and bring a plain answer from the *amīrs*". Niẓām-ul-mulk went back to the *amīrs* and repeated what had happened; but no one attempted to give a reply. When 'Imād-ul-mulk saw that no one would give an answer, and the Sulṭān was starving, he said to Niẓām-ul-mulk, "As you are the most senior in age among all of us friends, it would be better if you would go on behalf of all of us; and would submit, that the Lord of the world should first conquer the fort of Chāmpānīr, where he might leave his treasures and the inmates of his harem behind in safety; and then he could turn his attention to the acquisition

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the lith. ed. of Firishtah, in the passage in which the illness and death of 'Imād-ul-mulk are mentioned, he is called عین عماد الملک, 'Aīn 'Imād-ul-mulk. Is the Aisan of the Cambridge History of India a mistake for 'Aīn, and has it been given to Niẓām-ul-mulk by mistake instead of to 'Imād-ul-mulk?

The name of the *amīr's* son is given in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt as Malik Badeh. The lith. ed. has Malik, but omits Badeh. It is not given in any other history in this place, but it is given as Buda on page 309 of the Cambridge History of India, and as Malik Badīn in Bayley, page 209. The word which I have translated as "experience" is تجارت, merchandise or trade in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. This is so clearly a mistake that I have had no hesitation in inserting the correct word تجارب. Apparently there was the same mistake in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī; and it puzzled the translator, who has rendered it "I have acquired wealth by trading, and am well acquainted with the seasons"; and then adds in a note "this sentence is doubtful" (Bayley, p. 205).

[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 308, says, "it was now Mahmūd's turn to be at a loss". I do not think he was very much at a loss.

[2] The reading in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. is بی وجود او. I think بی وجود تو is more correct; and Firishtah has بی وجود تو. So I have taken the liberty to correct the text and this is followed in the text-edition.

[3] The word برد go, is not in the MSS., but is in the lith. ed.

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of the good fortune of circumambulating (the sacred places)". (The Sulṭān) said, "If God so wills, it comes to pass". He then sent for his food, and partook of it. But he summoned Qaiṣar Khān into his private chamber, and said, "'Imād-ul-mulk does not tell me the truth. I have determined that I shall not speak to him till he discloses the truth".

When a few days passed in this way, one day 'Imad-ul-mulk said to the Sulṭān in private, "This slave does not know what offence he has committed". The Sulṭān replied, "Until you tell the truth I shall not speak to you". He replied, "They made me swear on the *Qurān*". The Sulṭān said, "If in the discharge of your loyal duties, your life goes, you should say: let it go". 'Imād-ul-mulk then having no other alternative reported the whole of the truth. Sulṭān Maḥmūd acted with great forbearance; the only penalty which he inflicted on Khudāwand Khān was this, that he gave the name of Khudāwand Khān to one of his [1] pigeons. After a time he went to Nahrwāla; and from that place he sent 'Imād-ul-mulk to conquer Jālōr and [2] Sājōr; and he sent Qaiṣar Khān with him. 'Imād-ul-mulk on receiving leave to go, encamped near the tomb of Shaikh Ḥājī Rajab, may his soul be sanctified! In the night [3] Mujāhid Khān, son of Khudāwand Khān, in concert with Ṣāhib Khān his cousin, came out of his house, and entered the pavilion of Qaiṣar Khān, and murdered

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[1] The word کبوتران, pigeons, is printed نوکران, servants, in the lith. ed.; and Col. Briggs apparently having نوکران in the MSS., from which he made his translation, has turned the humourous and whimsical punishment of Khudāwand Khān, whom, by the way, he always calls Khoodabunda Khan into a matter of disgrace to the latter, by causing the person employed in the meanest office of his household to be called by his name. Bayley on page 205 says that the Sultān called one of his pigeons Khudāwand Khān; but, as usual, in a note he attributes Col. Briggs's statement to Firishtah.

[2] The name is written ساجور in both MSS., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but it is سانجور in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 64) has Julwara and Aboogur in place of Jālōr and Sājōr. Bayley (p. 206) has Jālōr and Sājōr; but the Cambridge History of India, page 309, has "Sānchor and Jālor in Marwār".

[3] Firishtah agrees that the murder was committed by a son and a nephew of Khudāwand Khān; but the Cambridge History of India, page 309, says that it was committed by his two sons.

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him. Early in the morning, 'Imād-ul-mulk went to wait on the Sulṭān and disclosed the truth to him. Another man, however, reported (to the Sulṭān) that Azdar Khān, son of Alf Khān, had committed this heinous act. The Sulṭān immediately, on hearing this, sent Fīrūz Khan that he should arrest and bring Azdar Khān. When night came, Mujāhid Khān and Ṣāhib Khān fled with their family and children. In the morning, when it became known that Azdar Khān was innocent, and Mujāhid Khān and Ṣāhib Khān had murdered Qaiṣar Khān, the Sulṭān ordered that Khudāwand Khān should be put in chains, and should be made over to Muḥāfiẓ Khān; and Azdar Khān should be set at liberty. After some days the Sulṭān returned to Aḥmadābād; and about this time the poor 'Imād-ul-mulk bound up the goods of existence (died). The Sulṭān took pity on his family, and gave his eldest son, who had the name of [1] Malik Badeh, the title of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk; and he transferred the duty of the *vazārat* to Muḥāfiẓ Khān.

In the [2] year 880 A.H., the people of Gujrāt suffered the privations of a failure of the rains and a famine. It so happened, that [3] Malik

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[1] See note 1, pp. 269, 270. The name is written in the MSS. here as بدہ and بودہ is printed in the lith. ed. as بدن. I have retained the name previously given to him. According to Firishtah on 'Imād-ul-mulk's death, his son I'tbār-ul-mulk obtained his father's place, and became very near (to the Sulṭān), and having attained to the post of *vazīr* his affairs reached such a high position, that he became the person to whom the high and low all looked up. Col. Briggs, so far as I can see, omits all reference to this matter. Bayley quotes the Ṭabakāt. The Cambridge History of India, page 309, agrees partially with Ṭabaqāt, and partially with Firishtah. According to it, on the death of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he "was succeeded by his son Buda 'Imād-ul-Mulk".

[2] This is the year in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. According to Firishtah it was 887 A.H., and according to Col. Briggs 887 A.H., 1482 A.D. Bayley gives the same year; while the Cambridge History of India briefly refers to a failure of rains and famine.

[3] He is called "Malik Sidā Khāssiah Khēl Sultānī who was posted at Mor Imli otherwise called Rasūlābād", in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 207; and Bayley says in a note that he is called Malik Sadhā in the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī. The Cambridge History of India, page 309, calls him Malik Sūdha, governor of Rasūlābād; which is said there to be 14 miles S.E. of Chāmpānēr. Firishtah apparently does not mention him, though he says that the Rājpūts of Chāmpānīr harried the Musalmāns of Rasūlābād.

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Sadhā had raided certain villages in Chāmpānīr; and [1] Rāy Batāī, the son of Rāy Udai Singh, Rāja of Chāmpānīr, collected troops and attacked him; and in the battle Malik Sadhā and a body of his followers attained to the rank of martyrdom. Rāy Batāī plundered and carried away two elephants and all goods and equipments belonging to Malik Sadhā and his men. When this news reached the Sulṭān, he set out on a march to Chāmpānīr, on the first of the month of Dhī-qa'dah of the aforementioned year; and when by successive marches, he arrived at the town of Barōda, Rāy Batāī, becoming ashamed and repentant of the reprehensible act and wicked deed he had perpetrated sent ambassadors to wait on the Sulṭān, and petitioned for the pardon of his offences. He also submitted that both the elephants, which had been wounded, had become disabled; but he was willing to send two other elephants loaded with gold. The Sulṭān replied, "The answer to this message will be given to-morrow by the sword, which cuts like a diamond"; and he turned the ambassadors back. He sent in advance of himself Tāj Khān and 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and Bāhrām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khan. They arrived at the foot of the fort on the [2] 7th Ṣafar. The Rājpūts sallied out of the fort every day; and fought from morning to evening with great gallantry.

The Sulṭān also advanced from the town of Barōda, and passing Chāmpānīr, encamped in the village of [3] Karnārī. He appointed

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[1] The name is رای بسائی, Rāy Basāī in the MSS., and Rāy Batāī in the lith. ed. It appears to be رای بناهی, Rāy Banāhī in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs calls him Bany Ray. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has Rāwal Patāi. According to Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 371) his real name was "Jye Singh", or as it should be correctly transliterated Jaya Sinha, which undoubtedly is the right name for the son of Udaya Sinha "and by Ferishta" (or rather by Col. Briggs) "entitled Beny Ray, and widely known in Hindu tradition under the name of Phutāee Rāwul". In the Cambridge History of India, page 309, he is called Patāī, and it is also stated that he sacked and destroyed Rasūlābād, but I cannot find this anywhere else. Firishtah has been followed in the text-edition.

[2] It is هفتم, 7th in one MS., and in the lith. ed.; and هفدهم, 17th in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. also has 7th. هفتدهم in the text-edition.

[3] Both MSS. have گرناری, while the lith. ed. has کرنال. Firishtah lith. ed. has کرنای, Karnāī; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 67) has "Girnary on the Malwa road".

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Saiyid [1] Badī Alangdār for guarding the road and for the bringing in of provisions. It so happened, that one day when the Saiyid was escorting a convoy of provisions, the Rājpūts fell on them from an ambush; and they slew a body of the troops, and carried away all the provisions. The Sulṭān, on hearing this news, became very depressed and sad; and he sat down at the foot of the fort of Chāmpānīr, till the end of Ṣafar of that year; and did everything to carry on the siege with great vigour. Muḥāfiẓ Khān mounted every morning, and inspected all the batteries till midday, and then returning made report of the state of things to the Sulṭān. When the siege had progressed in a satisfactory and perfect manner, he ordered that covered ways should be laid down from (all) four directions. They say that for every plank that they carried to the top of the hill, the wages of the men carrying it amounted to one lakh *tankas*. Rāy Batāī, seeing this state of things, and owing to great weakness and exhaustion, again sent ambassadors and submitted, that he would send a tribute of nine *mans* of gold and of grain which would suffice for feeding the army for two years. The Sulṭān said "It is impossible that [2] I should rise from the place, till this fort should have been conquered".

When the ambassadors returned despondent, Rāy Batāī in the year 888 A.H. sent his experienced *vakīl* [3] Sūrā to Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn Khaljī, and asked for help; and undertook to pay one *lakh* of *tankas* for every stage in the march of his army, as a contribution to his expenses. Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn mustered his troops, and advanced to and encamped in the town of [4] Na'lcha. When this news reached the Sulṭān, he left his *amīrs* at the different stations, and marched himself

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[1] The name of this man appears to be سید بدی النگدار in the MSS. It is سیدی لنگ درار in the lith. ed. He is called سید بدر, Saiyid Badr in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and Syud Mudun Lung by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 67).

[2] Both MSS. have ازین سر زمین برخاستن ممکن نیست; but the lith. ed. has ازین سر زمین ممکن نیست که برخیزم.

[3] He is called سورا in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has سور; Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 67) has Shew Ray; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 208) has Sahūrā; and the Cambridge History of India (p. 309) Sūrī.

[4] The name is written نعلچه in both MSS. In the lith. ed. it is لعلجه Lalja. Firishtah, lith. ed., has نعلحه Nalha. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley) Na'lchah.

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as far as the town of [1] Dahūd to meet him. At this place the news reached him, that [2] Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn had sent for the learned men one day, and asked for an expression of their opinion on the following point: "a *bādshāh* of the Musalmāns has besieged a hill of the infidels, is it right according to the *Shara'* that I should reinforce and go to help the latter". The learned men said, "it is not right". Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn immediately went back to Mandū. The Sulṭān on hearing this tune (of joyfulness) was delighted; came back to Chāmpānīr; and laid the foundation of a [3] *Jāma'* mosque.

The *amīrs* and the *sardārs* now knew for certain, that the Sulṭān would not leave the place until the fort should be conquered, and made a very great effort in planning the conquest. When the construction of the covered ways was completed, the soldiers in the Sulṭān's own battery saw one day from the covered way, that most of the Rājpūts went away in the morning for cleaning their teeth and for their ablutions, and only a few remained on the bastions. When they reported this to the Sulṭān he ordered that Qawām-ul-mulk on the following [4] day in the year 889 A.H., at the true dawn should

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[1] The name of the town should be transliterated as Dahūd. Firishtah, lith. ed., has دهاد, apparently a mistake; Col. Briggs has D'har; Bayley (p. 208) has Dahōd; and the Cambridge History of India (p. 309) Dohad.

[2] Firishtah agrees with this; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 68) says that the Sooltan "on being reproached by his nobles and officers, for entertaining an intention of marching to the assistance of an infidel" disbanded his army, and returned to Mando.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, p. 309, says that the mosque, which still adorns the ruins of the city, was built before Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn's offer to aid the Raja. This does not agree with the other histories, according to which the foundations of the mosque were laid after the Sulṭān's return from Dahūd. The author of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī laments the ruin which had overwhelmed Chāmpānīr during his time. He says (Bayley, p. 212) "Now thanks be to God, Chāmpānīr is not still the same. The buildings are in ruins, it is inhabited by the tiger, and the gardens are for the most part jungle, nor is there any sandal wood produced: its very name is unknown". The first sentence is curious. There is, however, no mention of the mosque.

[4] No date is given in either the MSS. or the lith. ed. Only the year is mentioned at this place, but it appears a few sentences further on, that the date was the first of Dhī-qa'dah. Firishtah in the corresponding passage gives neither date nor year. Bayley after giving the account of the capture of Chāmpānīr, says

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take the Sulṭān's own troops with him, and should advance his *sābāṭ* (covered way) into the fort. There was every hope that the flag of victory should be unfurled from the flag-staff of hope. On the following morning which was the 1st of Dhī-qa'dah, Malik Qawām-ul-mulk with the Sulṭān's own troops hurled himself from the covered way into the fort and slew a large number of the garrison, and a great fight took place. They drove the Rājpūts to the gate of the citadel. Rāy Batāī and other Rājpūts then prepared for *jauhar* and Qawām-ul-mulk and the other leaders having the great good fortune of martyrdom before the eyes of their noble spirit lavished all efforts and made every endeavour.

It so happened that a few days before this, they had shot a cannon ball on the rampart of the fort from the western side; and several cracks and fissures had appeared in the rampart of the great citadel. Malik Āyāz Sulṭānī availing himself of an opportunity went to the crack in the rampart; with a body of soldiers from that crack, which was in truth, the crack by which the angel of the death of the garrison made his entrance, they rushed into the great citadel and by way of the [1] *bārah* ascended to the top of the great gate. At this time Sulṭān Maḥmūd came to the top of the *sābāṭ* and placing his face of humility in the dust offered prayers, and, as victory and triumph still delayed, he sent reinforcements. The Rājpūts being harassed and discomfited threw bombs filled with gun-powder on the roof of the gate. It so happened, however, that from the seat of divine mercy the breeze of success and victory blew, (the men on the top of the gate) seized those very bombs and threw them into the courtyard of the palace of Rāy Batāī. When the Rājpūts found that things had come to this condition, at every place where they had arranged a *jauhar*

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that the Tabakāt and Firishtah give a fuller account of how it was seized; and proceeds to quote from them. It would appear from his account, page 210, that the attack of Kiwām-ul-Mulk was made on the 1st Zī-l-ka'dah, 889 A.H. The Cambridge History of India does not specially mention this particular incident.

[1] The word is بارو, bārū in both MSS., but it is بارہ, bārah in the lith. ed., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I hve retained bārah, as it occurs in Imām-barah, etc. The translation in Bayley gives no help. It says: from that breach "they fought their way to the roof of the principal gate". M. Hidayat Ḥosain has bārah in the text-edition.

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they set fire to them, and burnt all their dependents and children. The whole of that day and night and the next day the entire (Musalmān) army remained under arms and fought. On the second day which was the 2nd of Dhī-qa'dah, 889 A.H., they forced open the door and got into (the citadel) and slew a large number. Sulṭān Muḥammad also advanced as far as the door. A body of the Rājpūts then threw down their arms and assembled round a reservoir. They all got into the water and washed their bodies, and coming out of the water seized their swords, and stood up. As the body of the Sulṭān's troops went near the reservoir, seven hundred Rājpūts at once rushed on them and very large number on both sides were slain, but Rāy Batāī and Dūngarsī and a number of others were captured and brought (before the Sulṭān).

The Sulṭān performed the ceremony of offering thanks to God and made over Rāy Batāī and Dūngarsī to Muḥāfiẓ Khān, so that he might have their wounds medically attended to. The same day the Sulṭān gave the name of Muḥammadābād to Chāmpānīr, and made an entry into it. A number of the Rājpūts fled, and entered the third citadel. They were brought down the same day in distress and wretchedness. When Muḥāfiẓ Khān reported that Rāy Batāī's wounds had healed, the Sulṭān urged [1] him to accept Islām. He did not agree. After he had been in prison for [2] five months; and as he did not still accept Islām; he and [3] Dūngarsī were, by order of the learned men, executed. This occurred in the year 890 A.H. In the same year he passed orders for the erection of a special citadel of citadels, *Jahān Panāh*, and of palaces and gardens; and placed the work in the charge of Muḥāfiẓ Khān. In the year 892 A.H., he bestowed the country

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[1] Both Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India (p. 310) say that Rāy Batāī and Dūngarsī were both invited to accept Islām; and both refused.

[2] According to Firishtah he was in chains during the whole of the five months; and was every day threatened with death.

[3] The Cambridge History of India (p. 310) says, that the minister Sūrī was executed at the same time; but this does not appear to be mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt or in Firishtah; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 211) says, that the Sultān ordered the execution of the Rāy, and of his minister; but whether this refers to Dūngarsī or to Sūrī is not clear.

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of Sōrath and the forts of Jūnāgarh and Karnāl on Shāhzāda[1] Ḵẖalīl Ḵẖān.

In the year 892 A.H. (the Christian year is given as 1486 A.D.), some merchants coming from Dehlī arrived in[2] Muḥammadābād and complained that they were bringing[3] four hundred and three horses.

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[1] Firishtah calls him the Sultān's پسر کوچک or younger son, but he is not mentioned by Col. Briggs. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī he is mentioned on page 216; and it is said in a note that he afterwards became Muzaffar II. It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, page 239, that he was the Sultān's fourth son by Rānī Harbāi, daughter of the Tāh Rānah, a Rājpūt *zamīndar* on the bank of Mahīndrī. The Rānī died the fourth or fifth day after the prince's birth. It is said that immediately after his birth the prince was taken by the Sultān to Hāns Bāi (the swan-like lady, as Bayley takes the trouble to explain that her name signifies), the widow of Sultān Muhamad, and Sultān Mahmūd's step-mother. She educated the prince with more than a mother's care; and Sultān Muhamad (*sic*) used to say, whenever he saw him, "The line of my kingly ancestors will be carried on by this boy and his descendants".

It is curious that at least three of Sultān Mahmūd's four sons were born of Hindū mothers, *viz.* (1) Muhammad Kālā, whose mother was Rānī Rūp Manjarī, who had previously been married to Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn, and after his death came to Sultān Mahmūd. The prince and his mother both predeceased the Sultān; (2) Ābā Khān, whose mother was Rānī Pirāī. He was poisoned by his father's order because he had gone to some one's house who found him there and thrashed him; (3) Ahmad Khān, who was nick-named Khudāwand Khān's Ahmad Shāh, as Khudāwand Khān had conspired to place him on the throne, as had already been mentioned. His mother's name is not mentioned. The fourth son was Khalīl Khān.

[2] There is some difference as to the place where the merchants complained to the Sulṭān. Both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah say that they came to Muḥammadābād, and made their complaint there. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 216, it is said, "he then went to Ahmadābād. A party of merchants came to him complaining", etc. from which one would infer that the complaint was made at Ahmadābād. The Cambridge History of India (p. 310) says, that the complaint was made when he was "hunting at Hālol near Chāmpāner".

[3] He is called آبو قلعهٔ رای, in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and the number of horses is said to be four hundred there. Col. Briggs says that the name and the country of the chief is omitted in the original, and he does not give the number of the horses. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says that the merchants complained that "they were bringing four hundred Persian and Turkī horses from 'Irāk and Khurāsān, and some rolls of Hindustānī fabrics". But on reaching the foot of mount Ābū, the Rājah of Sirōhī had seized them all (Bayley, pp. 216, 217). The

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The Rāja of the hill of Ābū had taken them all by force and had looted the whole caravan. (The Sulṭān) on hearing their words immediately ordered that the price of the horses might be paid to the merchants from the treasury, and having conferred robes of honour on them, commenced to muster his troops and after some days advanced to devastate that country. He sent a *farmān* addressed to the Rāja of Ābū, by the hands of the merchants, in advance of himself. The purport of the *farmān* was this that as the merchants were bringing the horses and other merchandise for the Sulṭān, and he (the Rāja) had taken them with violence, he should at once give back to the merchants exactly what he had taken from them; otherwise he should be prepared to meet the anger and wrath of the Sulṭān. When the merchants took the *farmān* the Rāja of Ābū, in great alarm, made over to them three hundred and seventy horses, which he had in their original condition, and gave them the price of thirty-three horses, which had become disabled; and also sent a heavy tribute (to the Sulṭān) by their hand. [1] The merchants came and waited on the Sulṭān, informed him of the true state of things, and also placed the tribute of the Rāja before him, upon which he turned back and came to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr.

In the year [2] 896 A.H. (1491 A.D.) news came that Bahādur Gīlānī, servant (گماشته) of Khwājah Maḥmūd Gīlānī, had turned his head from the obedience due to his master Sulṭān Maḥmūd [3] Lashkarī,

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Cambridge History of India (p. 310) makes the number of horses four hundred and three and the name of the chief who had seized them, the Raja of Ābū.

[1] Firishtah says that the Rāja sent an ambassador with the merchants; and placed himself in the band of the Sulṭān's servants. The Cambridge History of India (p. 310) says that the Sultān "permitted the merchants to retain the horses, as well as their price". I have not seen this anywhere else; and it does not appear reasonable, that the merchants who had come from great distance to sell the horses, should have them returned to them.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. gives 900 A.H., and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 71) gives 900 A.H., 1494 A.D. as the year.

[3] The MSS. have محمود but the lith. ed. has لشکری. Sulṭān Muḥammad Lashkarī had, however, died some time before this; and his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd was the nominal ruler, though much of the power was in the hands of Qāsim Barīd. It appears from other histories that Sulṭān Maḥmūd was in command of the troops that were sent against Bahādur Gīlānī. I have therefore substituted Sulṭān Maḥmūd for Sulṭān Muḥammad Lashkarī.

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the ruler of the Deccan; and having taken unlawful and forcible possession of the part of Dābul, was causing harassment to ships passing over the sea; and the passage of coming to and going from Gujrāt had become closed and he had also forcibly carried away the Sulṭān's own ships. Immediately, on hearing this news, the Sulṭān mustered his troops and sent an army under Malik Qawām-ul-mulk by land route, and he also despatched many ships. When this news reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī, he summoned the *amīrs* and said, "On several occasions help has come to us from his ancestors; and the greatness and grandeur of Sulṭān Maḥmūd is known to all; and the consideration of the rights of this great dynasty is obligatory and incumbent on our spirit and energy. It is, therefore, right and proper that we should turn our attention to his (Bahādur Gīlānī's) destruction". The *amīrs* and *vazīrs* applauded the opinion and acknowledged the truth of the statement and began to collect troops. (At the same time) a letter couched in terms of sincerity was sent to Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and preparations were made for the punishment of Bahādur Gīlānī, and of teaching him a lesson. At the moment which the astrologers declared to be auspicious to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he marched from the city of Bīdar to affect the destruction of Bahādur; and after fighting slew him. The particulars of this occurrence have been narrated in the section about the Deccan.

In the year 897 A.H., (1474 A.D.), Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched towards the Mahrāsa; and on the day, spies reported to him that Alf Khān, son of Ulugh Khān, had fled as he had spent stipends (due to his retainers) for his own purposes, and was afraid that they might apply to the Sulṭān for redress, and indignities might be inflicted on him. [1] The Sulṭān sent Sharf-i-Jahān to reassure him, and although

[1] Firishtah and Col. Briggs say that Alf Khān revolted in 904 A.H., 1498 A.D.; and their account is briefer than, and somewhat different from that in the Ṭabaqāt. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 220, the Sulṭān is said to have marched to Morāsah on account of Alaf Khān's rebellion. In a note Bayley gives the version in the Tabakāt. The account given in the Cambridge History of India, page 311, differs from the others. The year of the revolt is said there to be 1492; and the name of the rebel is Bahā-ud-dīn Ulugh Khān, son of Ulugh Khān Suhrāb. He is said to have fled because the people rose against him, on account of his oppressing them, and of appropriating the pay of the troops.

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the emissary preached sermons and advices to him, they had no effect whatever.

He sent some elephants, which he had with him in charge of Sharf-i-Jahān, and entered the country of Mandū; but as his father had acted towards Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn gave him no place in his dominions and showed no favour to him at all. Alf Khān in distress and at a loss what to do came towards Sulṭānpūr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent [1] Qāḍī Pīr Isḥāq to reinforce [2] Malik Shaikhā. When Qāḍī Pīr Isḥāq arrived in the vicinity of [3] Sulṭānpūr, Alf Khān fought with him, and son of the Qāḍī Malik-ul-Mashāikh and some other men were slain in the skirmish in the end. After much wandering Alf Khān sent a petition to the Sulṭān, containing an account of his great suffering and distress and praying for the pardon of his offences. [4] As he was a *khānahzād* (one brought up in the family, a hereditary servant) of the Sulṭān the latter drew the pen of forgiveness over his offences. He came and waited on the Sulṭān in the year 901 A.H., had the honour of rendering homage; and had favours and kindness bestowed on him. But as the star of his fortune was on the decline, after three months he murdered his *nāib-i-'arḍ* (officer in-charge of petitions) without any cause, and was put into prison, and died in prison.

The name of his father according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī was 'Alā-ud-dīn bin Suhrāb.

[1] Firishtah's account is entirely different. According to him Qāḍī Bīr was sent against the rebel and pursued him through hills and jungles, till he at last fled by way of Sulṭānpūr to Mālwa. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 72) says that, "Sheikh Burra Deccany the Kazy-ool-Koozat of Ahmudabad" was sent in pursuit of him. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says that Alaf Khan fled from place to place, and at last went to Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Khiljī. The account in the Cambridge History of India agrees generally with that in the text, but it does not say that Alf Khān fought with the force under the Qāḍī. On the other hand, it says that when the relieving force arrived, he fled into Baglāna.

[2] This is apparently the Qāḍī mentioned by Firishtah.

[3] He appears to have been the governor of Sulṭānpūr. He does not appear to be mentioned by Firishtah or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. The Cambridge History of India, page 311, calls him 'Aziz-ul-Mulk Shaikhan.

[4] The latter part of his history is narrated very briefly by Firishtah and the other historians.

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As[1] 'Ādil Khān Fārūqī, governor of Asīr, had not for a long time remitted the tribute which had been fixed and was walking in the path of pride and haughtiness, the Sulṭān collected his troops and in the year 906 A.H. (1149 A.D.), advanced to punish him and teach him a lesson. When he arrived on the bank of the river Tāptī 'Ādil Khān sent a large tribute; and prayed to be excused. Sulṭān generously accepted his excuses, returned to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr.

In the course of the same year, *i.e.*, 906 A.H. (1499 or 1500 A.D.), news came that[2] Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-Qādir having acted with ingratitude had taken the kingdom from Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn, and assumed the title of Sulṭān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd wanted to advance to Mālwa to punish him and teach him a lesson. At this time a subsidy came from Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, with a petition expressive of his humility and submission. He also stated in the petition that whatever he had done had been done with the consent of his lord, master and father, but as Shujā' Khān and Rānī Khurshīd had ac-

[1] Firishtah says that Qāḍī Bīr with some other *amīrs* first invaded Khāndēsh in 905 A.H. 'Ādil Khān was unable to meet them, and asked 'Imād-ul-mulk, the ruler of Berār for help, but as he received none, he sent the tribute which was in arrears and asked for pardon. Firishtah adds that according to some historians, Sulṭān Maḥmūd himself advanced as far as the bank of the Tāptī, when 'Ādil Khān sent the tribute. Col. Briggs in a note in vol. IV, page 73, calls the demand of tribute by the King of Guzerat from Adil Khan, an unimaginably wanton exercise of power; but as Bayley has pointed out in a note on page 221, the Fārūkī rulers "were more or less in a kind of feudal duty to the Gujarāt kings". The Cambridge History of India (p. 313) describes 'Ādil Khān II, as one of the most energetic and most powerful rulers of Khāndesh, and he had scorned to pay tribute in his career of victory, yet a mere demonstration of force by Sultān Mahmūd was enough to bring him to his senses.

[2] This sentence requires explanation. Nāṣir-ud-dīn was the son of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn of Mālwa. He was suspected of having poisoned his father. I have not been able to find any reference to this in Firishtah or in Col. Briggs, but Firishtah says in one place that he was accused of it, but he stoutly denied it. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 221) says that Nāsir-ud-dīn poisoned his father and seized the kingdom. Bayley says in a note that there is no positive evidence of the poisoning. The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, though hostile in tone, merely says that there was a suspicion. The Cambridge History of India (p. 311) says Ghiyās-ud-dīn was deposed on November 20th, 1500, and died in February 1501, not without suspicion of poison.

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quired influence over (the mind of) Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ūd-dīn, they exerted themselves in concealing the facts. The Sulṭān having taken pity on his humility and distress, gave up the intention of marching there.

[1] In the same year, as the *Firangīs* (apparently the Portuguese) created disturbances in Musalmān ports, the Sulṭān proceeded to the port of Mahāim, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of [2] Dūn, news was brought to him, that Āyāz one of his slaves had prepared some of the Sulṭān's ships, and ten of the Turkish ships at the port of Dīp and had fought with the Firangīs of the port of [3] Chaul. In the action many Firangīs and four hundred Turks were slain. The Firangīs fled; and [4] one of their large ships, the cargo in which was valued at one *krōr*, having had its mast struck and broken off by a cannon ball was sunk. Sulṭān Maḥmūd after carrying out the rites of offering thanks to God, returned to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr.

In the year 914 A.H. [5] 'Ādil Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān, made a representation to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, through his mother, who was the

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[1] Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says that the *Firangīs* wanted to build forts on the coast. The Sulṭān of Rūm, who was their enemy had, on hearing this, sent many ships to carry on a war of religion, and to prevent their carrying out their objects. Some of these ships had arrived in the Gujrāt ports. Sulṭān Maḥmūd also intending to carry on religious war there, started towards the ports of Dīsī and Daman and Mahāim; and when he arrived at Daman he sent his special slave Āyāz Sulṭanī, who was the Amīr-ul-umrā and Satarsāl from the port of Dīp. Col. Briggs's account (vol. IV, p. 74) is similar but he says that the Turkish fleet was under "Ameer Hoossein" whom the Portuguese called Meer Hashim. The account given in the Cambridge History of India, page 312, is long and comprehensive, but it is unnecessary to refer to it here in detail.

[2] See note 1, page 246.

[3] The name is written in Persian as جیول, but is written in English as Choul or Chaul.

[4] This was their flag-ship, and probably had on board Don Laurence, the son of Vasco da Gama, who was killed.

[5] He is called عادل خان in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and by Firishtah and Col. Briggs and also in the Muntakhab-al-labāb, vol. III, page 155; but is called 'Ālam Khān in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and in the Cambridge History of India. He is called 'Ādil Khān bin Ḥasan Khān, but whether he was the son of Ḥasan Khān, or he was the great grandson of Ḥasan Khān, as stated in the Cambridge History of India in respect of 'Ālam Khān, is not

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Sulṭān's daughter, that 'Ādil Khān, the son of Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr had died, seven years and some months ago, leaving no son; and he hoped that the Sulṭān would bestow the place of his ancestors on the *faqīr* (*i.e.*, himself). The Sulṭān accepted the request and prayer of his daughter, and collected an army in the month of Rajab of that year. In Sha'bān he marched towards Asīr and Burhānpūr, and having passed Ramaḍān on the bank of the Narbada, in the village of [1] Sīlī, he marched towards Nadarbār in Shawwāl. When he arrived at that place, he learnt that [2] Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, who was in possession of half the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr, had, in concert with Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, the ruler of Kāwīl, placed [3] Khānzāda 'Ālam Khān, who was a

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clear. Ādil Khān was probably the son of Qaiṣar Khān Fārūqī. Ḥasan Khān was the younger son of Malik Rāja of Khāndēsh, who died in 1399. He was deprived of his share of the patrimony by his elder brother Nāsir Khān in 1417; and took up his residence in Gujrāt, where his descendents intermarried with the royal family.

[1] It is written as سبلی in the MSS., and printed as سیلی in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It does not appear to be mentioned in any history.

[2] Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl is called Malik Ḥisām-ud-din in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and Hissam-ood-Deen of Kandeish by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 76). He is called Hisām-ud-din Mōghal by Bayley (p. 223) and Malik Husain the Mughul in the Cambridge History of India (p. 314).

[3] Firishtah says ملک حسام الدین مغل زادہ عالم خانرا . It is not clear whether the word Mughal is part of the name of Ḥisām-ud-dīn or whether, as is more likely Mughalzāda is a description of 'Ālam Khān. In any case this does not explain the exact connection of 'Ālam Khān to the family. According to a note by Bayley Khānzāda may signify that though he was not a prince; he might have belonged to a collateral branch of the family of Asīr. It appears also from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page, 223, that Hisām-ud-dīn had previously written to 'Ālām ('Ādil) Khān that if he would join him, he would raise him on the throne of his ancestors; but finding later that Sulṭān Mahmūd was also interested in him, retracted his promise; and with the help of Niẓām-ul-mulk Bahrī placed the other 'Ālam Khān on the throne.

The Cambridge History of India, page 313, says that Sultān Mahmūd induced 'Ādil Khān II, to nominate his youthful kinsman, as his heir, to the exclusion of his brother Dāūd; but is 1501 A.D., Mahmūd was not in a position to press his grandson's claim; and Dāūd succeeded 'Ādil Khān II without any opposition. Dāūd died in August, 1508 A.D. He was succeeded by his son

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descendant of the rulers of Asīr and Burhānpūr on the throne of that kingdom; and Malik Lādan Khaljī, who was in possession of (the other) half of the country of Asīr had taken up an attitude hostile to Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, and had taken up a fortified position on the hill of Asīr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on hearing of these happenings, advanced to [1] Thālnīr. Malik 'Ālam Shah, the *thānadār* of Thālnīr, came and waited upon him, through the intervention of 'Azīz-ul-mulk Sulṭānī, *thānadār* of Sulṭānpūr; and evacuating his *thāna*, [2] surrendered it to the Sulṭān.

On hearing this news, Nizām-ul-mulk Baḥrī left four thousand horsemen with 'Ālam Khān and Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn and himself went to Kāwīl. As Sulṭān Maḥmūd felt slightly indisposed in Thālnīr, he remained there for some time; and sent Aṣaf Khān, and Malik 'Azīz-ul-mulk, with a well-equipped army to punish Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn and 'Ālam Khān. When these officers advanced towards Burhānpūr, the troops left behind by Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī turned their faces to their own country, without (obtaining) the permission of Ḥisām-ud-dīn. Malik Lādan Khaljī came forward to welcome Aṣaf Khān, and had an interview with him. Aṣaf Khān took him with himself to wait upon the Sulṭān. Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn also, ashamed and repentant, came and joined the Sulṭān's camp; and both were honoured with kindness and favour. After the *'Īd-uḍ-ḍuḥa*, at an auspicious moment, the Sulṭān conferred the tile of A'ẓam Humāyūn on 'Ādil Khān, and bestowed on him four elephants and [3] thirty *lakhs* of *tankas* as a contribution towards his expenses; and entrusted to him the reins of the government and defence of Asīr and Burhānpūr. He conferred the title of Khān Jahān on Malik Lādan, and gave him permission to go back with A'ẓam Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān. As

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Ghaznī Khān, who was poisoned after a reign of ten days. Ahmad Nizām Shāh now invaded Khāndesh with the object of placing another scion of the Fārūqī house, also named 'Ālam Khān, who had taken refuge in his court.

[1] تهانیر in the text-edition.

[2] This incident does not appear to be mentioned anywhere else.

[3] It is سی لک thirty *lakhs* in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. Firishtah, however, on page 204 of the lith. ed. (vol. II) has سه three *lakhs*. Col. Briggs has not mentioned the various gifts. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 225, has thirteen *lakhs*. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the gifts.

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Malik Lādan had been born in the village of [1] Banās, that *mouḍah* was granted to him as a reward. The Sulṭān also conferred the title of Ghāzī Khān on [2] Malik Muḥammad Bākhā, son of 'Imād-ul-mulk Asīrī, and that of Quṭb Khān on Malik 'Ālam Shāh *thānadār* of Thālnīr, that of Muḥāfiẓ Khān on Malik Ḥāfiẓ, and that of Saif Khān on his brother Malik Yūsuf, and sent them back in attendance on A'ẓam Humāyūn. [3] He left Malik Naṣrat-ul-mulk and Mujāhid-ul-mulk Gujrātī in the service of A'ẓam Humāyūn, after giving them money to defray their expenses. On the 17th Dhī-ḥijjah, he marched from that station and proceeded towards Sulṭānpūr Nadarbār. At the first station (in the march), he conferred the title of Shahryār on Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, and having bestowed the *mouḍah* of [4] Dhanūra, which is one of the dependencies of Sulṭānpūr, and two elephants, gave him permission to go back. He himself then by successive marches arrived at Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr on the 16th of the sacred month of Muḥarram in the year 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.).

'Ādil Khān, after his arrival at Burhānpūr, (found that) [5] Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Shahryār, Malik Bākhā and Ghāzī Khān had, on account

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[1] The name is بناس in the MSS., and in the lith. ed., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 76) makes it the district of Ahwas. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 225, has "The village of Banās in the paragana Sultānpūr". In the text-edition نباس is apparently a typographical error.

[2] The name is as I have it in the text in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but Firishtah lith. ed. has و ملک نالها Malik Nālhā, son of 'Imad-ul-mulk Khāndēshī; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 225, has Muhammad Mākhā.

[3] The sentence from در خدمت اعظم همایون گزاشت to و ملک حسام الدین, is not to be found in one MS., but is in the other and in the lith. ed.

[4] The name is دهنورة in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is Dhanūrah also in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 225; but Col. Briggs has (vol. IV, p. 76) "the town of Dhoor".

[5] There are variations in the readings. The MSS. have the reading which I have adopted. The reading in the lith. ed. is different. The other histories do not give the details of the way in which Ḥisām-ud-dīn was murdered. Firishtah merely says سلطان اعظم همایون ملک حسام الدین شهریار را کشته اعوان او را قتل عام نمود. And the Cambridge History of India, page 314, says "one of his ('Adil Khān III's) first acts was to cause Malik Husain, who was again plotting with the king of Ahmadnagar, to be assassinated".

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of an ill-feeling which they had with Malik Lādan Khaljī Khān Jahān, left Burhānpūr; and had taken up their residence in Thālnīr. After some days, news was brought to A'ẓam Humāyān, that Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Shahryār had combined with Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, and wanted to raise the dust of disturbance. Having become cognisant of this treachery on his part, A'ẓam Humāyūn sent a message to summon him. Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn knowing the state of things came towards Burhānpūr with four thousand horsemen. When he arrived in the vicinity of the city, A'ẓam Humāyūn went forward to receive him with [1] three thousand Gujrātī horsemen, took him to his palace, and after conferring on him a robe of honour, gave him permission to go back to his camp. On the following day he arranged with the men in his confidence, that when Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn would come to the hall of audience, he should be taken by the hand to the private chamber; and when he would be bidding farewell, Daryā Shāh Gujrātī, who would be carrying the sword of A'ẓam Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān, should deal him a fatal wound. After he is murdered, his men should also be murdered at the various places (where they happen to be). According to this agreement, a man was sent to summon Ḥisām-ud-dīn. The latter, in his great pride and conceit, came with all his followers. After they had met, (A'ẓam Humāyūn) in the way of consulting him took him by the hand into the private chamber. They had a short conversation, after which A'ẓam Humāyūn handed him *pān* (betel), and bade him farewell. At this time Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn straightened himself up, and [2] Daryā Khān struck him on the head with the sword with such force, that it was cloven in two.

When Malik Burhān 'Aṭā'-ul-lah, who was the *vazīr* of A'ẓam Humāyūn, became aware of what had happened, he ordered a number of Gujrātīs, who were with him, to smite the wretches. When those men drew their swords from the scabbards, Malik Muḥammad Bākhā

[1] The number is سیصد thirty hundred or three thousand in both MSS.; it is سیصد هزار thirty hundred thousand, which is of course incorrect, in the lith. ed.; Firishtah has سه صد three hundred, which is more probable; and in the Persian text of Muntakhab-al-labāb, vol. III, page 443, has دو صد سه صد two hundred three hundred.

[2] The same man is called Daryā Shāh a few lines earlier.

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and the other *sardārs*, who had accompanied Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn turned their faces in flight. Four hundred Ḥabshīs, who were present at the *darbār*, cut them all down, and Malik Muḥammad Bākhā and the other leaders were thrown wallowing in the dust and blood. The half of the country, which was in his possession, came without further dispute into A'ẓam Humāyūn's possession. When the account of these events in great detail and clearness reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd in the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the afore-mentioned year, [1] he declared that whoever did not regard the rights of the salt, fell in the end into the place of destruction.

[2] In the year 916 A.H., 1510 A.D., a petition from A'ẓam Humāyūn reached (Sulṭān Maḥmūd), to the effect, that he had, on one occasion, gone to the fort of Asīr; and that he had found Shēr Khān and Saif Khān who were in charge of it, full of mischief and hostility; and now that Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn had been slain, these two wretches had combined together in their enmity and malice; and they had written a letter to Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, and had summoned Khānzāda 'Ālam Khān. This slave (*i.e.*, he himself) in concert with Malik Lādan Khān Jahān and Mujāhid-ul-mulk and other *amīrs* had advanced to the fort, and is besieging it. Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī has brought 'Ālam Khān with him, and has come with his army, and is stationed near the border. It is true, if he should enter this slave's territory, he would have to raise the siege, and would have to go and fight with him. The Sulṭān bestowed five *lakhs* of *tankas*

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[1] This is also mentioned by Firishtah.

[2] This also is mentioned by Firishtah; but he says that Niẓām-ul-mulk had come to his border bringing with him 'Ālam Khān, and with the Rāja of Kālna. It may be mentioned also that he says that the five *lakhs* of *tankas* were تنکهٔ سفید or silver *tankas*. Col. Briggs after mentioning Mahmood Shah's return to Sooltanpoor says (vol. IV, p. 76) "Notwithstanding these arrangements, internal commotions occurred at Aseer during the following year, which were amicably adjusted through the agency of Mahmood Shah, who sent his own son to carry into effect his orders, and to confirm the authority of Adil Khan". This is scarcely correct. The adjustment was anything but amicable, so far as Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn and Malik Muḥammad Bākhā, etc., who accompanied Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn, were concerned; and not even so far as Shēr Khān and Saif Khān and Khānzāda 'Ālam Khān were concerned. It does not also appear that any son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was sent to Khāndēsh to settle matters there.

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as a contribution to his expenses, and sent Dilāwar Khān, Ṣafdar Khān and other *amīrs* to help and reinforce him. He also wrote in reply, "let my (grand)son's mind remain assured, that whenever there should be any necessity, I shall myself go to his aid. How can Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, who is a slave of one of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan, have such power that he should cause any damage to the territory of my (grand)son". The *amīrs* mentioned above had not yet marched from outside the city, when [1] Shāhzāda Muẓaffar Khān, an account of whom will before long be narrated, came from the town of Barōda, and having obtained the honour of kissing his father's feet prayed for and obtained a further sum of seven *lakhs* of *tankas* towards A'ẓam Humāyūn's expenses.

After some days, an emissary of Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī came and waited on the Sulṭān and presented a petition (of his master) to the following effect. "As 'Ālam Khānzāda came as a suppliant to me; I hope that he (the Sulṭān) will be pleased to bestow a part of the

[1] It appears from the Cambridge History of India, page 314, that A'ẓam Humāyūn or 'Ādil Khān III cemented his alliance with Gujarāt by marrying a daughter of Sultān Muzaffar. I have not seen this mentioned anywhere else, except in the Muntakhab-al-lubāb, vol. III, page 445; but it is stated there that Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave a daughter of Sulṭān Muẓaffar in marriage to him at the same time that he conferred the title of A'ẓam Humāyūn on him, and confirmed him in the government of Khāndēsh. So that it was more the act of Sulṭān Maḥmūd than of A'ẓam Humāyūn. Besides it was scarcely necessary for A'ẓam Humāyūn to cement his alliance with Gujrāt by marriage. He was the grandson (daughter's son) of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and was being treated with great affection and kindness by the Sulṭān himself, and by his son Shāhzāda Muẓaffar, (who is somewhat loosely and incorrectly called Sulṭān Muẓaffar, while his father was still alive, both in the Cambridge History of India and in the Muntakhab-al-lubāb). It appears from Firishtah that the Shāhzāda prayed for the additional grant, not for his son-in-law, but for his nephew (*khwāharzāda*), so that the earlier relation had greater force and validity with Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Shāhzāda Muẓaffar than the later one. The Muntakhab-al-labāb, vol. III, page 444, has a somewhat different account. It says Sulṭān Maḥmūd, immediately on becoming acquainted with the purport of the letter, sent twelve *lakhs* of Maḥmūdīs, which amount to six lakhs of rupees current at that time, and various articles, such as vessels of gold and silver, etc. The twelve *lakhs* may include the five *lakhs* originally given, and the seven *lakhs* given at the request of Shāhzāda Muẓaffar. He also made an assignment of eight *lakhs* of *tankas* out of the revenues (*maḥsūl*) of *pargana* Sulṭānpūr.

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country of Asīr and Burhānpūr on him." The Sulṭān sent for the emissary, and told him, "Since [1] he (*i.e.*, Niẓām-ul-mulk) places his foot further than his blanket, he will soon receive his merited punishment". In short, when the *amīrs* mentioned above (Dilāwar Khān, etc.) arrived at the town of Nadarbār, Shēr Khān and Saif Khān, being now aware of the disastrous end of their affairs, carried their application to Malik Mujāhid-ul-mulk, and prayed for protection. A'ẓam Humāyūn, finding this to be an unhoped for boon, gave them promise and engagement. Shēr Khān and Saif Khān, relying on his promise, came out of the fort, and went away to the territory of Kāwīl. After the arrival of Dilāwar Khān and the other *amīrs*, [2] 'Ādil Khān determined on raiding the country of Kālna. After he had harried a few of the villages and hamlets, the Rāja of Kālna sent tribute, and prayed for forgiveness [3] of his offences. 'Ādil Khān then gave the Gujrāt *amīrs* leave to go back to their country, and returned to Burhānpūr.

It was in this year that Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī, the Bādshāh of Dehlī sent, as a matter of special friendship, some nice things as presents to the Sulṭān. Before this no Bādshāh of Dehlī had sent any presents to any Bādshāh of Gujrāt. It was also in Dhī-ḥijjah of the year 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.) that Sulṭān Maḥmūd travelled towards Nahrwāla, and made the learned and pious men and the *faqīrs*, living there, happy by granting largesses and favours to them. He told (them), that the object of his coming there was this, that he should [4] bid adieu to the sainted ones there; perhaps the angel of death would not give him further respite. The learned and great men all offered prayers for him, each in his particular way. He then

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[1] The word او is omitted from the MSS. According to Firishtah, the Sulṭān's words to the emissary were a good deal sterner and more emphatic.

[2] 'Ādil Khān, whom Niẓām-ud-dīn has been calling A'ẓam Humāyūn, is here again called by his proper name.

[3] A sentence, which occurs in the lith. ed. at this place, but is omitted from both MSS., is عالم خان از ان سر زمین برخاست; and means, and 'Ālam Khān left that country. I have omitted it from the text, but in the text-edition ازین سر زمین is retained between عادل خان and امرای گجرات.

[4] One MS. inserts کرد بجلی after رخصت which appears to be illegible and unintelligible.

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mounted and proceeded to circumambulate the tombs of the Shaikhs of Pattan, may the mercy of God be on them all! On the 4th day, he started on the journey to Aḥmadābād; and having circumambulated the holy tomb of [1] Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū, may his soul be sanctified! turned towards Muḥammadābād. As at this time he felt very ill and weak, he summoned Shāhzāda Muẓaffar Khān from the town of Barōda, and gave him pleasant advice. After four days, when he saw some signs of improvements in his health, he granted leave to the Shāhzāda to return to Barōda. But after a few days the illness increased and he became extremely infirm and weak.

At this time, one day, Farḥat-ul-mulk reported to him, that Shāh Ismā'īl, the Bādshāh of Irān, had sent Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh, with a body of other Qazlbāshes with elegant presents, in the way of an embassy. He said [2] "May the great God not show me the face of a Qazlbāsh, who is (a follower of) the enemies of the [3] companions of the Prophet of God, may the benediction of God and salutation be on him! and of the perpetrators of oppression; and as a matter of

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[1] This was at Sarkhēj. Firishtah also says that it was the tomb of Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū, that he visited here; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 77) makes it the tomb of "Sheikh Ahmud Geesoo-Duraz".

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 315, says that "Yādgār Beg Qizilbāsh was commissioned to invite Mahmūd to embrace the Shiah faith". This may be correct, but I have not seen it stated in any work of a Muhammadan historian. Elphinstone on page 765 of his History of India (edition 1889) says "the reign of Mozaffer opened with a splendid embassy from Shāh Ismaīl king of Persia". This is not strictly correct; the embassy had been sent to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but it only arrived after his death, and the accession of Sulṭān Muẓaffar. Elphinstone concludes the paragraph by saying that the embassy "was probably designed to conciliate their favour to the Shiā religion". If this is the foundation of the statement in the Cambridge History of India, it scarcely justifies the positive assertion that is made there. It also adds somewhat picturesquely that Mahmūd sent a message to "the heretics bidding them begone". This is also not mentioned anywhere as far as I have seen. On the other hand, it is said both in the Ṭabaqāt and by Firishtah that he expressed a pious wish, that God might not show him the face of a Qazlbāsh; and this actually happened for he died before Yādgār Bēg could reach Muḥammadābād. It would, in fact, appear that he could not be approaching Muḥammadābād, if the Sulṭān had bade him begone.

[3] Firishtah says more precisely اصحاب ثلثه or the three companions, namely Abū Bakr and 'Umr and 'Uthmān.

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fact it happened so. He then ordered that Shāhzāda Muẓaffar Khān should be quickly summoned; and Yādgār Beg Qazlbāsh had not yet arrived, when at the time of evening prayer, on Monday the 2nd of Ramaḍān in the year 971 A.H. (23rd November, 1511 A.D.) he bound up the goods of existence (*i.e.*, died).

He lived for [1] 69 years and 11 days; and he reigned for 55 years and one month and 2 days. He is described in *farmāns* (*manāshīr*) as Khudāigān Ḥalīm (the patient or calm Lord). He is also called Maḥmūd [2] Bēgarah; and Bēgarah means a cow whose horns turn upwards and then curl round. His moustaches were of this shape, and on this account he has been named [3] Bēgarah. He was a [4] Bādshāh, calm or patient, merciful, brave, liberal and God-fearing.

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[1] Firishtah makes it sixty-nine years and eleven months.

[2] The word is written as Bégra or Bé Gurra by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 77), Begurra by the translator of Rās Mālā, Begara by Elphinstone, Begara by Bayley, and Begarha in the Cambridge History of India; but it is سکرا in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and سکرہ in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and in the Persian ed. of the Muntakhab-al-labāb. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted بیکر in the text-edition. So that it was always written with a G in English and with a K in Persian. I do not know sufficient Gujrātī to say which is correct.

[3] Firishtah gives another etymology of the word, on the authority of Shāh Jamāl-ud-dīn Anjū, who says that as he captured two renowned forts, he was called بیگرہ; and Firishtah adds that this is nearer the correct etymology. Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 379, says *be* means two, and *gurh* means a fort. If this etymology be correct then the correct Persian spelling would be بیگرہ, and the correct English spelling would be Bēgarah. The meaning of the two curled cows' horns may, if I may venture a guess, be correct if the word is changed to بیگرہ, Bēgirah (*bē* meaning two and *girah* meaning a knot or curl).

[4] The Cambridge History of India, page 315, says that he had made himself immune from the effects of poisons by gradually absorbing poisons into his system; and quotes Hudibras, Part II, Canto I, where it is said that

> The prince of Cambay's daily food
> Is asp and basilisk and toad.

He goes on to say that "his voracious appetite demanded large supplies of more wholesome food. His daily allowance was between twenty and thirty pounds' weight, and before going to sleep he placed two pounds or more of boiled rice on either side of his couch, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke". I was at first inclined to think that the author of the

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AN ACCOUNT OF [1] SULṬĀN MUẒAFFAR SHĀH, SON OF MAḤMŪD SHĀH.

As on Monday, the 2nd of Ramaḍān in the year 917 A.H., Maḥmūd Shāh son of Muḥammad Shāh passed away from the narrowness of bodily existence to the wide spaces of the spiritual world, Shāhzāda Muẓaffar Khān arrived after two hours (*sā'at*) of the night of Tuesday the 3rd of Ramaḍān (had passed); and by the exertions of the *amīrs* and the men learned in divine knowledge, sat on the throne of sovereignty. The people performed the ceremony of the offering of service and of wave offerings. On the same night, he sent the body of his father to the tomb,—which is the resting place of light, of the chief of Shaikhs, Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū, may his soul be sanctified! He made over two *lakhs* of *tankas* to 'Azīz-ul-mulk so that he might distribute it, among deserving people in the town of [2] Sarkēj. He bestowed robes of honour on the *amīrs*, and the great men of the kingdom; and honoured some of them with suitable titles. On the same day, *khuṭba* was read in his name on the pulpits of Islām. Among his *khāṣa khail* (men of his own household), he conferred the title of

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Cambridge History of India had either made a mistake or had exaggerated what he had found in some Persian history; but I find that he has if anything greatly diminished the quantity of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's food. According to the author of "The coins of the Gujrat Saltanat" published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XXI, page 290, his daily allowance was one Gujrātī *man* in weight, *i.e.*, forty-one pounds. His little breakfast consisted of 150 plantains, a cup of honey and another of butter; but it is not stated whether this was included in the one Gujrātī *man*, or was in addition to it. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 162, also gives him a similar quantity.

I find that the fact of his having made himself immune from the effect of poisons is based on the account of two European travellers, Bartema, as Elphinstone calls him (or more correctly Di Verthema) and Barbosa, mentioned by Elphinstone on page 764 of his History of India, 7th edition. I should be inclined to doubt the statement about the quantity of food. It is curious that the European travellers say nothing about it, and the Indian historians are equally silent about his being able to absorb abnormal quantities of poisons. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Danes, the editor of the book of Barbosa for the Hakluyt Society, page 122, that probably out of the stories about the enormous quantities of food eaten by him, arose the stories about the abnormal things he ate.

[1] The lith. ed. has سلطنت before سلطان مظفر شاه; but both MSS. omit it.

[2] سر کیچ in the text-edition.

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'Imād-ul-mulk on Malik Khush-Qadam, and of Khudāwand Khān on Malik Rashīd-ul-mulk and placed the reins of the *vazārat* in the latter's powerful hands.

In the month of Shawwāl of the afore-mentioned year, Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh, the ambassador of Shāh Ismā'īl arrived from 'Irāq to the neighbourhood of Muḥammadābād. The Sulṭān sent all the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* to welcome him, and [1] met him on his arrival with pleasure and gratitude. Yādgār Bēg placed the beautiful presents which he had brought for Maḥmūd Shāh, at the service of Muẓaffar Shāh. The latter conferred kingly robes on Yādgār Bēg and all the Qazlbāshes and selected a special mansion for their residence.

After some days he went from Muḥammadābād to the town of Barōda, and he gave the name of Daulatābād to that town. At this time news came that [2] Ṣāhib Khān son of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khaljī, who had revolted with the help of Khwājah Jahān the eunuch of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and had seized Mandū and assumed the title of [3] Sulṭān Muḥammad, and had made most of the nobles take his side, as the pen has attempted to narrate these events in the section about Mālwa, now fled from Mandū, and came praying for help. Sulṭān Muẓaffar sent Muḥāfiẓ Khān to receive and welcome Ṣāhib Khān, so that he

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have تلقی but the other MS. has تلاقی. It appears that the embassy from the Shāh of Persia in respect of which Sulṭān Maḥmūd had expressed a pious wish that he might not have to show his face to them, and whom in the forcible language of the Cambridge History of India he ordered to be begone was received with much favour by Sulṭān Muẓaffar. Firishtah goes a little further than Niẓām-ud-dīn. He says و در شرایط تعظیم و تکریم دقیقه فروگذاشت نشد, *i.e.*, in the observation of respect and honour no *minutia* was omitted.

[2] There is some slight difference in the readings here; both MSS. read خواجه سرای سلطان محمود but the lith. ed. has خواجه سرا بر سلطان محمود. I have adopted the former reading. The sentence requires some explanation. Ṣāhib Khān was the elder brother of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, but the latter deposed him and became the Sulṭān, and took the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd (II). Afterwards Ṣāhib Khān rebelled against him; and having seized Mandū assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad, but on being defeated afterwards, came to Sulṭān Muẓaffar for help.

[3] The correct title Sulṭān Muḥammad is given in one MS. but the other MS. and the lith. ed. have Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

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might carry out the rites of hospitality and try to please his heart. After an interview (Sulṭān Muẓaffar) remained for some days at Barōda in order to entertain Ṣāhib Khān; and then went away to Muḥammadābād. He sent Qaiṣar Khān to the town of Dahūd, that he might report a correct and detailed account of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, and of the condition of the country of Mālwa and of the behaviour of the *amīrs*. As the rains (now) commenced, the people halted at the various places where they happened to be. Ṣāhib Khān sent a message one day to the effect that a long time [1] had elapsed since the coming of the *faqīr*, but he does not see that there has been any progress in his affairs. The Sulṭān replied, "If the great God so wills, I shall at the end of the rains, either amicably or by force recover half the kingdom of Mālwa from the possession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and shall make it over to you". But as the star of the fortune of Ṣāhib Khān was on the decline, it so happened, that he became friendly with Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh, who had become known to the people of Gujrāt by the name of *Surkh kulāh*, *i.e.*, red cap, owing to their living near each other. [2] One day there was a quarrel between the servants (of the

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[1] One MS. has بندهٔ instead of فقیر in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. Contrary to what is stated in the text and in Firishtah about Ṣāhib Khān's complaint about Qaiṣar Khān having done nothing to carry out the work which he had been deputed to perform, the Cambridge History of India, page 316, says, that Qaisar Khān returned with a report favourable to Sāhib Khān's claim. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 245, gives a somewhat different account of the work which Kaisar Khān was to do, but it says nothing about his return, or his submitting any report.

[2] This incident is variously stated in the different histories. Firishtah's account is similar to that in the text; but he adds that the Qazlbāshes wounded some of Ṣāhib Khān's men. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 80, 81) says that the Kuzilbashes wounded several persons wholly unconnected with the affair. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, pages 245, 246, begins with the altercation between the servants, but goes on to say that there was some trouble between Sāhib Khān, who is called Shāhzāda Muhamad, and the Persian envoy, who is called quite incorrectly Mīrza Ibrāhīm. Sāhib Khān went in the evening to some old servant of his who lived in the same *serai* as the Persian envoy. Some strife monger told the latter that Sāhib Khān wanted to rob him; and he shut the door of the *serai*, and afterwards took Sāhib Khān to his own appartment. In the morning Sāhib Khān escaped, and spread a report, that an order had been issued to plunder the Kazilbāshes. A great crowd collected and a fight took place. Many

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two households); and it ended in a fight, and the house of Yādgār Bēg was looted. A report spread among the Gujrāt soldiers, that the Turkmāns had seized Ṣāhib Khān. The latter being ashamed at such a report, left without taking leave of Sulṭān Muẓaffar. The details of this brief statement have been mentioned in the section about Mālwa.

As, after the departure of Ṣāhib Khān, news came to Sulṭān Muẓaffar about the power and violence of the [1] Rājpūts and of the weakness of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, his high spirit induced him to undertake the punishment of the former. In order to carry out this resolution, he went to Aḥmadābād, so that he might be sure of the safety of the *thānas* of his own dominions; and he might advance into Mālwa,

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of the Kazilbāshes were slain and the house was set on fire and plundered. Afterwards Sultān Muzaffar paid six *lakhs* of *tankahs* to the envoy; and sent him back to 'Irāq with many presents. The Sultān was annoyed with Sāhib Khān; and he, having received invitations from some *amīrs* of repute in Mālwa, went away without taking leave of the Sultān. The Cambridge History of India, page 317, has an entirely different story. It says that before Sultān Muzaffar could redeem his promise to help him, Sāhib Khān left Gujarāt, owing to "the gross misconduct of the Persian ambassador, who invited him to dinner and assaulted him. The prince's servants attacked the ambassador's suite, and plundered his lodging, but the affair was noised about, and Sāhib Khān was so overcome with shame, that he fled from Gujarāt". I do not know what the authority for this version is, but the fact that the Persian ambassador was paid a large sum by Sulṭān Muẓaffar as compensation, and was sent off with presents and all marks of honour; and Ṣāhib Khān was overcome with shame and fled from Gujrāt show that the statement about the gross misconduct of the Persian ambassador is very improbable.

[1] They are called "Poorby Rajpoots" by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 81). According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 247, they were an army of Hindūs, collected at the instance of Sultān Mahmūd himself, who gave their leader the title of Mēdinī Rāo. According to a note by Bayley in the same page, he "must have been a man of very remarkable, and in many respects, of a very noble and generous character". According to Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 381, "Mednee Rāee, the Hindoo minister of that prince, had, it was represented, acquired such authority, that nothing but the name of king was left to the sultan, and infidelity was, therefore, rapidly regaining its dominion". The Cambridge History of India, page 317, does not mention Mēdinī Rāy, but says that "Nāsir-ud-dīn of Mālwa had employed in his army a large number of Rājputs from eastern Hindustan, who had become so powerful in the kingdom, that Mahmūd II, was a puppet in their hands".

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after asking for the help of the great ones there, both dead and living. He remained in Aḥmadābād for a week; and then proceeded to Kōdhrah (Gōdhrah). He halted there for some days to collect his troops. In the course of these days news was brought to him, that Malik 'Ain-ul-mulk, the governor of Pattan, was coming with his retainers to wait on him, *i.e.*, the Sulṭān; but on the way, he received information that the [1] Rāja of Īdar, taking advantage of such an opportunity, had raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion in that locality; and had raided the country as far as the borders of the Sābarmatī. Malik 'Ain-ul-mulk, therefore, on account of his loyalty and devotion wanted that he should come, and attend on the Sulṭān after punishing him. He had therefore gone, and attacked the town of Mahrāsa. But in the meantime, the Rāja of Īdar, having collected a large force, came forward to meet him; and a great battle took place between the two armies. As Malik 'Abd-ul-mulk with two hundred men attained to martyrdom, and an elephant which he had with him was cut to pieces, 'Ain-ul-mulk being unable to stand firm fled.

On hearing this news Sulṭān Muẓaffar advanced towards Īdar; and when he arrived at the town of Mahrāsa, he sent an army to plunder and devastate the country. The Rāja evacuated the fort, and concealed himself in the hills [2] of Bījānagar. When the Sulṭān arrived at Īdar, there were only ten Rājpūts, who stood there deliberately, with the intention of immolating themselves and were [3] barbarously and cruelly slain. They left no vestige of any building

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[1] His name according to Firishtah was Bhīm Rāy. He also describes 'Abu-ul-mulk as a *sardār*, and Col. Briggs calls him an officer of distinction. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 249, Abd-ul-Mulk was the brother of 'Ain-ul-Mulk. Bayley says, in a note on page 249, that according to the Tabakāt, 'Ain-ul-Mulk lost forty men. This is not correct according to the MSS. or the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt or the lith. ed. of Firishtah or Col. Briggs, according to all of whom 200 men were slain. The Cambridge History of India, page 317, agrees with the text.

[2] So called in both MSS. and in lith. ed. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 81) has "Beesulnuggur". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India and Rās Mālā all say went to the hills or hill country.

[3] The words are بمذلت و خواری کشته شدند. I am not quite sure that my translation is quite correct. It sounds rather offensive.

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or temple or garden or trees. The Rāja came forward with great humility; and sending [1] Malik Kōbī Zunnārdār (Brahman), to wait on the Sulṭān; and prayed for pardon. He sent a message to the effect that Malik 'Ain-ul-mulk, owing to the great enmity which he had against this slave, had come and plundered his country; and owing to his distress this helpless one had committed certain acts. If he has committed any offence, he was deserving of the anger and wrath of the Sulṭān. He was sending [2] twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* and a hundred horses by the hand of the *vakīls*. As the conquest of Mālwa was in the forefront of the Sulṭān's spirit, he accepted the Rāja's excuses, and returned to Kōdhrah. He bestowed the twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* and the hundred horses on 'Ain-ul-mulk, so that he might equip his men.

He sent Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān from Kōdhrah to act as the governor of Muḥammadābād. When he arrived in the town of Dahūd he ordered Qaiṣar Khān, that he should take possession of the country as far as the village of [3] Dēvla, which was in the possession of Sulṭān

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[1] The name is Kōpā in both MSS. and Malik Kōpī in the lith. ed. It is Malik Gōpāl in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and Mudun Gopal in Col. Briggs's (vol. IV, p. 82). The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 249, has Malik Kobī a Brahman and a minister of the Sultān in the text, and this is corroborated by Bayley who says in a note, that he was really a minister of Muzaffar Khān and "he will be found often mentioned in the sequel". He is not mentioned at all in the Cambridge History of India. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has ملک کوپا in the text-edition.

[2] It is twenty *lakhs* and eight *lakhs* of *tankas* respectively in the two MSS., and eight lakhs of rupees in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* which is equivalent to two thousand *tūmāns*. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not give the amount; but Bayley says in a note that the Tārīkh-i-Alfī says that it was twenty *lakhs* of *tankahs* (equivalent to two thousand *tumāns*). Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 82) has "two hundred thousand tunkas"; and the Cambridge History of India (p. 317) has eight hundred thousand rupees.

[3] The place is دیولہ in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt it is دلوالہ Dilwāla. Col. Briggs has "the town of Dydla". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 250, has "the pass of Dēōlah which is very difficult". The Cambridge History of India, page 317, has Deolī near the Māhī and in a note in 22° 57′ North and 74° 58′ East. The Cambridge History of India goes on to say that the Sultān had now changed his intention of aiding Mahmūd by crushing the Rājputs, and had formed

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Maḥmūd Khaljī's men. After that he advanced towards Dhārāgarh. On the way the [1] son of Harkhūkhā, who was a resident of Dhār, came and waited on the Sulṭān; and begged for quarter for the people of the city. The Sulṭān gave him assurances of safety; and sent Qawām-ul-mulk (son of Qawām-ul-mulk) and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, son of 'Imād-ul-mulk, in advance of himself, to reassure and encourage the citizens of Dhār. At this time intelligence came that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī [2] had been left alone; and the *amīrs* of Chandērī had risen against him; and he had gone towards that place. Sulṭān Muẓaffar summoned back his *amīrs*, and told them, "My object in undertaking this expedition was really that I should drive away the *Pūrabīa Kāfirs*; and divide the kingdom equally between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Ṣāhib Khān, the sons of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. Now that Sulṭān Maḥmūd has gone to put down the *amīrs* of Chandērī, and has taken away the tyrannical Rājpūts with him, it would be removed from the rules of humanity, and the customs of brave men, to enter his country".

Qawām-ul-mulk, who had now joined the Sulṭān, reported to the latter something of the [3] beauties of the deer-park of Dhār; and made him desirous and anxious to see the place, and to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Sulṭān Muẓaffar left Qawām-ul-mulk, to guard the

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the design of conquering and annexing Mālwa. I have nowhere found any evidence of such a change of mind. All his acts culminating in the restoration of Mandū to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, after it had been recovered from the Rājpūts in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), show that there was no such change. It is true that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had great fear about Sulṭān Muẓaffar's intentions, but Mandū was restored to him; and Sulṭān Muẓaffar returned to Gujrāt.

[1] Firishtah says چون مردم دهار باستقبال امدهٔ امان خواستند, and does not name anyone as the spokesman of the people of Dhār. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 250, says the son of the head man of Dhār came.

[2] The words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are بخود در ماندند the meaning of which is not clear. There are no similar words in Firishtah, who says that Sultān Maḥmūd Khaljī had gone to crush the *amīrs* of Chandērī, who had risen against him. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 250, also says that Sultān Maḥmūd Khiljī and Mēdinī Rāō had gone towards Chāndērī.

[3] The Mirātī-i-Ṣikandarī, Bayley, page 251, says "gave such a glowing description of the buildings of the deer-park, which had been formed there under the orders of Sultān Ghīās-ud-dīn", etc.

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camp; and with [1] two thousand horsemen and one hundred and fifty elephants proceeded to Dhār. When he arrived there, he mounted the same afternoon, to go on a pilgrimage to the tombs of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Jangāl and Shaikh Kamāl-ud-dīn Mālwī. It is said that in the time of Rāja Bhōj Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah had the name of *Pandey Brij*, and was his *vazīr*; and because of inclination having accepted Islām, attained to spiritual greatness by pious exertions and exercises. In short the Sulṭān, [2] having in the neighbourhood of Dhār given leave to Niẓām-ul-mulk so that he might hunt in the neighbourhood of Dilāwara. Niẓām-ul-mulk passed through Dilāwara, and went to Na'lcha; and when he was returning, a [3] body of *Pūrabīa* Rājpūts came on and obstructed him, and they obtained their deserts; as is mentioned in the section about Mālwa. Sulṭān Muẓaffar on being apprised of this occurrence, was very angry with, and reproved Niẓām-ul-mulk, for it was his only object, that this year he should simply see the country and return; and acts like these which had been committed by Niẓām-ul-mulk [4] caused him much thought. The Sulṭān then turned back, and marched towards Gujrāt, and took up his quarters at Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr.

In the month of Shawwāl in the year 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.), as after the death of [5] Rāy Bhīm, Rāja of Īdar, Rānā Sānkā had come to

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[1] It is two thousand in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 82); but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 251, has "twelve thousand light horse".

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, the Sultān did not give Nizām-ul-Mulk permission to return, but he told him and some others to go and see the deer park. They did not return; and the Sultān was informed later on, that Nizām-ul-Mulk had probably gone to Na'lcha to see his brother, (who apparently was a Hindū and named Rāī Singh) who dwelt there. It appears from the Cambridge History of India, page 318, that Nizām-ul-Mulk was a son of Raja Patāī (or Rāy Batāī of Chāmpānīr).

[3] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 252, they "came from Mandū and pursued him. Nizām-ul-Mulk faced about, and fought. Forty of the infidels were killed, and the rest fled back to Mandū".

[4] The actual words are باعث مشغولی خاطر میگشت .

[5] It appears that Rāy Bhīm was the younger son of Rāy Bhām, and he had dispossessed his elder brother. Rāy Mal was the son of the latter, and having now grown to man's estate claimed the throne. The Cambridge History of India, page 318, calls Rāi Mal the brother-in-law of Rānā Sānkā. The

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the aid of Rāy Mal, son of Sūraj Mal, who was his son-in-law, and had invaded the country and having taken it and the fort of Īdar, from the possession of Bihār Mal, son of Rāy Bhīm, had made it over to Rāy Mal, Sulṭān Muẓaffar appointed Niẓām-ul-mulk, that he should recover the country from Rāy Mal and make it over to Bihār Mal. He himself proceeded towards Aḥmadnagar. On the way, when Bihār Mal joined Niẓām-ul-mulk, the latter brought him to have the honour of waiting upon the Sulṭān. From that station, the Sulṭān left Khudāwand Khān and Niẓām-ul-mulk to guard the camp; and went to Pattan. He conferred favours on the residents of the city in general and on the wise and learned men in special; and coming back joined the camp. He then sent Bihār Mal with Niẓām-ul-mulk and granted leave to the latter to go and recover possession of Īdar from Rāy Mal and make it over to Bihār Mal. After Niẓām-ul-mulk had made over possession of Īdar to Bihār Mal, Rāy Mal retired for protection to the hills of [1] Bījānagar. Niẓām-ul-mulk pursued him, and fought with him; and many people were slain on both sides. When this news reached Sulṭān Muẓaffar he sent an order (to the effect) that, as the country of Īdar had been recovered, the act of going to Bījānagar, and fighting a battle there was the cause of a number of soldiers being slain without any necessity; and it was right that he (Niẓām-ul-mulk) should return that very day.

After the return of Niẓām-ul-mulk the Sulṭān came from Aḥmadnagar to Aḥmadābād. He arranged a great entertainment, and cele-

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Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah call him Rānā Sānkā's *dāmād* or son-in-law; and Rās Mālā, vol. I, page 382, says expressly that he had married the daughter of "Sung Rānā of Cheetor". The Cambridge History of India also says that Rānā Sānkā "welcomed the opportunity of asserting his ill-founded claim to supremacy over all Rājput princes", but surely he could support his own brother-in-law, without any such ulterior motive. In fact Sulṭān Muẓaffar had about as much or as little right to interfere as Rānā Sānkā.

[1] It is Bījānagar in the MSS., and in the lith. ed.; and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but Col. Briggs has the Beesulnuggur territory; and the Cambridge History of India, page 318, has the Bichabhera hills. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not mention the incidents, but Bayley quotes from the Tārīkh-i-Alfī and the Tabakāt; but the hills are not mentioned in the quotations. Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 382) says "the hills". It mentions Veesulnugger later in connection with the Sultān's order to Malik Noosrut-ool-Moolk to plunder and lay waste the country, which is described as the "receptacle of renegadoes and the asylum of rebels" (p. 383).

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brated the marriages of [1] Shāhzādas Sikandar Khān, Bahādur Khān and Laṭīf Khān. He bestowed favours on the *amīrs* and the well-known men of the city, giving them horses and robes of honour. After the rains he advanced towards Īdar to see the country, and to hunt there. As Niẓām-ul-mulk was ill, he left physicians to attend to him; and in the early part of 923 A.H., he went to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr. From that place he sent Malik Naṣrat-ul-mulk to Īdar, and summoned Niẓām-ul-mulk to his presence. Before the arrival of Naṣrat-ul-mulk, Niẓām-ul-mulk left Ẓahīr-ul-mulk at Īdar with a hundred horsemen; and on wings of speed and [2] steps of eagerness came to Muḥammadābād. Naṣrat-ul-mulk was still in the neighbourhood, when Rāy Mal, seizing the opportunity, advanced on Īdar. [3] Ẓahīr-ul-mulk, in spite of the small number of his friends and the vast number of his enemies, advanced to meet him, and was slain with twenty-seven of his men. When this news reached Sulṭān Muẓaffar he sent a *farmān* to Malik Naṣrat-ul-mulk, to invade and devastate as far as [4] Bījānagar, which had become an asylum of the disturbers of the peace, and the shelter of rebels.

About this time His Holiness [5] Shaikh Jāīldah, who was the first man of his time (in learning, etc.), and [6] Ḥabīb Khān the

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[1] Firishtah lith. ed. says the Sulṭān celebrated the marriage of Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān, but does not mention the other two; and the marriages do not appear to be mentioned anywhere else.

[2] The words اقدام شوق are left out in one MS., but are to be found in the other and in the lith. ed.

[3] The other histories agree; but Col. Briggs has a totally incorrect account. He says (vol. IV, p. 83) "Zeheer-ool-Moolk marched against him, but was killed at the head of the cavalry; on which occasion two hundred and seven men fell, and the Guzeratties were defeated".

[4] See note 1, page 300. The Cambridge History of India (p. 319), which had a few lines before called the Bījānagar or Visālnagar hills, the Bichabhera hills now gives them an entirely different name, *viz.*, the Vajinagar hills.

[5] The name is written in one MS. as جاهلده, and in the lith. ed. as جالندها. Firishtah lith. ed. has شیخ حامد, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 84) has "Sheikh Humeed of Bhilsa". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 253, has Shekh Jābulandah. Neither Rās Mālā nor the Cambridge History of India mentions him. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has used جابلده.

[6] There is no doubt about his name; but the name of his fief is اشته نگر in the MSS., and داشته است نگر in the lith. ed. Firishtah calls him حبیب خان

feudatory of Ashtanagar fled from Mandū on account of the violence of the Pūrabīa Rājpūts and waited on the Sulṭān, and [1] complained of the great power which they had acquired. [2] A few days later, a representation came from the *dārōgha* of Dahūd that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had become alarmed at the great power of the Pūrabīa Rājpūts, and had come praying for help. As he had arrived at the village of Bhakōr, which was situated on the boundary of Gujrāt, this slave (*i.e.*, he himself) had waited on him, and as far as lay in his power, had left nothing undone in rendering service to him. Sulṭān Muẓaffar was pleased on hearing of these incidents; and he sent tents and a red pavilion with necessary equipages and many beautiful gifts and presents and all that is specially reserved for *bādshāhs* by the hand of Qaiṣar Khān; and he himself advanced to welcome Sulṭān Maḥmud. They met in the village of [3] Dēvla. Sulṭān Muẓaffar did everything to please his guest, and exhorted him not to be much distressed owing to the separation from his children and his kingdom, as before long

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مقطع but does not give the name of his fief. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 84) calls him "Hubeeb Khan the Kazy of Choly Meheswur; and explains the last words by saying in a note "properly Maha-Iswur". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not give any designation of Habīb Khān; but Bayley in a note on page 253 says that the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari calls him governor of Ashta or Ashtanagar. داشته‌نگر in the text-edition.

[1] The purport of the complaints is given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 253.

[2] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, pages 254, 255, describes at some length the way in which Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī escaped with his favourite wife Rānī Kanākrā (Bayley says in a note Kanākrā means golden) on two horses provided by Kishnā, a Rājpūt *zamīndār*, who was also one of his guards. The village to which Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī came is called Bhakōrah in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

[3] What follows is copied almost word for word by Firishtah, but the name of the village where the two sovereigns met is دیوالہ in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. The account given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 255, is similar, but it appears from it that the name of the *dārōgha* or governor, as he is called by Bayley, was Kaisar Khān. The presents mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī are also different. They consisted of horses and elephants and male and female attendants. The account in the Cambridge History of India, page 319, is similar, but Qaisar Khān is described as a Gujarāt noble, and the presents are somewhat different, and the village to which Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī came is called Bhāgor.

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with divine help he would be able to destroy the Pūrabīas, and purify the kingdom of all disturbances and rebellions, and restore it to his servants (euphemism for himself). He halted at the place, and gave orders for the mustering of his troops, and in a short time an immense army advanced into Mālwa.

When Mēdinī Rāy received information of the advance of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, he left [1] Rāy Pithōrā with a body of Rājpūts in the fort of Mandū; and himself with two thousand Rājpūt horsemen and the elephants belonging to Sulṭān Maḥmūd proceeded to Dhār. From that place he went to Rānā Sānkā to bring him to his aid. Sulṭān Muẓaffar advanced to Mandū with the object of laying siege to it. When the army arrived near Mandū, the Rājpūts sallied out, and fought with great bravery; but in the end, they fled and took shelter in the fort. The next day also the Rājpūts came out and fought a great battle. Qawām-ul-mulk exerted himself in a notable way and slew many Rājpūts. That day Sulṭān Muẓaffar divided the different sides of the fort, and entrusted them to the *amīrs*, and made the siege closer. At this time Mēdinī Rāy sent a letter to Rāy Pithōrā, and informed him, "I have come to Rānā Sānkā, and I am bringing him with all the Rājpūts of Mārwār and the neighbouring country. You should keep Sulṭān Muẓaffar inactive for the period of one month by tales and excuses". Rāy Pithōrā with great deceit and trickery sent [2] emissaries with the following message, "As the fort of Mandū has for a long time been in the possession of the Rājpūts, and they have got their families and dependants in it, they would be able to remove them and vacate the fort in the course of a month, and would then make it over to him; and they would also hasten to his service and become his loyal adherents, if he would go back, and take up a station

[1] The name is spelt in different ways in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but the correct spelling appears to be what I have adopted in the text. Pithōrā, as the reader will remember, was the name given by the Musalmān historians to the celebrated Prithī Rāj of Dehlī. The Rāy Pithōrā in the present case appears to have been a son of Mēdinī Rāy. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 256, Mēdinī Rāo sent Shādī Khān, Pithōrā and three other Hindūs to hold the fort of Mandū, but according to most historians the command was confided to Rāy Pithōrā. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 84) calls him Bhew Ray.

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, the emissaries went to Khudāwand Khān the *vazīr*, and he took them to the Sultān.

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one stage behind his present position". Although Sulṭān Muẓaffar knew that these people were merely temporizing and were waiting for reinforcements, still as the sons and other relations of Sulṭān Maḥmūd were in the fort, he had no other alternative, except to agree to their prayer; and he went and took up a position three *karōhs* further back.

At this station, [1] 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Āsīr and Burhānpūr, arrived with a fresh army and joined the Sulṭān. At this time news came to the latter, that Mēdinī Rāy had given [2] some elephants and much gold to Rānā Sānkā, and had brought him to aid and reinforce his men; and they had arrived in the neighbourhood of Ujjain. The noble spirit of Sulṭān Muẓaffar was now aroused, and he sent 'Ādil Khān Fārūqī, the ruler of Āsīr and Burhānpūr and Qawām-ul-mulk Sulṭānī to attack Rānā Sānkā; and himself began anew the siege of the fort of Mandū. He devoted all his energy to it, so that the fort might be taken before the battle with Rānā Sānkā took place; and [3] he stationed the *amīrs* and the leaders of the different bodies, at the various stations round the fort. On the morning following the night of the 14th Ṣafar, 924 A.H., (the Musalmāns) came in crowds from all sides of the fort, and attacked it; and placing ladders (against the wall) entered the fort. The Rājpūts performed *jauhar* and set fire to their houses, and killed their families and children, and burnt some of them, and then commenced fighting, and fought as long as they had any life left in them. Sulṭān Muẓaffar entered the fort and ordered a general massacre. It has been stated correctly that on that day

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[1] He was Sulṭān Muẓaffar's nephew and son-in-law.

[2] These were some of the elephants belonging to Sultān Mahmūd which Mēdinī Rāy took with him.

[3] The operations are differently described by Firishtah, who says that for four days continuous attacks were made, so that the garrison had no sleep or rest. On the 5th night there was a cessation of assaults, and the garrison became careless. Then when midnight came, the soldiers went with ladders; and as they found the men in the citadel asleep, they mounted to the top of the ramparts, and slew the guards at the gate. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 85) says that false attacks were made on the first four nights; and the garrison being worn out with fatigue, on the fifth night ladders were applied and Mando fell. The Cambridge History of India, page 319, says, "On February 23rd, 1518, the day of the Hindu festival of the Holī, Māndū was carried by escalade".

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19,000 Rājpūts were slain. The particulars of this brief statement have been mentioned in the section about Mālwa.

In short, when he had finished the massacre of the Pūrabīa Rājpūts, Sulṭān Maḥmūd waited on him, and offered congratulations and felicitations, and inquired in great anxiety, "What does Your Majesty say to this slave?" Sulṭān Muẓaffar said, "May the great God make you happy with the fort of Mandū and the kingdom of Mālwa." He then turned back, and went to his camp. The next day he advanced towards [1] Rānā Sānkā. One of the notable men among the Rājpūts, who had been wounded, and who had fled from the fort, had gone to the Rānā; and had described to him the great power of, and the ferocity of the massacre by Sulṭān Muẓaffar in such a way, that the Rānā [2] was thoroughly frightened, and he fled incontinently towards Chitōr; and [3] that Rājpūt died in the same *majlis* (assembly). As Sulṭān Maḥmūd came from Mandū to Dhār, and prayed that [4] "The Sulṭān is in the place of my father and uncle, I hope that he would add fresh kindness to his former favours; and would make the hovel of this insignificant one bright with the grandeur of his pleasant advent". Sulṭān Muẓaffar accepted his prayer and went to Mandū, taking Shāhzādas Sikandar Khān and Latīf Khān and ʿĀdil Khān, the ruler of Āsīr and Burhānpūr with him. They stayed that night at Na'lcha, and in the morning, mounted on elephants, entered the fort, and dismounted at Sulṭān Maḥmūd's palace. Sulṭān Maḥmūd endeavoured, to the best of his power, to perform the rites of hospitality, and himself standing before Sulṭān Muẓaffar

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[1] One MS. has جنکی before Rānā Sānkā, but neither the other MS. nor the lith. ed. has it. متوجهٔ جنگ رانا سانکا in the text-edition.

[2] The actual words are زهرهٔ رانا بگداخت, lit. the Rānā's liver melted. Firishtah's account does not differ materially from the text, but he says that the Rānā fled towards Jaipūr, and ʿĀdil Khan pursued him, plundering and slaying those who fell behind.

[3] It would appear that he was so excited that his wounds burst open, and he bled to death.

[4] One MS. has a reading different from that in the other MS., and in the lith. ed., and the one which I have adopted. That reading is که بجای پدر و عم فقیر می شوید, which would mean: Be thou in the place of the father and the uncle of this *faqīr*.

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waited on him. After they had finished eating, he placed presents of all kinds before Sulṭān Muẓaffar and the Shāhzādas; and again made his excuses. Sulṭān Muẓaffar then saw all the palaces and other buildings of the former Sulṭāns of Mālwa; and afterwards went back to Dhār. There he bade adieu to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and leaving Āṣaf Khān Gujrātī with ten thousand horsemen to reinforce him, started for Gujrāt. Sulṭān Maḥmūd owing to his great affection accompanied him as far as *mauḍa* Dēvla, although Sulṭān Muẓaffar had already said farewell to him; and there, after again taking leave of him, returned to Mandū.

On his arrival in Gujrāt, Sulṭān Muẓaffar remained for some days in Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr; and the great and noble men of the country of Gujrāt hastened to wait on him, with their felicitations and congratulations; and were made happy with his largesses and favours. At this time, one day one of his courtiers reported to him, that at the time, when the shadow of his conquest had been spread over the kindgom of Mālwa, Rāy Mal, Rāja of Īdar had come out of the hills of Bījānagar, and had raided a part of the country of Pattan and the town of [1] Gilwāra; but as Naṣrat-ul-mulk left Īdar, and advanced to give him battle, he fled and concealed himself in the caves of Bījānagar. The Sulṭān declared, "God willing, I will, after the rains, determine what to do in this matter". After the rains in the year 925 A.H., 1519 A.D., he advanced towards Īdar to chastise and punish Rāy Mal, and other disturbers of peace. As [2] Rāja Māl was the protector and the asylum of Rāy Mal, the Sulṭān thought that the chastisement of the former should be undertaken first; and he levelled his territory to the dust; and after halting at Īdar for a few days, he came back to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr and stayed there.

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[1] The name of the town is كهرلو and كهرالوار in the MSS., and كهرالو in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has قصبات انحدود without giving any names. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 87) has the town of Gilwara. I cannot find any mention of it in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India, but Rās Mālā (vol. I, p. 383) agrees with Col. Briggs and calls it Gilwārā. كهراله in the text-edition.

[2] The name is راجه مال Rāja Māl in both MSS., but it is راجه مالديو Rāja Māl Dēv in the lith. ed. Firishtah calls him راجه مل Rāja Mal. I cannot find him or his territory mentioned anywhere else.

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After a few days, news came that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had, in concert with Āṣaf Khān marched against [1] Bhīm Karan Pūrabīa, with the object of seizing [2] Kākrūn, when Mēdinī Rāy brought Rānā Sānkā to aid him, and a great battle took place. Most of the *amīrs* of Mālwa were slain; and Āṣaf Khān's son and a number of other warriors were also killed. Sulṭān Maḥmūd received many wounds, and was taken prisoner. Rānā Sānkā, however, treated him with kindness; and sent him with a body of troops to Mandū. Sulṭān Muẓaffar hearing this news became depressed and sad; and sent some other *sardārs* to Sulṭān Maḥmūd's aid, and wrote an affectionate letter inquiring about him. About this time, Sulṭān Muẓaffar went to Īdar to see the country and to enjoy the pleasures of the chase; and commenced erecting some buildings there. On his return, he brought Naṣrat-ul-mulk to Aḥmadābād with him; and entrusted the government of Īdar to Malik Mubāriz-ul-mulk.

It so happened, that one day a bard or wandering minstrel waited on Mubāriz-ul-mulk, and said something about the bravery of Rānā Sānkā. Mubāriz-ul-mulk, on account of his great arrogance and pride, spoke to him in improper language; and giving [3] a dog the name of Rānā Sānkā, kept him tied up at the gate of Īdar. The bard went back, and told this story to Rānā Sānkā. The Rānā owing to his pride and [4] boorishness turned towards Īdar, and advanced and

[1] There is no mention of Bhīm Karan or Kākrūn in any other history, except the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, page 263) where it is said that Sultān Mahmūd marched to *sarkār* Gāgrūn, where he attacked Bhīm Karan; and it is said in a note "that Bhim Karan is said to have been a deputy of Mēdinī Rāō, and was holding Gāgrūn (?) for him. He was certainly one of his chief officers and very probably a relative". Evidently some lines have been left out in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs, the Cambridge History of India and Rās Māla, all say that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī had attacked the combined forces of Mēdinī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā, and had been defeated by them.

[2] One MS. has قلعه before Kākrūn, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. do not have it.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 320, says that Mubāriz-ul-Mulk called the dog Sangrama. I am afraid Sangrama, or the more correct Sangrāma would have been Greek to Mubāriz-ul-Mulk. I doubt whether Rānā Sangrām Singh's parents or he himself ever called himself Sangrama or Sangrāma. Sangrām was quite sufficient for them.

[4] The word used is جاهليت, but it appears to me to be extremely inappropriate and unjust.

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ravaged the country to the boundary of Sirōhī. About this time Sulṭān Muẓaffar went to Chāmpānīr, leaving Qiwām-ul-mulk, son of Qiwām-ul-mulk, in Aḥmadābād, for the control of the [1] *grāssias*. [2] When Rānā Sānkā arrived in the country of [3] Bākar, the Rāja, although he was obedient and submissive to Sulṭān Muẓaffar, in his fear and distress joined Rānā Sānkā. The latter then came to Dūngarpūr. Mubāriz-ul-mulk wrote an account of what had happened to the Sulṭān. As the Sulṭān's *vazīrs* were not friendly to Mubāriz-ul-mulk they told the Sulṭān that it was not [4] right for him to give the Rānā's name to a dog, and thus bring him into contempt; and afterwards being afraid of him, to ask for reinforcement; otherwise the Rānā would not have dared to put his foot into the Sulṭān's territories. It so happened, however, that at that time, the army which had been left to protect Īdar had, on account of the [5] excessive rains gone to their own homes at Aḥmadābād and only a small number had remained with Mubāriz-ul-mulk.

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[1] *Grās* according to a note on page 98 of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī comprises (1) blackmail paid to powerful local chiefs for protection and immunity from plunder, or rather land held in lieu of such blackmail; (2) lands or allowances allotted by government, or allowed to be retained by them to land-holders, both as a politic measure to keep them quiet, and as a retainer for military and other services. Here apparently the word is used to mean the holders of such land.

[2] Firishtah's account agrees generally with the text; but he says that Rānā Sānkā plundered and ravaged Mubāriz-ul-mulk's fief before coming to Bākar; and he also says that the Sulṭān on hearing what his *vazīrs* told him delayed sending in reinforcements. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 264) gives a detailed account of Nizām-ul-Mulk's talk with the bard, Rānā Sānkā's march against Idar and the former's prayer for reinforcement, and the action of the Sultān's minister about it, down to the battle of Ahmadābād and the sack of that city. Its version of the story of the dog is somewhat different from that in the other histories. It is said, that in the talk with the bard, Nizām-ul-Mulk repeatedly called the Rānā a dog, and finally he called for a dog, and having had it tied up at the door of the *darbār*, he said, "If the Rānā does not come he will be like this dog".

[3] Called Bāgar in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 266, and Bagry by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 88).

[4] The word is لایق in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but مناسب in the other MS.

[5] One MS. inserts باران و before برسات.

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Rānā Sānkā becoming cognizant of all these things, advanced against Īdar. When he arrived near, Mubāriz-ul-mulk with the other *sardārs* prepared for battle, and went out to meet him; but before the two armies should come together, they turned back and returned to Īdar. The *sardārs* said that the small number of their friends and the vast host of their enemies were patent to all. It was advisable that they should go to Aḥmadnagar and fortify themselves there, till the arrival of the reinforcements; and on this decision they went to the fort of Aḥmadnagar, taking Mubāriz-ul-mulk with them, whether he liked it or not. On the following morning Rānā Sānkā arrived at Īdar, and enquired about Mubāriz-ul-mulk. The *grāssias*, who had fled from Qawām-ul-mulk, and had joined the Rānā told him that Mubāriz-ul-mulk was not a man that would run away, but the *amīrs* had taken him away to Aḥmadnagar; and they were waiting for reinforcements. Rānā Sānkā then advanced against Aḥmadnagar with a large force. The bard who had praised Rānā Sānkā in the presence of Mubārīz-ul-mulk again went to the latter; and said, "Rānā Sānkā has come with a large army. It would be a great pity that men like you should be killed for nothing. It is advisable that you should remain in the fort of Aḥmadnagar. The Rānā [1] would return after giving his horse a drink of water below the fort, and he would not do anything more". Mubāriz-ul-mulk said in reply, "It is impossible that I should allow him to give water to his horse in this river." He thereupon with great bravery crossed the river with the few men that were with him; and who were not a tenth part of the number of the Rānā's army. When the Rānā arrived there, there was a great battle. Asad Khān who was one of the commanders was killed with a number of other horsemen. Ṣafdar Khān was wounded; and Mubāriz-ul-mulk, after making several attacks on the Rānā's troops, received many wounds; and [2] most of the Gujrātīs

[1] To show, I suppose, that he had come as far as the fort and Mubāriz-ul-mulk had not dared to come out. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 89) says, "till his horse drank out of the ditch of Ahmadnuggur"; but I suppose, and the next sentence shows, that he meant the river which flows below the city and the fort.

[2] The clause is as I have it in the text in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but it appears to be redundant. Firishtah inserts چون before اکثر and omits the و after شدند. This improves the clause a great deal. The meaning of the

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were slain. Mubāriz-ul-mulk and Ṣafdar Khān now retired to Aḥmadābād. The Rānā ravaged Aḥmadnagar, and halted there for one day. The next morning he [1] marched towards Badnagar. When he arrived near it, most of the inhabitants came to him and said, "We are *zunnārdārs* (men with the sacred thread, Brahmans) and your forefathers have always respected and honoured us". Rānā Sānkā [2] desisted from attacking and plundering Badnagar and advanced to [3] Bēsalnagar. [4] Malik Ḥatim the *thānadār* of the place came out with the resolution of becoming a martyr; and gave him battle; and attained his object. Rānā Sānkā after ravaging Bēsalnagar returned to his own country.

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amended clause is, as most of the Gujrātīs were slain Mubāriz-ul-mulk and Ṣafdar Khan retired to Aḥmadābād.

[1] The readings are different. One MS. has متوجهٔ بدنگر گردید, marched towards Badnagar. The other has عاظم بدنگر گردید. The lith. ed. has متوجهٔ بدنگر و مسلنگر گردید. Firishtah has متوجهٔ بدنگر گردید. I have adopted this, as it agrees with the reading in the first MS. The place is called Barnagar in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and Vadnagar in the Cambridge History of India, page 320. I do not know why and how بدنگر has been transformed into Vadnagar. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 269, says that the *grāssiahs* incited the Rānā to plunder Barnagar, as the inhabitants of the place were merchants, and who were very rich; but the Rānā did not on the representation of the inhabitants, as stated in the text, allow the place to be plundered.

[2] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India say that Rānā Sānkā accepted tribute from the people; but neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah says so. A Brahman who has always called himself a mendicant is not likely to have paid much tribute.

[3] The place is written like بیسلنگر Bēsalnagar in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it looks like Bēlnagar. Col. Briggs has Beesalnuggur. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 269, has Bisalnagar. The Cambridge History of India, page 320, has Visnagar. I think Bēsalnagar is identical with the hills of Bījānāgar, to which the Rājās of Īdar used to escape whenever hard pressed by the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt; and which the Cambridge History of India had in previous pages called Bichabhera (page 318) and Vajinagar hills (page 319) and now gives it the entirely new name of Visnagar (see notes 1, page 300 and 3, page 301). بیلنگر Bēlnagar in the text-edition.

[4] Contrary to what is stated here, and in Firishtah, the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 269, says, he shut himself in the fort and it was beleaguered till the hour of evening prayer, and in the fighting and confusion the town was plundered.

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[1] Malik Qawām-ul-mulk sent a detachment with Mubāriz-ul-mulk and Ṣafdar Khān to Aḥmadnagar that they might bury the dead. Mubāriz-ul-mulk arrived at Aḥmadnagar, and buried the martyrs. About this time the [2] *kōlīs* and *grāssias* from the neighbourhood of Īdar, seeing the small force under Mubāriz-ul-mulk's command, attacked him. Mubāriz-ul-mulk came out of the fort and fought with them; and after slaying sixty-one of the leaders of the *grāssias*, returned victorious and triumphant to Aḥmadnagar. As Aḥmadnagar, however, was in ruin, [3] and the people suffered privations for want of grain and all other necessaries, they started from there; and came to the [4] town of Parāntēj.

When news of all these events reached Sulṭān Muẓaffar, the latter appointed [5] 'Imād-ul-mulk and Qaiṣar Khān with an enormous army and one hundred elephants to crush Rānā Sānkā. 'Imād-ul-mulk and Qaiṣar Khān arrived at Aḥmadābād, and taking Qawām-ul-mulk with them went to Parāntēj. From that place, they wrote to the Sulṭān, that Rānā Sānkā had returned to his own country, and asked

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[1] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 270, gives a fairly detailed account of how Kiwām-ul-Mulk started to reinforce Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, how he heard of the latter's defeat, and sent for him with the object of going in pursuit, but hearing that this was impossible, sent Mubāriz-ul-Mulk to bury the dead, and this was done sixteen days after the battle.

[2] Firishtah agrees with the text; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 90) says that the Kolies and Girasias attacked Moobariz-ool-Moolk on the march to Ahmudnuggur, but were defeated. Rās Mālā also says so. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 270, says that the Kōlīs of Kanth came to carry off grain from Ahmadnagar.

[3] There is no و in this place in the MS. or in the lith. ed.; but I have inserted it as it is required to complete the sense.

[4] The name appears to be وهنج, Wahinj, and دهیج, Dahēj in the MS., and هیچ, Hēch in the lith. ed. and رهیج, Rahēj in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs has Puranty. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 270, has Parāntīj and Rās Mālā has Poorāntej. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the matter. I have adopted Parāntēj. M. Hidayat Ḥosain, however, has دهیج, Dahīj in the text-edition.

[5] There are slight variations in the readings. The lith. ed. has زنجیر before فیل but the MSS. omit the words; and one MS. and the lith. ed. have بدفع رانا سانکا, but the other MS. has برسر رانا سانکا.

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for permission to march to Chitōr. The Sulṭān wrote in reply, that as the rains had commenced they should wait in Aḥmadnagar; and after the rains should advance towards Chitōr. The *amīrs*, in accordance with this order remained at Aḥmadnagar. Sulṭān Muẓaffar paid the soldiers a year's wages from the treasury; and [1] went to Aḥmadābād. He intended to march to Chitōr himself to chastise Rānā Sānkā.

At this time [2] Malik Ayāz Sulṭānī came from Sōrath with a large army; and after rendering homage represented that the [3] imperial grandeur of the Sulṭān is higher and more exalted, than that he should go in person to punish and chastise Rānā Sānkā. The training of slaves like myself is for the purpose, that if a work like this has to be done, the Sulṭān should not have to take the trouble to do it. In the month of Muḥarram in the year 927 A.H. (December, 1520 A.D.) Sulṭān Muẓaffar arrived at Aḥmadnagar. When the army had all collected Malik Ayāz [4] again prayed (that he should be employed)

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[1] Firishtah lith. ed. agrees with the text, but the place where the *amīrs* remained is called سرکچ Sarkach, or Sarkhēj; and calls the Rānā's capital Jaipūr instead of Chitōr. He also says that the Sultān ordered the payment of one year's wages to the soldiers. Col. Briggs has a different account. He says Imad-ool-Moolk and Keisur Khan retreated from Ahmudnuggur, but the Sultan ordered them to remain there during the rains; and he intended to advance to Chittoor in person after the rains. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 271, says that the allowances of the whole army were increased from ten to twenty per cent., and a year's pay was issued from the treasury, so that every man might provide himself with all that was requisite for the campaign.

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 233, Malik Aīāz "was originally a purchased slave, yet he attained to the rule of provinces, and to unlimited wealth". Bayley also says in a note that some authorities declare he was a renegade Portuguese, but this assertion seems opposed to such an origin. He was possibly a slave brought from the southern provinces of Europe or Asia Minor or Armenia by the Turks. But contrary to this Firishtah says ایاز خاص سلطانی که از غلامان پدرش بود; and Col. Briggs has "originally a slave born in the king's family" (vol. IV, p. 90).

[3] In the corresponding passage, Firishtah has a و between کبرای and جلال.

[4] This would be somewhat impertinent on his part, but Firishtah says, that when he made the request on the previous occasion, the Sulṭān did not give any reply.

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to chastise Rānā Sānkā. The Sulṭān sent him for that purpose with one *lakh* horsemen, and a hundred elephants. He also sent [1] Qawām-ul-mulk with twenty thousand horsemen, a little later to join Malik Ayāz. When the two commanders encamped at Mahrāsa, the Sulṭān with great caution and farsight sent Tāj Khān and Niẓām-ul-mulk Sulṭānī also to that place (to join them). Malik Ayāz sent a representation to the Sulṭān, in which he submitted, that the act of sending so many great *amīrs* for the punishment of Rānā Sānkā would be a reason for his pride and glorification. He also reported that so many elephants were not at all necessary; and that this slave (*i.e.*, he himself), owing to the grandeur of His Majesty, was quite sufficient for this service; and after [2] sending back most of the elephants, he marched from Mahrāsa, and encamped at the village of [3] Dhōl. From that place many detachments were sent out to plunder and ravage the country. Ṣafdar Khān was sent from here, to chastise the Rājpūts of [4] Lakīākōt. He marched to this place, which was in a rough and uneven country, and ravaged it, and slew many Rājpūts, and taking those who escaped the sword, with him as prisoners of war, re-joined Malik Ayāz. They marched from that place, and having burnt down, and rased to the ground Dūngarpūr and Bānswāla, advanced

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[1] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says, on the authority of the Tarikh-i-Bahādar Shāhī, Bayley, page 272, that he had a hundred elephants in addition to one hundred thousand horsemen.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. agrees; but Col. Briggs says that he left behind him nearly all the elephants, and the greater part of the cavalry which had lately joined (vol. IV, p. 91).

[3] The village is called Dhōl in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and Dadūd in the other MS. It is not mentioned by Firishtah or by Col. Briggs; but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 272, calls it Dhamōlah in the district of Bāgar, but in a note which purports to be a translation of a passage of the Tabakāt Bayley calls it Dabāl.

[4] The name is لکہا کوٹ in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is not mentioned by Col. Briggs or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī; but Bayley translating a part of the Tabakāt in a note calls it Lakīā Kōt. The Cambridge History of India (p. 320) mentions Gāliākot and Bānswāra among the five places, which were ravaged and gives the lat. and long. of each. Apparently the author had a map on a very large scale in which all these places were marked and from which their lat. and long. could be calculated. Gāliākot is probably identical with Lakīākot and Bānswāra with Bānswāla.

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towards Chitōr. It so happened that at this station, a man came and gave information to [1] Malik Ashja'-ul-mulk and Ṣafdar Khān, that Udaya Singh, Rāja of [2] Māl, had, with a body of Rājpūt soldiers of Rānā Sānkā and Ugar Sēn Pūrabīa, come and were lying in ambush behind a hill; and they wanted to make a night attack. Ashja'-ul-mulk and Ṣafdar Khān without sending any information to Malik Ayāz Sulṭānī, gallopped to that place, taking two hundred horsemen with them. There was a great battle. Ugar Sēn was wounded, and fifty Rājpūts fell on the battlefield; and the other Rājpūts fled. When Ayāz Sulṭānī came to know of these happenings, he advanced with his army fully equipped to reinforce and help Ṣafdar Khān. When he reached the battlefield, he was amazed at the (gallant) efforts of Ṣafdar Khān; and applied the ointment of kindness on the wounds of the ghāzīs (victorious heroes of Islām).

On the following morning, Malik Qawām-ul-mulk Sulṭānī penetrated into the hill of Bānswāla in pursuit of the men (*i.e.*, those who had fled); and did not leave a vestige of men and habitation there. Ugar Sēn, wounded as he was, went to the Rānā, and told him all that had happened. When Malik Ayāz arrived at Mandisōr, and besieged it, Rānā Sānkā came to the aid of his *thānadār*; and halting at a distance of twelve *karōhs* from Mandisōr sent [3] the following

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[1] One MS. calls him ملک شیخ اشجع الملک but the other and the lith. ed. omit شیخ. Firishtah calls him Malik Ashja'-ul-mulk, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 91), apparently following the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, calls him Shooja-ool-Moolk. Bayley, of course, calls him Shujā'-ul-Mulk.

[2] The name of the place is مال Mal, and نال Nal in the MSS. and پال Pal in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is مال Mal; but Col. Briggs calls the Rāja the Ray of Poloh. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not give the name of the Rāja, but calls him the Rājah of Bānsbālah. Firishtah's account of the information of the intended night attack, and the skirmish with the men who were in ambush, agrees word for word with the text. The account in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī is somewhat different. Ugar Sēn is not named, but is probably included in "some relatives of Mēdini Rāo". It is also said that the Musulmāns were greatly outnumbered, but they fought bravely and defeated the Rājpūts (Bayley, p. 272).

[3] The lith. ed. of Firishtah gives the same version of the message as the text; but Col. Briggs says that "there were certain conditions so extravagant, that Mullik Eiaz determined to continue the siege". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī,

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message to Malik Ayāz, "I am sending ambassadors to wait on the Sulṭān; and I shall be enlisted among his adherents. Do you abandon the siege." Malik Ayāz made some polite speeches, which had really no meaning, to the messengers; and devoted all his energy to the capture of the fort; and carried the mines so far, that it became a matter of to-day or to-morrow.

At this time [1] Sharzah Khān Sharwānī came from Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, and delivered a message to Malik Ayāz, to the effect, that if there was any necessity for help and reinforcement, he would at once come to render it. Malik Ayāz was delighted, and asked him to come. As Sulṭān Maḥmūd was bound by ties of gratitude to Muẓaffar Shāh, he came to Mandisōr bringing [2] Silāhadī Pūrabīa with him. Rāṇā Sānkā was frightened at the coming of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and sent Mēdinī Rāy to Silāhadī with the following message, "It is right that one should favour one's own community. It is right, therefore, that he should not hold himself excused from rendering his duty to his community; and at present [3] he should exert himself in bringing about a treaty of peace".

After some days things came to such a pass, that the garrison was reduced to the greatest straits. Qawām-ul-mulk advanced his battery

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Bayley, page 273, gives the terms of the message in some detail, but I do not find anything extravagant in them.

[1] The name is mentioned only in the Ṭabaqāt and in Firishtah. It is Sharzah in the MS. of the Ṭabaqāt, and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt it is Shēr. The MS. of the Ṭabaqāt has Sarwānī, but the lith. eds. of both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah have Sharwānī.

[2] The name of Silāhadī is written as سلاهدی in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, but in the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is سلهدے. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 273, he is called "Silahdī, a Tuar Rājpūt by tribe", but Bayley says in a note that the description of Silahadi's tribe is only in MS. A, and there also doubtful. On an earlier page, I ventured a guess in respect of another Silāhadī that the name might be a corruption of Salya Devā but it occurs to me now that it is more probably a corruption of Silādrī, the rocky mountain.

The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī tells a different story about Silāhadī. It says he was coming from Rāīsīn with one hundred thousand horse to have an interview with Malik Aīāz, but Mēdinī Rāy went and met him on the way, and enticed him over to the Rānā.

[3] Firishtah adds سلهدی هرچند سعی کرد صلح نشد, *i.e.*, although Silhadī made (every) effort, peace could not be effected.

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and wanted to get into the fort. Malik Ayāz, fearing that the victory might be attributed to Qawām-ul-mulk, kept him back that day from engaging the enemy. The *amīrs* of Gujrāt, hearing of this intention, were grieved in their hearts against Malik Ayāz. Mubāriz-ul-mulk and some other commanders advanced the next morning to fight with Rānā Sāṇkā's troops, without taking his permission. Malik Tughlaq Shāh Fūlādī went and brought them back from the way. There was now a discussion among the *amīrs*; but for fear of the punishment by the Sulṭān, they could not advance again without the permission of Malik Ayāz. The latter, in spite of the opposition of the *amīrs*, made his soldiers ready, and set fire to the mines. When the bastion was shattered and fell down, it was found, that the Rājpūts having become aware of the state of things, had built another wall opposite to the bastion.

The next day emissaries came from Rānā Sānkā, and said, "The Rānā says that the slave (*i.e.*, he himself) wants to become enlisted among the loyal adherents (of the Sulṭān), and [1] to send back the elephants which he had seized in the invasion of Aḥmadnagar, with his son, for the service of the Sulṭān. He did not know what was the reason of all this unkindness and harshness on their part". Malik Ayāz, owing to the opposition of Malik Qawām-ul-mulk, gave his consent to the proposed peace and began to settle the terms. The other *amīrs* refused their consent; and waited upon Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, and inviting him to carry on the war, determined that they should begin the battle on the following Wednesday. A man who was present at the assembly waited on Malik Ayāz, and informed him of all that has passed. Malik Ayāz sent a man that very moment to wait on Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī; and represented to him that His Majesty the Sulṭān had entrusted the reins of controlling the army in his hands, so that he may carry into effect everything in which he saw its welfare; and now that he (*i.e.*, Sulṭān Maḥmūd) at the instigation and incitement of the *amīrs* of Gujrāt wanted to carry on the war, this slave could not agree to that, for there was a great probability, that on account of the ill-luck, which always attends on perversity and dissension, the hand of hope will not reach the skirts of our object.

[1] This was one of the terms of the previous message of Rānā Sānkā given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (see note 3, page 314).

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On the morning of Wednesday, which had been selected for the battle, Malik Ayāz moved his camp; and encamped at Khaljīpūr; and after bestowing robes of honour on the emissaries of Rānā Sānkā, [1] gave them leave to go back. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī also marched away in the direction of Mandū. When Malik Ayāz had the honour of waiting on the Sulṭān at Chāmpānīr, [2] he reproved and reprimanded him; and gave him permission to go to the port of Dīp, so that after equipping his retainers, he might return, and wait on the Sulṭān after the rains. It was also settled that after the end of the rains, the Sulṭān in his own august person, should proceed to chastise the [3] Rānā.

Malik Ayāz sent one of his trustworthy men to Rānā Sānkā and gave him this message, "As friendship has grown up between us, it is proper that we should both do everything that may be beneficial and advantageous to each other; and as on account of the return of the *amīrs* from that country, the noble heart of the Sulṭān has become heavy; and he wishes that the shadow of his conquest should be cast over that country, and he should punish the insurgents. This will cause much evil to that country. It is right and proper, that he should send his son on the wings of peace with tribute and much beautiful presents, so that the inhabitants of that country might be preserved from the assaults of the Sulṭān's wrath." Sulṭān Muẓaffar came from Chāmpānīr to Aḥmadābād in the month of Muḥarram of [4] 928 A.H., (December, 1521 A.D.), so that he might advance towards Chitōr, after making the necessary preparations. In the

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[1] Firishtah agrees with the text, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India say that Malik Ayāz concluded peace with Rānā Sānkā. He could not have done so without the Sulṭān's express order; and it appears from what happened later that the Sulṭān intended to carry on the war. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 93) says, "A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed on, until communications could be received from the king." But this is not mentioned by Firishtah.

[2] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 275, says that in consequence of his displeasure, the Sultān did not give Malik Aīāz the usual robe of honour at his departure.

[3] One MS. has Sānkā after Rānā, but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. do not have it.

[4] The year is 1522 A.D. in the Cambridge History of India, page 321; and 929 A.H., 1523 A.D. in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 275.

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course of some days he collected and equipped an army at Aḥmadābād, and encamped at the reservoir of Kānkrīa; and there was a [1] delay of three days at this place for the mustering of the troops. At this time news came that Rānā Sānkā had sent his son with much tribute to wait on the Sulṭān; and the son had arrived at the town of Mahrāsa. After a few days, when he waited on the Sulṭān, and presented the beautiful things (which he had brought), the Sulṭān forgave his father's offences, and presented to him a princely robe of honour; and having [2] cancelled the mustering of the army, he spent some days in the neighbourhood of Jhālāwār in seeing the country and hunting; and then went to Aḥmadābād. There he again [3] bestowed a robe of honour on the son of the Rānā, and bade him farewell. After that he himself went to [4] Kaparbhanj.

In this year Malik Ayāz, who was a support of the empire, bound up the goods of existence (*i.e.*, died). Sulṭān Muẓaffar was [5] pained and grieved on hearing this news; and conferred his *jāgīr* on his [6] eldest son.

In the year [7] 930 A.H., 1524 A.D. (the Sulṭān) rode out from Chāmpānīr, in order to chastise some rebels and refractory persons;

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[1] The word توقف delay, is to be found in only one of the MSS., but is not in the other or in the lith. ed. I have, however, inserted it as it appears to be required.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have فتح ان لشکر نمود. This is so clearly a mistake that I have had no hesitation in substituting فسخ for فتح. I find the lith. ed. of Firishtah has the correct word. The text-edition has the reading in the MSS.

[3] One MS. has عطا نمود instead of لطف نمود.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. says he went to Sarkhēj; but no other historian mentions either Kaparbhanj or Sarkhēj. سرکیج in the text-edition.

[5] Firishtah also says so, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 275, says, "When the Sultan heard of Malik Aīāz's death, he said, 'The life of Malik Aīāz has come to its close. It would have been better, if he had been killed fighting against the Rānā, for then he would have been a martyr'."

[6] The MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt have پسر بزرگ but Firishtah lith. ed. omits بزرگ. Col. Briggs also has "some" without any qualifying adjective; but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has "to his eldest son Ishāk".

[7] Firishtah agrees almost word for word, but Col. Briggs changes the year to 929 A.H., and says, he marched to Champanere and "caused the town of

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and halted for some days between the towns of Mahrāsa and Harsōl. He entirely rebuilt the fort of Mahrāsa and then returned towards Aḥmadābād. On the way [1] he heard that the member of the harem (of the Sulṭān), who was most beloved of him, had died. The Sulṭān and the Shāhzāda grieved sorely; and they went to her grave, and performed the mourning rites. After the termination of the period of mourning, they came to Aḥmadābād, with sorrow-stricken hearts and grief-laden minds. [2] The Sulṭān passed most of his time in indulging in his grief. One day, Khudāwand Khān, who was distinguished among the *amīrs* and the *vazīrs* for his intellect and wisdom, waited on the Sulṭān and represented in clear language the advantage and benefit of patience, and freed him from grief and pain. As the rainy season had commenced, he induced the Sulṭān to take a trip to Chāmpānīr. The Sulṭān remembered the breezes of Chāmpānīr and went there.

One day 'Ālam Khān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī Bādshāh of Dehlī represented to the Sulṭān, that [3] "Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar, had, owing to his inexperience, drawn his blood-drinking sword out of the scabbard; and had put the great *amīrs* to death; and those who had escaped the sword had sent repeated letters and petitions, and had asked this slave (*i.e.*, himself) to come. As this *faqīr* had

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Mahrasa to be repaired". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 276, agrees generally with the text. The Cambridge History of India does not mention these matters at all.

[1] Firishtah copies the Ṭabaqāt almost *verbatim*. Col. Briggs and the Cambridge History of India do not mention the death. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 276, says, "On the way his chief wife, Bībī Rānī, mother of prince Sikandar Khān died"; which would imply that she was travelling with the Sulṭān. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī praises her right judgment, her great influence in the affairs of the kingdom, her motherly care of high and low, and the singular firmness of her judgments.

[2] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says, he fell ill, and after his recovery went to Chāmpānīr, or as Bayley calls the place Muhamadābād. It does not mention Khudāwand Khān's advice and admonition.

[3] This long-winded and highly metaphorical request is copied by Firishtah. 'Ālam Khān was a son of Bahlūl Lūdī and not of Sikandar Lūdī, as stated in the text, and he was therfore an uncle of Ibrāhīm. As stated in the text his later career is narrated in the section about Dehlī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 95) calls him Julal Khan.

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attended on Your Majesty for a long time in the hope that by the advantage of the attention of this great family he would arrive at greatness; now that time has come, that the star of his good fortune would ascend from the *nādir* of defeat, and the image of hope should shine in the mirror of success, he hopes that the wing of (the Sulṭān's) generosity and the shadow of his kindness, should be spread over the head of this *faqīr*, so that his ancestral dominion should come into his possession". Sulṭān Muẓaffar sent him back with a detachment of troops and gave him some money. He advanced towards Dehlī to fight with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. A full account of his adventures has been given in the section about Dehlī.

In the year 931 A.H. [1] (1524 A.D.) the Sulṭān went through Chāmpānīr to Īdar. On the way Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān complained about his meagre income, and his large expenses, and prayed that his allowance may be made equal to that of Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān. The Sulṭān delayed in fulfilling his expectations on account of certain objections, and made a promise for a future consideration. Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān was pained and discouraged at this, and went away to Aḥmadābād without obtaining the Sulṭān's leave. He went from there to the country of [2] Māl. The Raja of Māl whose name was

[1] Bayley (p. 277) gives 1525 as the corresponding year of the Christian era, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 96) has 1524, and the Cambridge History of India, page 321, has, "late in 1524".

[2] As regards Māl see note 2, page 314. M. Hidayat Ḥosain in the text-edition has مالوه for مال. Firishtah lith. ed. does not here give the name of the Rāja, but calls him the Rāja of Māl, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī gives the name as Rāwal Ūdi Singh (as Bayley transliterates it) and describes him as Rājah of Dūngarpūr. Bayley, however, says in a note that the Tabakāt "calls him the Rājah of Pāl"; and goes on to say that "Pāl seems to have been used in those days, as a kind of general name given to a congeries of petty hill states, of which the rulers were Hindūs and probably all or nearly all Rajpūts. They seem to have included Dūngarpūr, Bījanagar, Bānsbālah and others" (Bayley, page 277). Col. Briggs calls the Raja Oody Singh the Raja of Poloh, and the Cambridge History of India (p. 321), apparently following the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Udai Singh of Dūngarpur. The account of the travels of Bahādur Khān as given by Firishtah agrees almost word for word with that in the text and by Col. Briggs; the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India also agree generally, but the last two do not mention the pilgrimage to the tomb of the holy Khwājah at Ajmēr.

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Udai Singh considered the arrival of the Shāhzāda a very great blessing; and rendered him services of various kinds. Then when the Shāhzāda went to the country of Chitōr, Rānā Sānkā came forward to welcome him; and presented him with articles of every kind as tribute. He submitted, "This country belongs to your servants, and whatever you order will be obeyed". The Shāhzāda out of his noble spirit did everything to please him; but after rejecting his prayer, proceeded to go on pilgrimage to the tomb, which is the resting place of illuminating rays, of his Holiness Ḵẖwājah Mu'in-ud-dīn Ḥasan Sanjarī, may his soul be sanctified! After performing the pilgrimage he proceeded to the country of Mīwāt, where Ḥasan Ḵẖān Mīwātī advanced some stages, and carried out the rites of hospitality and entertainment; and from that place he went towards Dehlī.

It so happened that at this time, His Majesty Firdūs Makānī, Ẓahīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Bābar Bādshāh had come to [1] Hindūstān with the desire of conquering the country; and had encamped in the neighbourhood of Dehlī. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm having gained power and help from the arrival of Shāhzāda [2] Bahādur Ḵẖān treated him with the greatest respect and honour. One day the Shāhzāda mounted his horse, and with some of the Gujrāt warriors, went to the battlefield; and fought with [3] some Maghūl soldiers, and both parties exerted themselves with great bravery. The Afghān *amīrs* who were thoroughly disgusted with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm wanted to do away with him; and place [4] Sulṭān Bahādur on the throne. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm hearing

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have هندوستان, but the other MS. has بهندوستان.

[2] The name of the Shāhzāda is omitted in the text-edition.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بهادران, but the other has به بهادر خان. This is apparently a mistake. The word مغول is in both MSS. after بهادران, but not in the lith. ed.; but I have inserted it.

The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 278) gives a different version of this, according to which Bahādar Khān with some of his own men pursued a party of Moghals who were carrying off some of Sultān Ibrāhīm's men as prisoners, and on coming up with them, slew some of them, and returned with the men he had rescued.

[4] He is called Sulṭān in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, in this place, though further on, he is again called Shāhzāda.

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this had treacherous thoughts in his mind; and Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān perceiving this started towards [1] Jaunpūr.

When the news that Bahādur Khān had gone to Dehlī, and Firdūs Makānī Bābar Bādshāh had arrived in those parts with the Maghūl army reached Sulṭān Muẓaffar, [2] he on account of the separation from his son became depressed and sorrowful; and ordered Khudāwand Khān to send letters and petitions to summon the Shāhzāda. At this time there was a great famine in Gujrāt, and the people suffered great distress. Sulṭān Muẓaffar, owing to the love which he had for the people, [3] began a complete recitation of the great book (*Qurān*) and of the six canonical books of Ḥadīs (صحاح ستّه). The great and Holy God taking account of the true and pious intention of the Sulṭān removed the calamity from his people. At the same time, the Sulṭān fell ill, and his illness increased from day to day. One day he in great sorrow spoke of Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān. Someone taking advantage of the opportunity informed him that the army was divided into [4] two factions. One of them wanted the succession

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 321, says that he possibly selected "this town in response to an invitation received from the local nobles, who are said to have offered him the throne". This is also stated in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 279; but it also appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī that he was about to go to Jōnpūr, when he heard of the death of his father, and went off to Gujarāt.

[2] Bayley, page 279, says that Sultān Muzaffar was exceedingly vexed on hearing that Bahādar Khān had gone to Dehli; and then says in a note that according to the Tabakāt-i-Akbari, "he distinctly stated, as his reason that he was afraid lest Bahādar Khān by fighting against the Moghals, might involve the country of Gujarāt in hostilities with the latter people". There is nothing like this in the Ṭabaqāt as far as I can see.

[3] I suppose, as a pious act, which would avert the calamity from his people. The actual words are شروع در ختم مصحف مجید و ختم صحاح ستّه نمود. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī's account is different. It says, on the authority of the Tārīkh-i-Bahādar Shāhī, that Sultān Muzaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "Oh Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought". This reminds one of Bābar's act of devoting himself for affecting the recovery of Humāyūn from his illness. But in this case Sulṭān Muẓaffar offered himself up, not for the sake of his dear son, but for relieving the distress of his subjects.

[4] One MS. inserts اند after شدهٔ.

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of Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān; while the other was inclined towards Latīf Khān. Sulṭān Muẓaffar on hearing this said, "Has any news come from Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān?" Intelligent and wise men have inferred from this that he wished to make Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān his heir. He then called Sikandar Khān to his presence, and gave him some advice in the matter of his brothers and then gave him leave to retire. [1] Then he went to the *ḥaram serā*, and again came back outside, and rested for a moment. After a moment he heard the call of Friday prayer. He said, "I do not find the strength in me to go to the *masjid*". He sent the men who were there to the mosque, and said the midday prayer. After he had finished he rested for a moment; and then passed away into the mercy of God. The period of his reign was fourteen years and nine months.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN SIKANDAR, SON OF SULṬĀN MUẒAFFAR SHĀH.

As the inevitable happened to Sulṭān Muẓaffar, Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān, by the exertions of 'Imād-ud-mulk Sulṭānī and Khudāwand Khān and Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, sat on the throne of the empire. He sent the body of his father to the town of Sarkhēj, and performed the rites of mourning.

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[1] This is a very simple, and as it appears to me, a very graphic and impressive word-picture of the passing away of a good man. Firishtah as usual copies the sentences almost word for word, but he adds the day and date, which were Friday the 2nd Jamādī-ul-āwwal, 932 A.H. Firishtah also says that he died in his forty second year, and was a pious Musalmān and a good caligraphist. That he always copied the *Qurān*, and as the copies were finished sent them to the two sacred places. That many great men from 'Irān, Tūrān, Rūm and 'Arabistān came to Gujrāt in his reign, but he gives the name of only one, namely, Mullā Maḥmūd Sīāwash, who was a great caligraphist and came from Shīrāz. Col. Briggs gives the 3rd Jumad-ool-Awul, 932, 17th February, 1525, as the date of his death, and says he died in his 56th year (vol. IV, p. 97).

The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī describes the death scene at somewhat greater length, Bayley, page 281; and it also describes his character, giving many anecdotes, extending over many pages. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says, Bayley, page 281, that Sultān Muzaffar died on the 2nd Jūmādi-ul-ākhir, 932 A.H. (1526 A.D.); but places the accession of Sultān Sikandar (page 307) on the 22nd Jūmādi-ul-ākhir, 932 A.H., 7th April, 1526. The Cambridge History of India (p. 322) has the 7th April, 1526, as the date of Sultān Muzaffar's death.

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On the 3rd day, [1] at the end of those rites, he proceeded to Chāmpānīr. When he arrived in the town of [2] Batūh, he [3] went on a pilgrimage to the tombs of the holy men of the place. He heard that [4] Shāh Shaikh Jīū, who was one of the descendants of Quṭb 'Alam Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn, had said, that the kingdom would pass to Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān; he attributed false speaking to Shāh Shaikh Jīū; and spoke unseemly words about him. When he arrived at Chāmpānīr, he showed favour [5] to his own servants, and conferred fiefs on them; and did not show any kindness whatever to the *amīrs* of his father and grandfather. Owing to this reason all the *amīrs* [6] were sick at heart, and thoroughly vexed, and waited for what might appear from the womb of divine providence. [7] Sīmā 'Imād-ul-mulk Sulṭānī, who was one of the Muẓaffar Shāhī slaves, and the slave of the mother of Sikandar Shāh, was very much aggrieved in his heart.

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[1] The text in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. is as I have got it; but Firishtah lith. ed. has روز سیوم از تعزیت برخاسته. This makes better sense. Firishtah begins the account of the reign by saying that there were two factions, the larger one in favour of Sikandar Khān, and the smaller in that of Latīf Khān; but as Sulṭān Muẓaffar had appointed Sulṭān Sikandar to be his heir, the great nobles took his side; and Latīf Khān being unable to assert his claim went away to his fief of Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār.

[2] بتوة and ستوة in MSS. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted the former in the text-edition.

[3] Firishtah agrees; but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 307, says that "he went away without caring to visit the tombs of the holy men at Batōh".

[4] The name is شیخ جو and شیخ جون in the MSS., and شیخ خو شیخ صبور in two places in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is شیخ چنو; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 98) has Shah Sheikhjee. The Mirāt-i-Sikandārī, Bayley, page 307, has Shēkh Jīū.

[5] Firishtah explains که نوکران ایام شاهزادگی بودند, *i.e.*, who were his servants, during the time when he was a Shāhzāda.

[6] The word گشته, which I have inserted in the text, is in one MS.; but not in the other MS. or in the lith. ed.

[7] The prefix سیما occurs in both MSS., but not in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him 'Imād-ul-mulk Ḥabshī; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 308, calls him, "'Imād-ul-mulk Khush-kadam, who was a king in his own way". The meaning of the last clause is not clear. The Cambridge History of India, page 322, calls him "Imād-ul-Mulk Khush Qadam".

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Some of those who had been honoured by Sulṭān Sikandar also now began to commit improper acts. The hearts of the soldiers and the *ra'īyats* now became altogether averse (to Sulṭān Sikandar); and they prayed to God for his destruction. One day Sulṭān Sikandar arranged a special *darbār*; and conferred robes of honour, and seventeen hundred horses on the *amīrs* and the chief men of the kingdom; but as most of these were bestowed on undeserving persons, the people applied their energies to the coming of Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān, and hoped for his return. Sulṭān Sikandar, becoming cognizant of what was happening, became anxious and alarmed about his final destiny. At this time also he came to know that Shāhzāda Latīf Khān, who was in the neighbourhood of Nadarbār and Sulṭānpūr, had thoughts about seizing the throne; and was waiting for a suitable opportunity. On hearing this news, he conferred the title of Sharzah Khān on [1] Malik Latīf Khān Bārīwāl; and appointed him to attack and put down Latīf Khān. [2] Malik Latīf Khān went to the border of Nadarbār, and came to know that Latīf Khān was in the [3] hilly country of Mūnkā Baham, and the jungle of Chitōr. Malik Latīf, without waiting at all, entered the jungle of Chitōr; and the Rāja of the jungle relying on (the density) of the forest and the roughness of the country, came forward to meet him. Malik Latīf with a number of noted chieftains was slain in the battle; and as the road of retreat was closed, the Rājpūts and *kōlīs* attacked the army from behind, and slew seventeen hundred men.

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[1] He is called Malik Latīf Khān Bārīwāl in the MSS., as well as in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Malik Latīf Khān Bārīdār. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 99) has Mullik Luteef without any suffix. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī also calls him Malik Latīf, while the Cambridge History of India (p. 322) says that the force against Latīf Khān was under Sharza Khān.

[2] One MS. omits Khān.

[3] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. has در کوهستان مونگا بهم و جنگل چتور. The other has the same except that it has بهم instead of بهم. The lith. ed. has در کوهستان مونکا پهنم جنگا پهنم و جنگل چتور. Firishtah lith. ed. has در کوهستان مونکا هم و جنگل چ پور. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 99) has "had gone to Chittoor". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 308, has "had set himself up in the hill country of Sultanpūr and Nandarbār with the support of Bhīm Rājah of Mūnkā"; and the Cambridge History of India, page 322, has "he retired into Baglāna". I have adopted the reading in the first MS.

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The people of Gujrāt, considering this defeat to mean an omen of the downfall of Sulṭān Sikandar, awaited further results. Sulṭān Sikandar appointed [1] Qaiṣar Khān with a large army for the punishment of those wretched people.

While these things were happening, some of the Muẓaffarī *amīrs*, who were noted for their wickedness, said to 'Imād-ul-mulk, "Sulṭān Sikandar wants to put you to death; as there are relations of sincere attachments between you and us, we have informed you". As 'Imād-ul-mulk made himself [2] intoxicated with what those men of evil destiny told him, (he determined) that by any means that might be possible he would remove Sulṭān Sikandar from the way; and would raise one of the [3] infant sons of Muẓaffar Shāh on the throne; and himself carry on the political and revenue administration of the country. One day Sikandar rode out on his horse. 'Imād-ul-mulk completely armed his retainers and followed him with the intention of murdering him; but found no opportunity. On the way, some persons disclosed the state of things to Sulṭān Sikandar; but he, in his simple-mindedness, said in reply, "The people want that I should harass the *amīrs*, and particularly the slaves of Muẓaffar Shāh. 'Imād-ul-mulk is one of our heriditary slaves. How should he attempt such a wicked act?" In spite of what he said, however, he became grieved and pained at what he had heard. He told one of his intimates and confidants, that it is repeated among the common people from time to time that Bahādur Shāh is coming from Dehlī to conquer Gujrāt; this becomes the cause of worry to their minds.

It so happened, that on that very night, he saw in a [4] dream His Holiness the leader of the wayfarers in the path of the faith, Saiyid

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 322, says that the choice of Qaisar Khān shows "either ignorance and folly of the king, or the treachery of the nobles, for Qaisar Khān was Latīf's principal adherent". This may be correct, but I have not seen anything anywhere in support of this statement.

[2] The word is مضمر in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah who, as usual, copies a great deal from the Ṭabaqāt has the word مقرر here instead of مضمر.

[3] The word is اطفال, minor sons, and as a matter of fact only Naṣīr Khān.

[4] In the account of the dream in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 308), Shāh 'Ālam and Shēkh Jīū are the only two mentioned; and Sultān Muzaffar is

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Jalāl Bukhārī and Shāh 'Ālām and a number of other Shaikhs. Sulṭān Muẓaffar was also in attendance on them. Sulṭān Muẓaffar was saying, "Son Sikandar rise from the throne". Shaikh Jīū was also saying, "Rise. It is not your place. Bahādur Shāh is the heir to the throne". When he awoke Sulṭān Sikandar immediately sent for a man, and repeated to him what he had seen in the dream. He became very agitated on account of the dream; and in order to keep his mind occupied, mounted to go and play *chaugān*. The fact of the dream became known to some people. After a *pās* or *pahar*, he went to the palace, and had some food, and went to rest. As the *amīrs*, and the Sulṭān's particular attendants went to their houses, 'Imād-ul-mulk with some of the men of that group (*i.e.*, those who had told him that the Sulṭān wanted to put him to death) and two of Sulṭān Muẓaffar's slaves and another *Ḥabshī* slave went to the palace. This was on the 19th Sha'ban 932 A.H. (May 30th, O.S. and April 12th N.S., A.D. 1526).

'Imād-ul-mulk [1] said to the men, who were with him, "Look at this palace, for it is one of the [2] wonders of the age". When they arrived on the bank of the reservoir, they met Naṣrat-ul-mulk and Ibrāhīm, son of Jauhar, who were there. They at once drew their swords from the scabbards and rushed towards them. Naṣrat-ul-mulk and Ibrāhīm also placed their hands on their swords; but the wounds inflicted by them were of no avail, and they were both slain. From that place the assassins went to Sulṭān Sikandar's bed-chamber. Saiyid 'Ilm-ud-din was seated before the bed, and was keeping

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said to have declared, "Surely it is not fated that Sikandar Khān should descend from the throne;" but Shēkh Jīū said, "Yes, it is even so".

[1] The story has a flavour of unreality. The men had surely seen the palace before; but Firishtah says the same thing, and he agrees generally as to the incidents of the day on which Sulṭān Sikandar was murdered. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 100) gives the name of Baha-ool-Moolk, Dar-ool-Moolk and Seif Khan, as the men who accompanied Imad-ool-Moolk, besides the two Turkish slaves and one Abyssinian; and he says that Sikandar Shah, awakened by the noise rushed out to ascertain its cause, when the assassins put him to death. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 311) has a somewhat different account, but I need not repeat it here. According to it the Sultān was actually murdered by one Bahādur, or Bahādar as Bayley transliterates the name.

[2] One MS. inserts غرایب after عجایب.

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guard. When suddenly those men rushed in, the Saiyid on seeing what was happening, became agitated, but placed his hand on his sword and wounded two men; but he himself became a martyr. The assassins then inflicted two or three wounds on Sulṭān Sikandar, while he was still on the bed. The Sulṭān, the victim of these attacks, in great fear and alarm jumped up from the bed and stood on the ground, when one of them smote him with the sword of [1] cruelty, and made a martyr of him. His rule lasted for [2] two months and sixteen days.

[3] An account of Naṣīr Khān entitled Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar.

As Sulṭān Sikandar became a martyr, 'Imād-ul-mulk in concert with Bahā'-ul-mulk forthwith brought Naṣīr Khān out of the harem, and placing him on the throne gave him the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The *amīrs* of Sulṭān Sikandar fled (on account of their suspicions and fears) in different directions; and their houses were plundered and sacked. The martyr Sulṭān's body was sent to *mauḍa'* Halōl, one of the dependencies of Chāmpānīr, and was deposited in the earth. The *amīrs* and the chief men of Gujrāt had to come out of necessity to offer their congratulations. 'Imād-ul-mulk in accordance with the customary law gave royal robes of honour to the *amīrs* and the great men, and comforted them, and also conferred titles. Titles

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[1] The words appear to be شمشیر سیخکی and سیخکی in the MS. The second word appears to be سختگی, hardship or cruelty.

[2] The MSS. have two months and sixteen days. The lith. ed. has ten months. Firishtah lith. ed. does not mention the period, but Col. Briggs has three months and seventeen days, from Jumad-ool-Awul 3rd to Shaban 19th. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 317) makes it only one month and sixteen days from the 28th Jamādi-ul-ākhir to Sha'bān 14th; but Bayley says in a note that some MSS. and the Tārīkh-i-Alfī make it two months and sixteen days, but it appears that, according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī itself, Bayley, page 281, Sultān Muzaffar died on the 2nd and not on the 28th Jamādi-ul-ākhir, and that Sultān Sikandar was assassinated on the 19th Sha'bān; two months and sixteen days was the correct period.

[3] The heading I adopted is that in both the MSS. In the lith. ed. it is ذکر سلطنت سلطان محمود المخاطب سلطان محمود ظفر, which is quite incorrect.

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were conferred on one hundred and eighty-one persons, but the stipends and emoluments of the *amīrs* were not increased. Most people waited for the arrival of Sulṭān Bahādur; and made every effort by sending messages and emissaries to summon him. They were angry at the leadership and eminence of 'Imād-ul-mulk, who had been one of the Sulṭān's slaves, and [1] did not lower their heads in obedience and submission to him. Khudāwand Khān and Tāj Khān more specially sought to be ahead of the others in this matter. 'Imād-ul-mulk, on account of his ancient and recent enmity, attempted to injure them. Tāj Khān, having put the girdle of endeavour and energy on his loins, advanced with a well-equipped army, drawn from his own caste and tribesmen, to bring back Sulṭān Bahādur. 'Imād-ul-mulk in great distress wrote a letter to [2] Niẓām-ul-mulk Dakinī, sent him much money and summoned him to come to the boundary of Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār. He also wrote a letter to the [3] Rāja of Māl, and summoned him to the border of Chāmpānīr; and the Rāja, on account of his being in the vicinity, collected his forces, and came to the neighbourhood of Chāmpānīr. ('Imād-ul-mulk also) owing to his great caution and far-sightedness sent a petition to His Majesty Firdūs Makānī [4] Bābar Bādshāh, to the effect that if he would send one of his many powerful armies, he would present the

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[1] The whole of the sentence from و از سری to فرود نمی اوردند is omitted from one of the MSS. It is also omitted in the text-edition.

[2] Firishtah says that Niẓām-ul-mulk kept the تعایف, but passed the time with negligence. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 101, 102) has presents consisting of jewels and money. Contrary to what is stated in the text and in Firishtah, the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 318, says that, 'Imād-ul-Mulk wrote to 'Imād-ul-Mulk Ilichpūrī to come to Sultānpūr and Nadarbār, and wrote to Rānā Sānkā, and conciliated the neighbouring *zamīndārs*, and also wrote to Bābar.

[3] See note 2, page 314.

[4] One MS. has Humāyūn Bādshāh here by mistake; but a few lines further down it has Bābar Bādshāh. Firishtah's account of the petition to Bābar agrees generally with the text, but he says that 'Imād-ul-mulk suggested that if one of Bābar's army would come to Dīp, he ('Imād-ul-mulk) would present a *krōr* of *tankas* towards the expenses. Col. Briggs explains this by saying that it was intended that Babur should send the force down the Indus to land at Diū, and he adds that the letter to Babur never reached its destination, having been intercepted by the ruler of Dongurpoor (vol. IV, p. 102).

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fort of Dīp, and one *krōr* of *tankas* in cash towards the expenses of His Majesty's servants.

The *thānadār* of Dūngarpūr, having received information that 'Imād-ul-mulk had sent a petition to Bābar Bādshāh, and had asked His Majesty to come to Gujrāt, sent a letter to Tāj Khān and Khudāwand Khān; and the *amīrs* of Gujrāt sent a man to Bahādur Shāh and summoned him. [1] The messenger sent by the *amīrs* waited upon Sulṭān Bahādur in the neighbourhood; and presented to him their petition. Sulṭān Bahādur was sad and grieved at his father's death, and performed the mourning ceremony. He gave Pāyinda Khān Afghān, who had come from Jaunpūr to take him there, permission to go back; and although the latter dilated (on the splendour) of the empire of the eastern country, and incited him to go there, he turned his face towards Aḥmadābād. They say, that men came at one and the same time from Jaunpūr and Gujrāt to summon him. He said, he would leave the choice to his horse, in whichever direction he would take him. The horse started towards Gujrāt. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Chitōr, soldiers arrived one after another from Gujrāt; and they brought the news of the assassination of Sultān Sikandar, and the accession of Naṣīr Khān. Sulṭān Bahādur was pained to hear of it, and starting from there encamped at Chitōr. There Chānd Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, sons of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, came to him. He was pleased and delighted at meeting his brothers. Chānd Khān took leave of him and remained at Chitōr; but Ibrāhīm Khān chose the service of his brother, and accompanied him. In a short time after passing Chitōr, [2] Udai Singh, Rāja of Māl, and some adherents

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[1] The account in Firishtah agrees generally with that in the text, only he calls Pāyinda Khan Afghan Pābind Khān, and says he came from the Afghāns of Jaunpūr. He is also clearer about Bahādur's leaving the choice between Gujrāt and Jaunpūr to his horse. According to him Bahādur said, he would ride out, and then let go the reins. As to Chānd Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, he says they were with Rānā Sānkā, being probably fugitives from Gujrāt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 102) says that Chand Khan and Ibrahim Khan first gave Bahadur the news of the assassination of Sultan Sikundur, and he also says clearly that they had fled to the Rana after that event.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. here calls Udai Singh, Rāja of Mālpūr, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 102) has Raja Oody Sing of Poloh as before.

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of Sikandar, such as Malik Sarwar and Malik Yūsuf and Latīf and others, came and entered Sulṭān Bahādur's service.

Sulṭān Bahādur sent Malik Tāj Jamāl with a *farman* conveying assurances of his favour to Tāj Khān and the other *amīrs*; and gave them news of his [1] approach. Tāj Khān on seeing the letter advanced from Dandūqa with a great force to join the service of Sulṭān Bahādur; and [2] he bade farewell to Latīf Khān, son of Muẓaffar, after giving him a sum of money to pay his expenses; (telling him) now that the heir of Muẓaffar's and Maḥmūd's kingdom had arrived, it was not advisable that he should remain there. Latīf Khān with a heart which was frying, and with eyes which were shedding tears went as a suppliant to Fatḥ Khān who was a cousin (uncle's son) of Sulṭān Bahādur. When the Sulṭān arrived at Dūngarpūr, Khurram Khān and other Khāns hastened to welcome him; and the *amīrs* and *sardārs* of all the provinces turned their faces towards him. 'Imād-ul-mulk on hearing this news, and being deserted by these adherents began to collect troops. He began to empty the treasury, and sent a number of men with an army ready to fight and fifty elephants, under the command of 'Aḍd-ul-mulk to the town of Mahrāsa; so that they might on their arrival there, close the roads to the coming and going of the people, and [3] permit no one to go to Sulṭān Bahādur. When Sulṭān Bahādur arrived in the town of Maḥmūdābād, the *amīrs* who had joined Sikandar, and who had fled for fear of their lives, came and obtained the honour of the service (of Sulṭān Bahādur). The men who were with 'Aḍd-ul-mulk fled from Mahrāsa. On the following morning when

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[1] The word خود is omitted in one MS.

[2] It would appear that Shāhzāda Latīf Khān was with Tāj Khān, and this is stated expressly by Firishtah, as he says که باو. Mirât-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 326, says that when Bahādar came to Dūngarpūr, Tāj Khān left Dhandūkah to wait upon him. Just then prince Latīf Khān arrived at Dhandūkah, and solicited the help of Tāj Khān, offering to place the administration of the country to his hands. Tāj Khān told him that he had already promised his support to Sulṭān Bahādar.

[3] There is a difference in the readings here. One MS. has که کسی پیش سلطان بهادر. The other omits the word Sulṭān. The lith. ed. has که کس بملازمت سلطان بهادر. I have adopted the first reading, which is also the reading in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but he substitutes Shāhzāda for Sulṭān.

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the Sulṭān arrived at Mahrāsa, Tāj Khān, with the royal umbrella and the other insignia of royalty, came and saw the Sulṭān; and the latter with great pomp and power encamped in the city of Nahrwāla [1] Pattan on the 26th of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān in the year 932 A.H., August 15th N.S., 1526 A.D. From that place he advanced towards Aḥmadābād after [2] assuming the insignia of royalty. On the 22nd of the month, he performed the pilgrimage to the tombs of the great Shaikhs and his royal ancestors; and then entered Aḥmadābād.

'Imād-ul-mulk in his agitation and confusion paid a [3] year's wages to the soldiers in advance, and incited them to fight. [4] Sulṭān Bahādur had after three or four days left Aḥmadābād with great pomp and splendour. During this interval most of the *amīrs*, after taking much money from 'Imād-ul-mulk, joined the Sulṭān. [5] Bahā'-ul-mulk and Dāwar-ul-mulk who were the actual murderers of Sulṭān Sikandar sought for a disagreement with 'Imād-ul-mulk, and joined the Sulṭān's service. The latter, considering it desirable in the cir-

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[1] The word پٹّن Pattan is left out in one MS.

[2] The word is اعلان in both MSS., اعلام in the lith. ed., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. The 26th of Ramaḍan 932 A.H. corresponds to August 3rd, 1526 A.D., according to Col. Briggs and August (without any date) 1526 A.D. according to Bayley. Col. Briggs's date is according to the old style. The date of the assumption of the royalty would accordingly be 15th of August (N.S.), 1526 A.D., and the place Nahrwāla. The Cambridge History of India, page 323, gives the 11th July, 1526, and Ahmadābād as the date and place respectively of the accession.

[3] One MS. has یکساله زر, the other has only یکساله. The lith. ed. has مواجب یکساله. Firishtah also has مواجب یکساله. I have, therefore, retained the reading in the lith. ed. Firishtah adds that 'Imād-ul-mulk also sent an emissary to Shāhzāda Latīf Khān, so that he might with the latter's aid be able to fight with Sulṭān Bahādur.

[4] This sentence is not in the lith. ed. but is in both MSS. There is, however, a slight difference between the two readings. One MS. has باحمد اباد while the other has از احمدآباد. I think the latter is correct. It appears from Firishtah that he went from Aḥmādābād to Muḥammadābād; and بر امدہ means leaving and not entering.

[5] Baha-ool-Moolk and Dar-ool-Moolk were mentioned by Col. Briggs as two of the men who attacked and killed Sikandar Shah. See note 1, page 327.

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cumstances of the time, tried to please them, and endeavoured to comfort (their ?) hearts. The period of the rule of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Naṣīr Khān did not exceed four months.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF SULṬĀN BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

As the day of [2] the 'Id-i-Ramaḍān of the year 932 A.H. was according to the selection of astrologers fixed as the time of the accession of Sulṭān Bahādur he sat on the throne of his great ancestors (on that day) by the exertions of the *amīrs* and the great men of the country, and raised the standard of empire. The rites of making offerings of loyalty, and of wave offering were carried out; and (the hearts) of the *amīrs* and of the great [3] men and of the commanders of the army were gladdened by increases in their stipends, and by addition to their titles, and by grants of money and horses and robes of honour.

In the beginning of Shawwāl he moved from that place, and advanced towards Chāmpānīr. At the first stage of the journey Mu'aẓm Khān with a number of other respected leaders hastened to wait on him, and received favours and kindness. When he started from that station, on the way he [4] conferred the title of Shams-ul-mulk on Nūḥ

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[1] The heading I have in the text is the heading in both the MSS., with this difference that one has Shāh at the end, while the other omits it. The heading in the lith. ed. is ذکر سلطنته سلطان بهادر بن سلطان مظفر . This is more like the heading of other reigns.

[2] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 327, Bahādur Shāh assumed the royal insignia at Nahrwālah on the 25th Ramazān, 932 A.H., August 1526; and the formal accession took place at Ahmadābād. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 103) says, he was formally crowned at Nehrwala Puttun on the 26th Rumzan, 932 A.H., August 3rd, 1526 A.H. The Cambridge History of India, page 323, says he ascended the throne on July the 11th, 1526, at Ahmadābād.

[3] The words و اعیان are not to be found in one MS.

[4] There is a difference of readings here. One MS. has the reading I have accepted. The other MS. and the lith. ed. have نوح بن یوسف ملک و حسین بن سیف الملک را شمس الملک خطاب داد . Apparently there is some mistake, for one title could hardly be conferred on two persons. I have consulted Firishtah and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, but have not received any help from either. There is no mention of the fact in either. Firishtah after mentioning the arrival of Muẓaffar Khān goes on to say that the با ترک river Bātrak was in such flood, etc. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 331, at once takes Sultān Bahādar to the

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bin Yūsuf-ul-mulk; and when news came that the river of Bātrak was in such flood, that it was critical to cross it, Sulṭān Bahādur halted at the town of [1] Sahvunj; and left Tāj Khān on the bank of the river, that he might send the army over in different bodies one after another. The next day a number of the *amīrs* of Chāmpānīr, who had taken their [2] salaries from the treasury, came and joined him. Sulṭān Bahādur owing to the nobility of his spirit made a present of that [3] money to them. When Sulṭān Bahādur arrived at the bank of the river Mahindrī, at the fort of Khānpūr, his army commenced to cross over.

'Imād-ul-mulk sent men towards Barōda and in other directions, so that they might raise the dust of rebellion and keep the Sulṭān occupied with it. But the latter rapidly crossed the river, and advanced towards Chāmpānīr. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, Ḍiā'-ul-mulk, son of Naṣīr Khān, [4] came and saw him. The

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Mahindrī. Bayley in a note on that page says that the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī is rather fuller at this place, and makes a quotation from it; but the grant of the title on Nūḥ *bin* Yūsuf-ul-mulk or on Ḥusain *bin* Ṣaif-ul-mulk is not mentioned in it. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 105) does not mention the Bātrak, but says that Bahadur Shah was compelled to halt at the Saburmutty on account of the heavy rain, from which one might infer that the Bātrak is probably another name of the Saburmutty. Bayley in the quotation from the Tabakāt calls it the Wātrak.

[1] The name is written as سهونج in both MSS. and سيهونج in the lith. ed. and سونج in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[2] The word is ماهيانه in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It is مالها in the other MS. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I have not before this seen the word ماهيانه in respect of the stipends of *amīrs* and soldiers. The word ordinarily in use is علوفه. It is not clear in what way the *amīrs* had taken the *mahīāna* or *māl*, but it may be inferred from what he says in the next sentence, that there was something reprehensible or wrong about it.

[3] The lith. ed. adds بر زبان نياورد but neither the MSS. nor the corresponding sentence in Firishtah have those or any similar words.

[4] One MS. has آمده ديد. The other has امر سلطان باو ديد گفت. The word ديد has evidently been misplaced from before سلطان to after باو, and آمد has been written امر. The lith. ed. has only امد. The account given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 331) is different. It does not mention Ḍiā-ul-mulk at all, but says the Sultān crossed the river with four hundred horsemen and some elephants, before the rest of the army; and sent Tāj Khān with three hundred

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Sulṭān told him, "Go in advance, and convey this order to your father, that he should surround the house of 'Imād-ul-mulk and seize him". He also sent Tāj Khān very quickly with some other Khāns to attack 'Imād-ul-mulk; and he also himself mounted to follow him. Tāj Khān went with great quickness, and surrounded 'Imād-ul-mulk's house. The latter threw himself from the wall of the house, and took shelter in the house of Shāh Jīū Ṣadīqī. His house was pillaged and his sons taken prisoner. It so happened that Sulṭān Bahādur [1] crossed in front of the house of Khudāwand Khān. The latter came out of his house, and rendered homage. After that his slaves [2] seized 'Imād-ul-mulk, and brought him before the Sulṭān. The latter [3] ordered that 'Imād-ul-mulk and Ṣaif-ud-dīn and the other murderers of Sulṭān Sikandar should be hanged. The title of 'Imād-ul-mulk was conferred on Rafī'-ul-mulk, son of Malik Tuakil, who was one of the Muẓaffar Shāhī slaves; and he was made the *'Āriḍ-i-Mumālik* (the head-*munshī* of the kingdom).

[4] 'Aḍd-ul-mulk fled from Barōda, but on the way the kōlīs plundered all his equipage and things. Sulṭān Bahādur appointed Shamshēr-ul-mulk to seize 'Aḍd-ul-mulk; and he appointed Niẓām-ul-mulk to attack Muḥāfiẓ Khān. The rebels fled and sought the protec-

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horsemen in advance to seize 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Of course the Ṭabaqāt also says that Tāj Khān was sent later to attack 'Imād-ul-mulk.

[1] One MS. has گذر کرد, which I think would be better; but as the other MS., the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah all have عبور کرد, I have retained it.

[2] It appears from Firishtah that he was seized in the house of شاه چنو صدیقی who, according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 332, was not the man that had cursed Sultān Sikandar, but was the head keeper of the *dīwān*.

[3] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 105) says that Imad-ool-Moolk's son was also executed, but this does not appear anywhere else. The actual words about the mode of punishment in Firishtah are سر تا ناخنان پای زنده پوست کندند. As regards 'Imād-ul-mulk, however, Mīr Abū Tūrab says, on page 3 of his Tarīkh-i-Gujarāt, that در میدان دربار در میان بازار سرتا ناخنان پای زنده پوست کندند, *i.e.*, in the plain of the *darbār*, in the *bāzār* his skin was flayed, while he was still living, from his head to the nails of his toes.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. agrees generally with the text; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 106) says that the fugitives "sought refuge with Oody Sing, Raja of Poloh". This partly agrees with the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, which says that 'Azd-ul-mulk and Muhāfiz Khān fled to the hill country of Pal, Bayley, page 333.

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tion of Rāy Singh; and the troops sent against them [1] returned after plundering their goods and chattels. After two or three days news was brought that [2] the son of 'Arẓ-ul-mulk and Shāh Jīū Ṣadīqī and a number of the murderers of Sikandar Shāh had been slain in the house of Qadr Khān. [3] Bahā'-ul-mulk taking advantage of an opportunity fled from Chāmpānīr. On the way, the *shaḥna* (police superintendent) of Dēhī seized him, and brought him before the Sulṭān. As he had inflicted a wound on Sulṭān Sikandar, and the wound which [4] 'Ilm-ud-dīn had inflicted on him was still fresh (*i.e.*, unhealed), Sulṭān Bahādur ordered that he should be flayed, and then hanged. The three other men, who were among the murderers of Sulṭān Sikandar, were all (to use the quaint phraseology of the original) placed at the mouth of the cannon and sent into the air, or as one would say in ordinary language blown up at the mouths of cannon. In short, in a little while, all the murderers of Sulṭān Sikandar were put to death with great torture.

It so happened that on the day on which Sulṭān Bahādur entered Chāmpānīr, Latīf Khān, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, at the instigation of (some) *amīrs*, also came to the city and for some days remained concealed there. Qaiṣar Khān and Alf Khān and some other *amīrs* sent a message to [5] Latīf Khān that it was not fitting that he should remain there any longer; and he should in any case [6] conceal himself in some other corner. He became hopeless and scratching the [7] back of his

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[1] One MS. has مراجعت نمودند instead of مراجعت نمود.

[2] The MSS. have what I have got in the text. The lith. ed. agrees, with this difference that it has پسر عوض الملک instead of پسر عوض الملک. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has پسر عضد الملک. This appears to be correct. No person of the name of عوض الملک is mentioned anywhere else.

[3] He was one of the murderers of Sulṭān Sikandar, whose services Sulṭān Bahādur had at first thought it advisable to accept, but who, now according to Firishtah, became doubtful of his safety and fled. See also note 5, page 332.

[4] One MS. has عالم الدین.

[5] One MS. omits the Khān after Latīf.

[6] The words are باید بوساند in one MS. and in the lith. ed. They are باید رسانید in the other MS. I have accepted the latter, as it is more correct grammatically.

[7] The word پس is not to be found in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; but is in the other MS., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I have retained it, as

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head, [1] went to the country of Māl. The Rāja of Māl did not show any favour to him. 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and Muḥāfiẓ Khān then joined him, and they went from there to [2] Mūnkā; and there they passed the time in wandering about in the hilly country.

In short, Sulṭān Bahādur now commenced to attend to the welfare of the *ra'īyats* and of the soldiery; and made all the people, and all sections of the community participators in his boundless largesses. He increased the stipends of the soldiers generally by [3] ten-twenties and ten-forties; and gave them one year's wages, and made them contented and thankful. He also gave to the *faqīrs*, who lived round the tombs in Sarkhēj and Batūh and Rasulābād happy by giving them stipends and allowances.

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it is the back of the head that one scratches when in a quandary. پسِ سرخاریدن appears to be a Persian idiom.

[1] Firishtah lith. ed. says that Latīf Khān went to the country of Māl, but does not say what happened to him there, or whether he afterwards joined 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and Muḥāfiẓ Khān. Col. Briggs says he went to Poloh. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 333) does not appear to mention the fact that Latīf Khān came to Chāmpānīr, and remained concealed there, but says 'Azd-ul-mulk and Muhāfiz Khān fled to the country of Pāl, and joined Latīf Khān. The Cambridge History of India, page 323, says he fled to Pālanpur.

[2] The name is مونکا in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has مونگا. Col. Briggs says, vol. IV, page 106, that Azd-ool-Mulk and Mohafiz Khan fled to Mutwar, and in a note on the same page he gives the boundaries of Mutwar as between the Nerbudda and Tapty rivers, N. and S., and Little Oodipoor and Choly Maheswur, E. and W. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not give the name of the place, but Bayley in a note on page 334, in which he refers to the Tabakāt, says that Latīf Khān fled to the hill country of Bōngā.

[3] The meaning is not quite clear; it apparently means doubled and quadrupled, but this is not likely. Firishtah lith. ed. inserts a دہ سي between دہ بست and دہ چہل. This would be 300 per cent. None of the translations refers to this. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 333, says that "The Sulṭān now opened the hand of bounty, and like a cloud rained down gold and jewels and allowances and favours all round"; but there is no mention of the proportion by which the wages of the soldiers were increased. It appears from page 334, however, in connection with the allowances to Ghāzī Khān that دہ بست does mean twofold, and consequently دہ سی and دہ چہل also mean threefold and fourfold.

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[1] And as at that time, the fort of Chāmpānīr was the capital of Gujrāt, and the Sulṭāns ascended the throne there, he on the 15th of Dẖī-qa'dah, at the moment chosen by the astrologers, adorned and decorated a jewelled throne, inlaid with gems, in the manner of the old Sulṭāns near the eastern *darbār*, and on the date previously mentioned, which was in the year 932 A.H., he placed the crown on his head, and according to the custom of his ancestors, sat on the throne. The great men and the *Shaikẖs* and the *amīrs* and the Kẖāns spoke words of congratulations, and carried out the ceremonies of making loyal offerings and wave offerings. On that day, a thousand persons had the distinction of robes of honour being conferred on them; and a number of people were honoured by the grant of titles. [2] Ġẖāzī Kẖān was then appointed to the government of Nadarbār and Sulṭānpūr; and although his allowances had been increased by ten-twenty (*i.e.*, double) at the accession at Aḥmadābād, it was again doubled now.

At this time [3] news came that Latīf Kẖān had, at the instigation of 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and Muḥāfiẓ Kẖān, gone to the hills of [4] Āwās in the vicinity of Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār, with the intention of creating a disturbance and raising a revolt. Sulṭān Bahādur ordered that an army should be sent, which would in co-operation with Ġẖāzī Kẖān crush and destroy him. [5] At this time, the date of the accession on

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[1] This second coronation is mentioned by Firishtah lith. ed. and very briefly by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 106). The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 334) also mentions it briefly after mentioning the famine.

[2] It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 334, that the Sulṭān ordered Tāj Khān to command the army against Latīf Khān and his adherents; but Tāj Khān represented that Ghāzī Khān son of Ahmad Khān was the best man for the work, and the latter was then appointed to the *sūbah* of Nandarbār.

[3] According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 333, the famine occurred before the receipt of the news of Latīf Khān's revolt, and the appointment of Ghāzī Khān, or at least the famine is mentioned there before the revolt.

[4] The place is so named in the MSS., in the lith. ed., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 106) calls it the Ahwas hills. They do not appear to be mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

[5] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have the text as I have it, but in the corresponding passage of Firishtah there is the word چون before, and the word ابن after the word مقارن. This is, I think, a better reading. The date of the accession on the *'Id-ul-ḍuḥa* was the anniversary of the accession at Aḥmadābād which took place on that day.

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the *'Id-uḍ-ḍuḥa* arrived. On this day the Sulṭān arranged a grand festive assembly, and again bestowed on many of the *amīrs* robes and belts and daggers and swords, and in this way made them pleased with him.

It so happened, that at this time a famine took place, and (the Sulṭān) ordered Hushiyār-ul-mulk, who was the treasurer, to attend at his stirrups, so that at the time when he was riding, he should give a [1] *Muẓaffarī* to everyone who should ask for help. The Sulṭān rode out every day twice to play *chaugān*; and in every city many alms houses were established for *faqīrs* and poor people; and the Sulṭān [2] endeavoured with all his energy to ameliorate the condition of the *ra'īyats*; so that in a short time a new grandeur and splendour appeared in the country of Gujrāt.

A considerable time had not yet elapsed, when the men, who had been creating disturbances, began to move again. Shujā'-ul-mulk fled and joined Latīf Khān, and Qaiṣar Khān who was one of the great *amīrs* of Muẓaffar Shāh sent a number of his retainers with him. As Qaiṣar Khān and [3] Ulugh Khān had been in agreement with 'Imād-ul-mulk in the matter of the murder of Sulṭān Sikandar, and were afraid of suffering the punishments for their acts, they did not abandon their hostile attitude. The loyal *amīrs* having come to know of this informed the Sulṭān. [4] The latter sent Ulugh Khān with a well

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[1] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 333, says, "a gold ashrafī". The Sulṭān's riding out to play *chaugān* is mentioned in this connection, I suppose, to indicate that the *Muẓaffarīs* were given away on these occasions.

[2] The wording in the MS. and in the lith. ed. which is همگی همت در ترفیه احوال برایا کوشش مینمود appears to be defective. Either there should be the preposition به before همگی, or the words همگی همت should be omitted. These words are omitted in the corresponding sentence in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[3] One MS. and Firishtah lith. ed. and Col. Briggs and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī have الغ خان, so I have taken that name, though the other MS. and the lith. ed. have الف خان.

[4] There is apparently some misstatement in the sequence of events. Apparently Ulugh Khān had already been sent in command of the army sent against Latīf Khān, when the loyal *amīrs* made the representation in the matter; but the difficulty is that it is said that Qaisar Khān and Ulugh Khān were put into prison. Probably Ulugh Khān was recalled, or he had not started, although the troops he was to command had. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 335,

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equipped army against Latīf Khān. Some of the loyal adherents of the Sulṭān represented to him, that as Qaiṣar Khān and Ulugh Khān had combined with 'Imād-ul-mulk in the murder of Sulṭān Sikandar, and now they were again awakening the rebellion, which had fallen asleep, by sending letters, etc., it was not right that they should be in that neighbourhood. The Sulṭān was considering this matter, when news came to Tāj Khān, that Ulugh Khān and Qaiṣar Khān had summoned Latīf Khān to Nādōt by a road which was not well known and they were about to join him. Tāj Khān reported all this to the Sulṭān in private, and took an oath on the word of God (*i.e.*, the *Qurān*) that there was no untruth in what he was saying. The next day, when the *amīrs*, according to daily custom, came to salute (the Sulṭān), Qaiṣar Khān and Ulugh Khān were put into prison. [1] Dāwar-ul-mulk, who had escaped by means of an excuse, was arrested. Ḍiā'-ul-mulk and Khwājah Bābū who were suspected of associating with the conspirators were also imprisoned; they were brought into the public audience hall, with their heads uncovered and their hands bound. The men of the city assembled in multitudes and plundered their houses. Ḍiā'-ul-mulk placed a robe round his neck, and made humble supplication; and Bābū agreed to pay [2] fifty lakhs of *tankas* as the ransom of blood. Sulṭān Bahādur gave up the idea of putting them to death and ordered them to be released. His kingdom was now purified from the weeds of disturbance and rebellion.

In the beginning of the year 933 A.H., 1527 A.D., a body of *silāḥdārs* (troopers), whose numbers reached [3] ten thousand, made a

says that Kaisar Khān and 'Ulugh Khān and Dāwar-ul-Mulk were all ordered to be beheaded. Bayley in a note says that Firishtah says that 'Ulugh Khān's innocence was established. Firishtah nowhere, as far as I can see, says so. Like the author of the Ṭabaqāt Firishtah only says that Qaisar Khān and Ulugh Khān were put into prison, but does not say anything about what happened to them later.

[1] The name is written as دوار الملک and قرار المک in the MS., and داور الملک in the lith. ed.

[2] One MS. has here by mistake بیچارہ helpless, as an adjective to Bābū instead of پنجاہ fifty.

[3] The number is ten thousand in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. But Firishtah lith. ed. has two thousand. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 107) makes it a large party headed by nearly two thousand officers. According to Firishtah they

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complaint on a Friday, that they had not received their allowances, and did not allow the *Khuṭba* to be read. Sulṭān Bahādur excused the offence on account of his innate forbearance, and ordered the payment of their allowances. These men had intended to go to Latīf Khān, and they had also instigated others to do so.

At this time a petition came from Ghāzī Khān to the effect that "Latīf Khān has come to Sulṭānpūr with a large force and has raised the standard of hostility. I went and met him, and after the battle, 'Aḍd-ul-mulk and Muḥāfiẓ Khān fled, and Rāy Bhīm with his brothers fell on the battlefield, and Latīf Khān was wounded and taken prisoner". Sulṭān Bahādur immediately on hearing this news, sent Muḥib-ul-mulk, and a body of other *amīrs*, so that they might properly and kindly attend to the condition of Latīf Khān, and bring him to his presence, after placing ointments on his wounds; but as he was mortally wounded he died on the way. He was buried in the village of Hālōl, one of the dependencies of Chāmpānīr, by the side of Sulṭān Sikandar. In the course of the same year [1] Naṣīr Khān, who had received the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd also died. The Sulṭān appointed a number of beadsmen (وظیفه دار) at his brothers' tombs, and ordered the daily distribution of cooked and uncooked food there.

In the same year, also, news came that [2] Rāy Singh, Rāja of Māl on hearing of the execution of Qaiṣar Khān, sought an opportunity

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made their complaint in the *Jāma'* Masjid, and this is also indicated by the fact mentioned in the text, that they prevented the reader of the public prayers to read them. Firishtah also does not attribute the act of the Sulṭān to his forbearance, but says he knew they intended to go over to Latīf Khān; and therefore ordered their allowances to be paid, as a matter of policy. Their intention of going over to Latif Khān is also mentioned in the text.

[1] This was a young king who was placed on the throne by 'Imād-ul-mulk after the murder of Sulṭān Sikandar. The Cambridge History of India, page 323, says that he was secretly put to death, but I do not know the authority on which this statement is made. Neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah nor the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says so, though it is quite possible that the young prince was secretly murdered.

[2] The reason of the hostility of Rāy Singh on hearing the news of the execution of Qaiṣar Khān, and of his invading the Sulṭān's dominion, and of sacking the town of Dahūd is not at all clear, nor is it clear why Rāy Singh should have seized a lot of the properties of Ḍiā'-ul-mulk, the son of Qaiṣar Khān. The Cambridge History of India, page 323, says that it was the murder of the

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and sacked the town of [1] Dahūd, and much property belonging to Ḍiā'-ul-mulk, son of Qaiṣar Khān fell into his hands. The Sulṭān on hearing this news became anxious, and wanted to advance in person. Tāj Khān, however, submitted to him, that at the beginning of a reign, many occurrences like this take place, and His Majesty should not at all allow any distress or pain to lodge in his heart. If this slave is commanded to undertake this service, he would with the divine favour and the auspiciousness of His Majesty's attention, chastise that turbulent man, the Rāja of Māl, as he deserves. The Sulṭān immediately conferred a robe of honour on him, and sent one *lakh* of horsemen with him for the punishment of Rāy Singh, the Rāja of Māl. Tāj Khān

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child Mahmūd II, that alienated Udai Singh of Pālanpur, or, as he is described in the text and in Firishtah, of Rāy Singh, Rāja of Māl. But it is not clear why this Hindū chief should have taken the murder of the young Musalmān prince so much to heart as to put his country into such danger by raiding the territory of the powerful Sulṭān of Gujrāt. The text both of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah make it clear that it was on hearing of the execution of Qaiṣar Khān, قتل قیصر خان, that he sought an opportunity and sacked Dahūd. In respect of Nasīr Khān both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah had used the word, وفات, death. So that when they speak of the قتل قیصر خان, the name قیصر خان cannot be a mistake for نصیر خان. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 335, does not directly connect the raid by Rāi Singh of Pāl, as he is called there, either with the execution of Kaisar Khān or the death of Nasīr Khān but it connects it indirectly with the former, and not in any way with the latter. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not mention the fact of the property of Ziā-ul-mulk being taken in the text, but Bayley in a note on page 336 quoting from the Tabakāt says that Rai Singh "made his attack on hearing of the execution of Kaisar Khān, apparently because he supposed that that showed disunion in Bahādar Shāh's camp". This is not a very cogent reason, but I mention it for what it is worth. Later on in the same note Bayley calls Ziā-ul-mulk, the son of Nasīr Khān; and that Rāi Singh's son afterwards came in and submitted and was honoured with a dress (*Khil'at*). Both these statements appear to me to be incorrect. The Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah both calls Ḍiā-ul-mulk, the son of Qaiṣar Khān. There is no Nasīr Khān mentioned anywhere, about this time except the young prince, who certainly had no sons. As to the visit of Rāy Singh's son to the Sulṭān, it will be seen from the text that it was Rānā Sānkā's son and not Rāy Singh's, who came and paid a visit to the Sulṭān. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, however, says that it was Rāy Singh's son. Probably Bayley had some MS. before him, that also said so.

[1] دهور in the text.

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[1] invaded the country of Māl and began to devastate it. Rāy Singh then, with great humility and distress, submitted a petition for the pardon of his offences, through the intervention of Sharf-ul-mulk who was one of Sulṭān Muẓaffar's *amīrs*. It did not, however, meet with acceptance; and Tāj Khān penetrated into the country and stretched his hands to plunder and ravage it; and did not leave anything undone in devastating it. Rāy Singh chose a difficult position, and prepared to fight there, and Tāj Khān standing firm and strong met him. A large number of active and strong men were killed on the side of Rāy Singh, and [2] only one man was killed on the side of the Musalmāns. Tāj Khān remained one month in the country of Māl, after which he hastened to the service of the Sulṭān.

In the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the same year, Sulṭān Bahādur left his capital with the object of hunting. At this time a number of the *ra'īyats* of Kanbāyet came, and made complaint of the acts of the officer in-charge of the town. The Sulṭān sent Tāj Khān to arrange the affairs of that neighbourhood; and issued an order for the dismissal of the *dārōgha* of Kanbāyet. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Chāmpānīr, the son of Rānā Sānkā came to render homage, and after staying there for some days, and after being made happy by favours and kindness, received permission to leave.

In the year 934 A.H., 1528 A.D., the Sulṭān cast the shadow of conquest over the countries of Īdar and Bākar, and having in a short time conquered those countries, returned to Chāmpānīr. He then went with a small retinue to rebuild the fort of Bahrōj, and after

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[1] There is a little difference in the readings. One MS. has در امدہ بنیاد خرابی نہاد, *i.e.*, having invaded the country began to devastate it. The other has only در امد, *i.e.*, invaded the country. The lith. ed. has در امد. I have adopted the first reading as it gives reason for Rāy Singh's humility. Firishtah also has the same reading.

[2] This is somewhat curious, but Firishtah also says و از مسلمانان زیادہ یک نفر بقتل نیامد, *i.e.*, of the Musalmāns more than one man was not killed. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 108) also says the same thing, but he describes it as a remarkable fact; and he says only one man of Taj Khan's army is said to have fallen. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī also says the same thing, and says that the man who was killed was named Muhamad Hasan (Bayley, p. 336). M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted و از مسلمانان، یک سو نفر بقتل آمد in the text-edition.

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finishing his work there, went to Kanbāyet. One day, when he was amusing himself on the coast, a ship happened to arrive from the port Dīp. The men, who came in it, reported, that a ship belonging to the *firangīs* had been cast ashore by the wind. Qawām-ul-mulk had seized the property on board the ship, and was [1] causing the *firangīs* the hardship of being made slaves. On hearing this news after breaking his [2] fast the Sulṭān travelled to Dīp by road. Qawām-ul-mulk hastened to meet him, and produced the *firangīs* before him. He invited them to accept Islām, and having made a large number of them Musalmāns, raised the standard of return.

In the same year [3] a letter came from ʻĀdil Khān, governor of Āsīr, who was a nephew (sister's son) of Sulṭān Bahādur, the purport

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[1] The meaning of the words which are بذل عبودیت مبتلا دارد in the MSS. (though the word بذل is written as بدل in one of them) is not quite clear, but I suppose my translation is correct. Firishtah has the word بذیل instead of بذل. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 109) says the crew had been made prisoners.

[2] The word is افتار in both MSS. and افطار in the lith. ed. Firishtah says the Sulṭān became very pleased on hearing the news, and agrees generally as to the facts of the incidents; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 109) says in the text that all the Europeans taken on this occasion were circumcised, and became Mahomedans; but in a note he says that "The Portuguese historian states that they resisted being converted and were eventually released. James de Mesquita was the name of the officer; and his whole crew consisted of only sixteen men in a boat. It is certain that James de Mesquita was with Bahadur Shah afterwards, at the siege of Chittoor, and was employed by him as his envoy to Nuno de Cunha in the year that Bahadur Shah lost his life". This incident does not appear to be mentioned in either the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or the Cambridge History of India.

[3] The tenor of the letter is rather vague and disjointed. Firishtah lith. ed. agrees generally but the names of the party are somewhat different. ʻĀdil Khān is called Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī Burhān Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, Barīd Bīdarī Qāṣim Barīd and ʻImād-ul-mulk, ʻAlā-ud-din ʻImād Shāh; and instead of the three hundred elephants mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt, Firishtah says some elephants, چند سلسله فیل, were carried away as plunder. Col. Briggs's account is similar to Firishtah; but he calls Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh "Meeran Mahomed Khan". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 340, generally agrees; but says that the confederacy against 'Imād-ul-Mulk Gāwēlī or Mīrān Muḥammad Khān consisted of besides Nizām-ul-Mulk and Barīd, Khudāwand Khān Pāthirī, and 'Aīn-ul-Mulk and others; but it says nothing of the looting of the elephants and the taking of the fort of Māhūr; but Bayley mentions them

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of which was this, "As 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāwīlī had prayed with humility for help from this *faqīr*, and Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī and [1] Malik Barīd of Bīdar had forcibly entered into the country Kāwīl, the *faqīr* went to help and reinforce 'Imād-ul-mulk; and a great battle took place. The *faqīr* drove away the men in front of him. Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, who was in ambush, attacked and defeated 'Imād-ul-mulk; and carried away as plunder three hundred elephants belonging to the *faqīr*. The *faqīr* has [2] now come, relying on the generosity of Your Majesty. Whatever noble order is issued by you will be entirely for the welfare of all; and he (I suppose, Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī) has violently taken possession of the fort of [3] Māhūr, which is the greatest fort in Kāwīl." An order was issued to the following effect, "Last year a petition came from 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Malik 'Ain-ul-mulk, the governor of Nahrwāla, in accordance with orders, went and amicably settled the matter between the parties. Now that this violence has been perpetrated by Niẓām-ul-mulk; therefore in accordance with the saying—the offender is a tyrant—he is the tyrant and 'Imād-ul-mulk the victim of his oppression; and it is a duty incumbent on the energy of all merciful people to help the oppressed." In the month of Muḥarram in the year 935 A.H., September, 1528 A.D., the Sulṭān advanced with an immense army with the object of conquering the Deccan, and encamped in the town of Barōda; and a long time elapsed there for the mustering of the troops.

[4] About the middle of that year 935 A.H., 1529 A.D., Jām Fīrūz, the ruler of Thatha, had to leave his country owing to the growing power of the Arghūns, and came and joined Sulṭān Bahādur.

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in a foot-note. The account of the Cambridge History of India, page 324, is somewhat similar; but it says in addition, that the cause of the quarrel was the possession of the town and district of Pāthrī on the Godāvarī, which belonged to the ruler of Berar by right but were coveted and had been annexed by that of Ahmadnagar ('Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh).

[1] مدبر بدری in the text-edition.

[2] The word is حالا in one MS., but حالها in the other and in the lith. ed.

[3] The word is مکاهرومل in one MS.

[4] Firishtah's account agrees, but he does not name the Arghuns, but substitutes Maghūls. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 110) calls them Arghoons. Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not mention the allowance of twelve *lakhs* of *tankas*.

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The latter showed kindness to him, and fixed a stipend of twelve *lakhs* of *tankas* for his personal [1] expenses; and promised that, "God willing I shall give you your hereditary dominion after recovering it from the Maghūls".

As the fame of the grandeur of Bahādur Shāh, and the report of his imperial gifts spread in the inhabited fourth part of the world, the Rāys from near and far turned their faces to his threshold, which was a seat of prosperity. The [2] nephew of the Rāja of Gwāliar with a body of *Pūrabīa* Rājpūts came, and were enlisted among his special attendants. [3] Bahrūn, son of Prithī Rāj, nephew of Rānā Sānkā, also came with some notable Rājpūts, and entered his service. Some Dakinī *sardārs* also came and attained to the good fortune of an audience (of the Sulṭān). All of them, in accordance with their status and position, obtained a share in his favours and gifts.

As a long time elapsed (in the Sulṭān's) residence in Chāmpānīr, 'Imād-ul-mulk sent his son Ja'far Khān to wait on the Sulṭān, and represented that, owing to his arrogance and pride, Niẓām-ul-mulk Bāḥrī had no inclination towards a treaty of peace. If the Sulṭān would once advance into the Deccan, the object of this slave would be attained. The Sulṭān granted his prayer, and decided to invade the Deccan. About this time, Ja'far Khān submitted, that if the Sulṭān permitted, he would like to go and see the city of Aḥmadābād and the country of Kanbāyet; and would soon come back to attend on the Sulṭān. His prayer was allowed, and he had arrived in Kanbāyet, when he was informed, that the Sulṭān had moved out of Aḥmadābād to carry out his expedition into the Deccan, and had

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[1] The word خرچ is left out from one MS.

[2] His name is given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 343, as Nar Sing Dēō brother's son of Mān Singh, Rājah of Gwāliār.

[3] The name is بتر or بنر in the MSS., and مین in the lith. ed., and بهرون in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs calls him Sreeputty Ray (evidently mixing up the names of the father and the son), nephew of Rana Sanka. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says that it was Prithī Rāj, nephew of Rānā Sānkā and not his son who came. Following the Tabaqāt and Firishtah, I have adopted Bahrūn as the name of the Rājpūt chief, son of Prithī Rāj, who came. Of all the names it is the only one which has any similarity to a Hindū name. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has بنسر بن پرتهی راج in the text-edition.

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encamped in the town of [1] Dabōhī. Ja'far Ḵẖān waited on the Sulṭān there. [2] The Sulṭān halted there for some time and again returned to [3] Muḥammadābād and passed the rainy season there. [4] He then in the year 937 A.H. marched towards Bākar and Īdar; and he sent Ḵẖudāwand Ḵẖān and 'Imād-ul-mulk from the village of Ḵẖānpūr with a well-equipped army and many elephants to Bākar; and himself proceeded towards Ḳanbāyet. He spent one day at Kanbāyet, and then embarked in a ship for the Dīp. At the latter place all the stuffs and other merchandise, which were in the ships, that arrived from the various ports round about, were put into various store-houses. Among these things, there were one thousand and six hundred maunds of roses (or rose water) from Damascus. He also showed very great kindness to the body of *Rūmīs* (Turks) who had [5] come with Muṣṭafī

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[1] The name of the town is درلوهی in one MS., and درائی in the lith. ed. In the other MS. the name of the town is not mentioned. It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 344, that the names of the two stations in the Sultān's march were the town of Dabhōī and the village of Dhārōlī. I have adopted the name of Ḍabōhī. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has درلوهی in the text-edition.

[2] Bayley says in a note, on page 343 of his History of Gujarāt, that the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Firishtah and the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī say very little about this campaign. He gives a very brief summary of what the Tārīkh-i-Alfī and Firishtah say, but none of what is said in the Tabakāt. What is said in the Ṭabaqāt is so mixed up with other matters, and with accounts of more or less aimless wanderings, that it is difficult to give any summary. I have not attempted to give a summary of what Firishtah, the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India say about it, but have confined myself to a translation of the text.

[3] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted احمد آباد in the text-edition.

[4] Firishtah mentions this, after giving a brief account of the campaign. His account of these journeys agrees generally with that in the text, but he says that instead of buying sixteen hundred *mans* of roses or rose water of Damascus, he bought sixteen hundred *mans* of پسته و مویز, pistachio nuts and dried grapes. Col. Briggs does not mention these purchases, and I cannot find any mention of them anywhere else.

[5] Firishtah says that they had come برسم تجارت, *i.e.*, as merchants; and it is not clear why they were is such helpless condition and could not go back to their own country.

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Rūmī, and were in a strange country. He arranged residences for them; and returned after recommending them to the favour of Malik Ayāz.

When after travelling over the various stages, he arrived at Chāmpānīr, [1] 'Umr Khān and Quṭb Khān, and a number of other *amīrs* of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who had, for fear of His Majesty Firdūs Makānī, fled to Gujrāt, waited upon the Sulṭān; and were exalted to high ranks. On the 1st day [2] three thousand robes of honour woven all over with gold thread, and fifty horses, and some *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash were bestowed on them; and after pleasing their hearts, the Sulṭān had the drum beaten for a march to Mahrāsa. After his arrival there, Khudāwand Khān and the other *amīrs* came and waited upon him. He then penetrated into Bākar by successive marches; and arranged for the perfect government of that territory, and appointed *thānadārs* at all necessary stations. Pars Rām, the Rāja of Bākar, becoming thoroughly helpless entered the Sulṭān's service. His son having attained to the nobility of Islām became a Musalmān in the presence of Sulṭān Bahādur. But [3] Jagā, Pars Ram's brother, with a number of insurgents moved about in the hills and forests. Afterwards he went for fear of his life to [4] Ratan Sēn, son of Rānā

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[1] One MS. inserts و قاضی خان and Qāzi Khān, after قطب خان Quṭb Khān.

[2] It is سیصد in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but I think سه صد or three hundred was the correct number.

[3] The name is جکا in the MSS., and جنکا in the lith. ed. It is چگا in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 112) calls him Jugut Ray. The name does not appear to be mentioned in the text of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, but in a note, on pages 347, 348, he is called Chagā or Jagā or Jagat. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has جکا in the text-edition.

[4] The name is رتن سی, Ratan Sī in the MS. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but it is رتن سین, Ratan Sēn in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs has Rana Ruttun. He is called Rānā Ratanī in the text of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 350, but in a note it is said that he was variously called Ratan Sī, Ratan Sēn and Ratanī Chand. The Cambridge history of India (p. 326) calls him Ratan Singh, in an unsuccessful attempt to give the Sanskrit form of the name; but just as Sangrāma Singh is not correct Sanskrit so Ratan Singh also is not correct Sanskrit. It should be Ratna Sinha. But the Musalmān historians and even Tod, the author of the Rājasthān are content with Sanga Rānā or Rānān Sānkā, and Ratna and Bikramājīt the names of the brother and successor of

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Sānkā for protection; and made him the medium for his entering the service (of the Sulṭān). It so happened that the Sulṭān had at that time gone to Bānswāla on a hunting expedition. Ratan Sēn sent emissaries there and with great humility and meekness prayed for the pardon of Jagā's offences. The Sulṭān acceded to his prayer, and sent for Jagā. He then laid the foundation of a noble mosque in the [1] village and *ghāt* of Karchī, and gave that town (Karchī) to Prithī Rāj; and divided the rest of the territory of Bākar between [2] Prithī Rāj and Jagā in equal shares.

He remained there for some days with the object of hunting, when scouts brought the information, that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī,

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Ratan Sēn which the author of the Cambridge History of India has correctly transliterated into Vikramāditya.

[1] The name of the village is دکیات کرچی Dakīāt Karḥī in one MS. and دکهنیات کرجی Dakhnīāt Karjī and دکهات کرجی Dakhāt Karjī, in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it looks like لهات کرجی Lahāt Karjī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 113) says that the king having caused a mosque to be built in the village of Larky G'hat gave it over in perpetuity to Jugut Ray. Whether the mosque or the village was given in perpetuity to him is not clear and in any case the statement differs from that of Firishtah, who says the Sulṭān gave the town to Prithī Rāj. It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 348, that *wakils* of Ratanī Rājah of Chītōr waited upon the Sultān at the pass of Karchī. I think therefore that the correct reading is موضع وگهات کرچی, the village and *ghāt* of Karchī, and I have adopted this. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has در موضع دکهات کرجی in the text-edition.

[2] There must be some mistake here. Pars Rām and not Prithī Rāj was the Rāja of Bākar. Prithī Rāj appears to have been Rāja of Dūngarpūr. It is not at all clear why he should have got half of Bākar to the exclusion of Pars Rām and his son, the former of whom had entered the Sulṭān's service, and the latter had become a Musalmān. The Cambridge History of India, page 325, says in a few words what happened to Bāker (as it calls it), and Bānswārā. It says he "led an expedition in to Bāker and Bānswāra. The Rānā, Ratan Singh II, who had succeeded Sangrama after the battle of Sīkrī interceded for the two chiefs, and Bahādur stayed his hand". I am afraid this does not give much information of what actually happened, and what information is given is not accurate. There is no mention of the division of Bākar, whether it was between Prithī Rāj and Jāga, or between Pars Rām and the latter. There was also no expedition into Bānslah or Bānswārah. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says definitely that the Sultān left his army behind, and went to Bānswāla on a hunting excursion and nothing appears to have been done in respect of him or of the Rāja. The names Ratan Singh and Sangrama are also both incorrect.

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who had been bound by ties of gratitude to the late Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh, and had received many favours from him, had sent [1] Sharzāh Khān, who was the civil and military governor of Mandū, that he might plunder and ravage some of the towns in the territory of Chitōr; and Ratan Sēn, son of Rānā Sānkā had with a large force plundered and devastated the villages of Sipla and Balāvat; and was confronting Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī at Ujjain. [2] Ratan Sēn's ambassadors also came at this time, and represented to the Sulṭān, that he should forbid Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, so that the latter might not without any reason move the chain of hostility. They also informed him, that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had gone from Ujjain to Sarāngpūr; and had taken Silhadī *Pūrabīa* with him, with the object of putting him to death; and Silhadī having become aware of his intention had in conjunction with Sikandar Khān Satwāī gone to Chitōr, and had sought the protection of Ratan Sēn; and Sikandar Khān and Bhūpat, son of Silhadī, were coming from there to wait on His Majesty. Accordingly on the 27th of Jamādī-āwwal, Sikandar Khān and Bhūpat came and waited on the Sulṭān. The latter bestowed on them seven hundred robes woven entirely of gold thread and seventy horses; and did everything to please them.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd received information of the departure of Sikandar Khān and Bhūpat, he sent Daryā Khān, as an ambassador, with a message that he also intended to have the honour of presenting himself; but the acquisition of that blessing had remained in abeyance owing to certain reasons; but God willing he intended on this occasion to have the great pleasure of meeting His Majesty. Sulṭān Bahādur

[1] The lith. ed. of Firishtah appears to be defective here, as it says that Sharzāh Khān after plundering certain towns in the territory of Chitōr, was confronting Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī at Ujjain. Col. Briggs does not say that Ratan Sen plundered any villages in Mālwa, or was confronting Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī at Ujjain. On the other hand, he says that Shirza Khan had passed through Oojein to Sarungpoor. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 349, also does not say that Ratan Sen had plundered any villages in Mālwa; but it does mention that he was confronting Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī at Ujain.

[2] Firishtah and Col. Briggs and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī generally agree with the text; but Col. Briggs says that Moyin Khan, son of Sikundur Khan Mewaty, and not the latter himself had fled to Chittor. Sikandar Khān is said in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 349, to have been the governor of Sīwās.

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said to Daryā Khān, "On various occasions, the glad tidings of a visit have reached my ears. If Sulṭān Maḥmūd comes and meets me, I shall certainly not give an asylum to the fugitives from his courts". He then granted permission to the [1] ambassador of Sulṭān Maḥmūd to return, after bestowing favours on him. Then he marched towards Bānswāla, and when he arrived at the *ghāt* or pass of Karchī, Ratan Sēn and Silhadī hastened to wait on him. On the first day the Sulṭān bestowed on them thirty elephants and one thousand five hundred robes of honour made of stuff of woven gold thread. After a few days, Ratan Sēn obtained leave to go to Chitōr; but Silhadī having elected to enter the Sulṭān's service stayed on.

Sulṭān Bahādur depending on the promise of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī proceeded towards [2] Sambla; and determined, that if Sulṭān Maḥmūd came, he would perform the ceremonies of receiving and hospitably entertaining him; and then go as far as Kanbāyet and the pass of Dēvla, and after bidding him farewell there returned to the capital. At this place Muḥammad Khān Āsīrī came and waited upon him. [3] When the latter arrived at Sambla he waited for ten days for Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After that Daryā Khān again came from Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and informed him that his master had fallen from his horse while hunting, and had broken his right arm; and it was not fit that he should come in his present condition. The Sulṭān said,

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[1] The word is فرستادہ in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but ایلچی in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt.

[2] The name is سنبلیہ Sanblīa in one MS. سنبلہ Sanbla in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; and سندلہ Sandla in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 114) has Tandla, and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 350, has "the village of Sambaliah". سنبلہ Sanbla in the text is apparently a mistake for Sambla.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 326, gives a very good summary of the matters in dispute at this time between the Sultān of Gujarāt and Mālwa, but unfortunately ends with a mistake, when it says, "Sultān Mahmud owed his tenure of his throne to the capture of Māndū from rebellious Rājputs by Mahmūd Begarha". It needs scarcely be said that it was Sulṭān Muẓaffar, and not Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarha, who captured Mandū from the rebellious Rājpūts (see pp. 318, 319 of the Cambridge History of India itself). It may also be mentioned that مندو should be transliterated as Mandū and not as Māndū.

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"As he has broken his promise several times, if he does not come I shall go myself". Daryā Khān again said, "Chānd Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar is with Sulṭān Maḥmūd. If the latter comes and Your Majesty demands the surrender of Chānd Khān, it would be very difficult to give him up, and it would be impossible to withhold him. In truth that is the reason why he cannot come". Sulṭān Bahādur said, "I have relinquished the idea of demanding the surrender of Chānd Khān. Please go and tell Sulṭān Maḥmūd, that he should come soon". When the emissary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd received leave to go back, Sulṭān Bahādur travelled [1] slowly along, and waited for Sulṭān Maḥmūd's arrival. When he arrived at Dībālpūr, it became known that Sulṭān Maḥmūd wanted to confer the title of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-din on his eldest son, and he sent him to the fort of Mandū whilst he himself should leave it and seclude himself somewhere else; and he had no desire to meet Sulṭān Bahādur. [2] Some of the *amīrs* of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who were aggrieved with him on account of his disagreeable behaviour towards them, came and saw Sulṭān Bahādur; and several of them represented to him, that Sulṭān Maḥmūd was passing the time with idle excuses; and did not intend voluntarily to come; and Sulṭān Bahādur's army should without delay begin the siege of the fort (of Mandū).

Sulṭān Bahādur then started from that place, and encamped at [3] Sūdpūr; and at that station, Sharzat-ul-mulk fled from the fort of Mandū, and hastened to wait on him. The next morning the army moved from that place, and encamped at the village of Dilāwarah. When the Sulṭān arrived at Na'lcha, he directed the different detachments to take up their position for the siege. Muḥammad Khān Āsīrī

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[1] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has selected بتانی طی منازل می نمود in the text-edition.

[2] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 114) says, "the delay which this arrangement involved gave the Guzerat courtiers an opportunity of again misrepresenting the conduct of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy". This is not quite correct. It was the Mālwa and not the Gujrāt *amīrs* who complained of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's conduct, and it does not appear that even they misrepresented it.

[3] This clause appears in one MS. where the place is called سود پور and in the lith. ed. where it is called سور پور; but not in the other MS. or in Firishtah. Neither Sūdpūr nor Sūrpūr is mentioned in any other history.

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was posted to the west at the battery of [1] Shāhpūr, and [2] Ulugh Khān to Bhīlpūr. He sent the *Pūrabīa* contingent to [3] Pahalwānīa; and himself took up his quarters in the *maḥals* (palaces) at [4] Muḥammadpūr.

On the [5] 9th Sha'bān, 937 A.H., at the time of the true dawn, the standards of Baḥādur Shāh rose above the horizon of the fort of Mandū. At that very moment, Chānd Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, got out of the fort and fled. Sulṭān Maḥmūd armed himself and with the few men that he had, came out to give battle; but as he [6] did not see that he was sufficiently strong to do so, he went into the palace

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[1] The name is شاہ پول, Shāhpūl in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is شاہ پور Shāhpūr in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 351, has "the trenches at Shāhpūr".

[2] The name is الغ خان Ulugh Khān in both MSS. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has لقمان Luqmān, which is certainly incorrect, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 115) improves it by making it Lokmun Sing. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has الف خان Alf Khān and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has Alaf Khān. As to the name of the place the MSS. have بہیل پور Bhīlpūr and پہل پول Pahlpūl. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has بہیل پور Bhīlpūr and that of Firishtah بہل پول Bahlpūl. Col. Briggs has Seetulpoor, and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 351, Bahlōlpūr.

[3] The MSS. have پہلوانیہ Pahalwānīa, and the lith. ed. has بہگوانہ Bhagwāna. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has سلہوانہ Salhwāna. Col. Briggs has Julwara, and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has Bahalwānah. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted سہلوانیہ Sahlwānīa, in the text-edition.

[4] The MSS. have محمد پور Muḥammadpūr, and محمود پور Maḥmūdpūr, while the lith. ed. has محمود آباد Maḥmūdābād. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has محمود پول Maḥmūdpūl, and Col. Briggs has Mahomedpoor, while the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 351, does not state where the Sultān took up his quarters, but says that on the 20th Rajab he advanced his camp to Mahmūdpūr.

[5] The date is the 9th Sha'bān in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. and also in Col. Briggs, but the lith. ed. of Firishtah has the night of the 29th Sha'bān, and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 351, has the same date. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī describes how Sultān Bahādar himself with some great men effected an entrance into the fort by climbing a steep and high hill on the side of Sangār Chītōrī. The exploit was something like that of Humāyūn, who six years later, in 942 A.H., captured Chāmpānīr, by climbing a steep hill, by driving spikes into it. (See translation, vol. II, pages 54, 55.)

[6] One MS. has نداشت, but the other and the lith. ed. have ندید.

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[1] to slay his wife and children. Sulṭān Bahādur's soldiers surrounded the *maḥal* (palace), and sent a message that there was full assurance of safety to the inmates and to the *amīrs*; and no one would interfere with the property or the honour of any single person. Some of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's loyal adherents made him refrain from the slaughter of his family; and told him, whatever unkindness the *Bādshah* of Gujrāt might show to him, his kindness and generosity would be greater than those of others. There was also a strong likelihood, that he would follow the example of his father and would leave the kingdom of Mālwa in the possession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's servants. About this time, Sulṭān Bahādur ascended to the top of *La'l Maḥal*, and sent a man to wait on Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The latter came with seven of the *amīrs*. [2] Sulṭān Bahādur received him with respect and courtesy, and embraced him; and tried to please him. Then when they began to converse with each other, Sulṭān Maḥmūd showed a little harshness in his language. This displeased Sulṭān Bahādur; and a silence fell on the meeting. Then Sulṭān Maḥmūd and his son were placed under arrest, and sent to Chāmpānīr; and Bahādur Shāh took up his residence

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[1] Wishing apparently to follow the Rājpūt rite of *jauhar*, but Firishtah says بواسطه رعایت احوال عیال و اطفال برگشته جانب محل خود شتافت, from which it would appear that he intended to look after his family and children, and not to kill them. As to what happened later, Firishtah follows the Ṭabaqāt almost *verbatim*. But the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 352, says that "the plunder and the killing and the making of prisoners went on for one watch; and then a proclamation of quarter and safety was made". The date according to Mirāt-i-Sikandarī was the 9th (and not the 29th) Sha'ban, 937 A.H., 28th March, 1531 A.D. Col. Briggs gives the date of the 9th Shaban, February 26th and the Cambridge History of India, page 327, has March 17th.

[2] Firishtah leaves out the show of courtesy and respect and the embrace; but says that Sulṭān Bahādur was inclined to forgive Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but when he asked the latter, why he had not come to meet him, he gave a harsh reply, after which things happened as stated in the Ṭabaqāt. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī's version (Bayley, pp. 352, 353) is somewhat different. It says that Sultān Mahmūd sought safety by asking for quarter and mercy, and came out with seven sons to wait on Sultān Bahādar. He was placed in the custody of trustworthy guards, and on the 12th Muharram he was sent to Gujarāt. This last date can scarcely be correct, as there is an interval of four months between Sha'bān and Muḥarram. The account given in the Cambridge History of India, page 327, appears to be a brief summary of that in the Ṭabaqāt.

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at Mandū. He gave permission to most of his *amīrs* to go back to Gujrāt, to their own *jāgīrs*.

After the rains, Sulṭān Bahādur [1] went to see Burhānpūr and Asīr; and there Niẓām-ul-mulk Dakinī joined his service. [2] He conferred on him the title of Muḥammad Shāh, and then returned to Mandū. About this time it became known that Silhadī [3] Pūrabīa was not inclined to come and wait on the Sulṭān, for the reason, that he had in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī taken some Musalmān women; and in fact even some of the members of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn's harem into his own house, and had kept them there. Sulṭān Bahādur ordered that whether he came or not, it was incumbent on him (*i.e.*, the Sulṭān), that he should release the Musalmān women from the disgrace of *kufr* (heathenism) and the wretchedness of the slavery of *Kāfirs*, and should give condign punishment to Silhadī. For this purpose he sent [4] Muqbal Khān to Chāmpānīr, so that he might go there and guard the fort and send Ikhtiyār Khān, with artillery and troops and treasure. Ikhtiyār Khān came with a large army, and joined the Sulṭān in the town of Dhār, on the 20th Rabī'-ul-ākhir, 938 A.H. Sulṭān Bahādur [5] proclaimed that he was going back to Gujrāt;

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[1] There is a slight variation in the reading in the MSS. One has بسیر اسیر و برهانپور, while the other has بسیر برهانپور و اسیر. The lith. ed. has بر سر برهانپور و اسیر, which is incorrect.

[2] Firishtah says that he did so because he wanted that Niẓām-ul-mulk Dakinī, or as Firishtah calls him Burhān Niẓām Shāh Bāḥri would help him in the war with Humāyūn, which he intended to carry on; but as a matter of fact, the opposite of this happened, for Niẓām-ul-mulk sent an emissary to Humāyūn, and wanted him to come and attack Gujrāt. The Cambridge History of India, page 327, does not mention this, but it describes the interview between Bahādur Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh.

[3] The suffix *Purabiya* is omitted in one MS. The Cambridge History of India, page 327, does not mention anything about Silāhdī having taken Musalmān women into his house, but says that he showed no disposition to fulfil his promise to return.

[4] It appears that Sulṭān Bahādur gave out that he was going to Gujrāt, and went away as if on a hunting excursion to Dībālpūr, etc., so that Silhadī might not take fright, and go away to Ratan Sēn, son of Rānā Sānkā. This is expressly stated in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

[5] He is also called مقبل خان Muqbal Khān by Firishtah; but is called Mukarrib Khān (مقرب خان) in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 356, and is there described as brother of Ikhtiyār Khān.

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and went to Mandū, so that after making the necessary preparations there, he might commence his march towards Gujrāt. He left Ikhtiyār Khān in charge of the government of Mandū, and encamped at Na'lcha on the 25th of the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal. At this time Bhūpat, son of Silhadī, submitted to the Sulṭān, "As the sublime standards are advancing towards Gujrāt, if this slave obtains permission to go to Ujjain, he would bring Silhadī to wait on Your Majesty after giving him assurances of safety". The Sulṭān gave him permission, but with great caution himself advanced towards Ujjain by successive marches. On the 15th of that month, he arrived at the town of Dhār and leaving the army there went away to [1] Dībālpūr, Banharīa and Sa'dulpūr, as if on a hunting excursion.

Silhadī on hearing this news left Bhūpat at Ujjain; and came and waited on the Sulṭān. [2] Amīn Naṣīr who had been sent to summon him told the Sulṭān in private, that he had brought Silhadī, by deceiving him with a promise of the grant of Kanbāyet and a [3] *krōr* in cash.

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[1] About Dībālpūr there is no dispute; it is spelt دیبالپور in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī calls it Dīpālpūr. The second name is بنهریه Banharīa, and تهریه Taharīa in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. It is not mentioned in the lith. ed. of Firishtah or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 117) calls it Bensrode. The third place is سعدلپور Sa'dulpūr in the MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt it is رسولپور Rasūlpūr. Col. Briggs calls it Shoojalpoor. It is called 'Adlpūr in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 357, and Bayley says in a note, "The Tab. Akbarī calls it Sādilpūr".

[2] This man's name is variously given. Both the MSS. call him امین نصیر Amīn Naṣīr, while the lith. ed. has امیر نصیر *Amīr* Naṣīr. Firishtah lith. ed. has Amīr Naṣīr, and Col. Briggs has Ameer Nuseer. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 356, calls him Malik Amīn Nas, and it is said there, that Nas was probably a nickname, and means, among other things, one who is beginning to be corpulent. The Cambridge History of India, page 327, calls the man Nassan Khān, and says that he had been sent to Raīsen and brought Silāhdī to the court. According to the other historians he was sent, but Silhadī came only on receiving his son's message.

[3] One MS. has تنکه after کرور, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. do not have it. Firishtah says the same thing but in a different order. According to him Silhadī had no wish to submit to the Sulṭān, and would not have if he had not been deceived by the offer of Kanbāyet and a *krōr* of *tankas*. The Mirāt-i-

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As Silhadī had no thought of remaining in allegiance to the Sulṭān, and wanted to give up his fort and to go to Mēwār; if he now got permission to leave, [1] it would be difficult to see him again. The Sulṭān then started from Sa'dulpūr for Dhār, and talked with the *amīrs*, and his other adherents about seizing Silhadī. When he arrived at the camp, he left the army outside, and took up his residence in the fort of Dhār. He took Silhadī with him. When the Sulṭān got inside the fort, the men who had been directed to seize Silhadī, came and took him with the two other *Pūrabīas* who were with him into custody. At this time one of Silhadī's attendants raised a clamour, and placed his hand on his [2] dagger. Silhadī told him, "Do you want to kill me". The man replied "I wanted to do it for your sake, but as it causes injury to you, now I can smite myself, so that I might not see you in captivity"; and striking his dagger under his abdomen went to [3] hell. When the news of Silhadī's arrest was spread about, the Gujrāt army and the populace of the city plundered his camp, and killed a large number of his followers; and his elephants and horses and equipage were seized for the Sulṭān's government. Those who escaped the sword, fled and joined Bhūpat.

Towards the end of the day Sulṭān Bahādur sent [4] 'Imād-ul-mulk to attack Bhūpat. He left Khudāwand Khān to accompany the camp; and in the morning himself started towards Ujjain. 'Imād-ul-mulk told him at this time, that before his arrival, Bhūpat had received the news of Silhadī having been seized, and he had fled and gone to Chitōr. Sulṭān Bahādur conferred the government of Ujjain

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Sikandarī, Bayley, page 357, says the promise was to give him the port of Kambhāiat and *lakh* of *tankahs* and one hundred Arab horses.

[1] There are slight variations in the reading. The MSS. have دیدن او از محالاتست and دیدن او باز محالست; while the lith. ed. has دیدن او را محالست and Firishtah lith. ed. has دیدن او بار دیگر محالست.

[2] The word *jamdhar*, a kind of dagger, was used once before describing the attack on Khēr Muḥammad Khān by one of the Rājpūts who came as ambassador to him from the Rāja of Sirōhī.

[3] The word is جهنم in both MSS., and in the corresponding passage of Firishtah; but it is عدم non-existence in the lith. ed.

[4] Firishtah calls him Rafi'-ul-mulk, who had the title of 'Imād-ul-mulk. The Cambridge History of India, page 328, calls him 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malikjī, son of Tawakkul.

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on Daryā Khān, who was one of the old *amīrs* of Mālwa, and had formerly come as the ambassador to Sulṭān Bahādur; and advanced towards Sārangpūr. He bestowed Sārangpūr on Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, who had in the time of Sulṭān Muẓaffar gone away from Mandū; and [1] had entered the service of . . . . . , and who in the reign of Shēr Khān had assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and had the public prayers read and the coin struck in that country in his own name; some account of him will be written before long. And having given permission to [2] Ḥabīb Khān the ruler (*walī*) of Āshta to go back to Āshta, himself marched towards Bhīlsa and Rāīsīn. Ḥabīb Khān went to Āshta, and took possession of it, after slaying a large number of the *Pūrabias*. When the Sulṭān arrived at Bhīlsa, it became known (to him), that it was eighteen years since the time when all vestiges of Islām [3] had disappeared from that country; and the rites of heathenism had gained currency there. At this time spies [4] informed the Sulṭān, that when Bhūpat, the son of Silhadī,

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[1] The words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., as well as in the lith. ed. of Firishtah who copies the Ṭabaqāt closely, are ملازم شدهٔ بود without specifying the person whose servant he had become, but, according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 358, he had from the time of the Sultān's (*i.e.*, Sultān Bahādar's) accession been in continuous attendance upon him; this explains his having become a *mulāzim*. It appears that he was a servant of the Khaljī Sulṭāns of Mālwa, who afterwards assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and ruled in Mandū, Ujjain, Sārangpūr and Rantambhōr.

[2] The readings in the MSS. are حبیب خان اشته والی را and حبیب الله والی را and in the lith. ed. حبیب خان والی را. I have changed the sequence to حبیب خان والیٔ آشته را.

[3] The language in one MS. and in the lith. ed. is آثار اسلام ازین دیار کوچ کرد. The "marching away" of the vestiges of Islām appears to me to be inappropriate. The language in the other MS. آثار اسلام ازین دیار برطرف شدهٔ is better, and I have adopted it. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has منقطع گشته instead of برطرف شدهٔ. It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 358, that "Bhīlsah which had been converted to Islām by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn of Dehlī", but having been eighteen years in the possession of Silhadī, "Muhamadan law and custom had been set aside for idolatry".

[4] The reading in one MS. is بسمع سلطان رسانید, and in the other بسمع اعلی رسانیدند, but the lith. ed. has neither سلطان nor اعلی.

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went to Chitōr, [1] Lakhman Sēn the brother of Silhadī had strengthened the citadel of Rāīsīn, and was making preparations for a battle, and was waiting for reinforcement from Chitōr.

[2] Sulṭān Bahādur waited at Bhīlsa for three days for the erection of mosques, and other houses for pious purposes (بقاع خیر دران), and marched from there on the 7th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of that year and encamped at a distance of two *karōhs* from the town on the bank of the river. On the morning of Wednesday the 8th of the aforesaid month, he had the kettle-drum of victory beaten, and set up his position on the [3] bank of the reservoir of Rāīsīn. The army had not yet arrived, when the *Pūrabīa* Rājpūts divided themselves into two detachments and sallied out of the fort. Sulṭān Bahādur with the few men that he had with him attacked them, himself [4] hewing down two or three men into halves from their wastes. The army of Gujrāt arrived one after another from behind, and completely routed the

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[1] The name is لکهمن Lakhman, and لکهم سین Lakhm Sēn in different places in the MSS. and لکهمین سین Lakhmīn Sēn in the lith. ed. It is لکهمن Lakhman in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs has Lokmun Singh and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 360, has Lakhman Sēn. The Cambridge History of India, page 328, has Lakhman Singh. I think Lakhman Sēn is the correct form of the name and I have adopted it.

[2] Firishtah agrees as to what Sulṭān Bahādur did at Bhīlsa; but he does not mention his encamping on the bank of the river; and he says that he set up his بارگاه in Raīsīn on the 8th of the Jamādī-ul-āwwal. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 358, says the Sultān left Bhīlsah on the 17th Jumādi-ul-ākhir, and proceeded by successive marches to a river two *kōs* from Raīsīn. On the next day he pitched his camp on the bank of the tank near the fort of Raīsīn. In spite of these contradictions about the date the Cambridge History of India, page 328, says that Bahādur "was attacked as he approached the town on January 26".

[3] Both MSS. have برایسین بارگاه برافراخت; and Firishtah lith. ed. has در رایسین; but I prefer برحوض رایسین, which is in the lith. ed., and which agrees with the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. M. Hidayat Ḥosain, however, has followed the MSS. in the text-edition.

[4] Firishtah agrees, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 119) says Bahadur Shah slew ten men with his own hand; and Bayley in a note, on page 358, ascribes, as in the other cases, Col. Briggs's statement to Firishtah.

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infidels. The *Pūrabīas*, [1] being struck by the bravery and courage of Sulṭān Bahādur, took shelter in the fort. The Sulṭān forbade his soldiers from continuing the fight, and postponed it for the following day.

The next day he marched from that place; and fixing on the fort as the centre, distributed the batteries (among the different commanders); and commenced the construction of covered passages. Within a short time these reached a place whence they commanded the garrison. The Sulṭān went there himself, and leaving Rūmī Khān with the artillery, returned to his quarters. Rūmī Khān brought down two of the bastions of the fort by firing from his cannons. He also dug a mine from another side, and setting fire to it blew down some yards of the wall on that side. Silhadī seeing the weakness of the *Pūrabīas*, and the great strength of the enemy sent a message to the following effect, "This slave wishes to be dignified with the nobility of Islām; and after that if he gets leave, he would [2] go above, and after evacuating the fort, make it over to the representative of the Bahādur Shāhī government". The Sulṭān was delighted on hearing this news, and summoning Silhadī to his presence, repeated to him the words expressing the unity of God. When Silhadī accepted the faith, the Sulṭān gave him a special robe of honour; and sent him various kinds of food from the (royal) kitchen. He then took Silhadī with him to the foot of the fort.

Silhadī summoned Lakhman, his brother, and said to him, "As I am now included in the community of Musalmāns, Sulṭān Bahadūr will, either on account of a feeling of communal favour, or on account of his noble spirit, raise me to a high rank. It is fit that after surrendering the fort to the adherents of the Sulṭān, I

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[1] The actual words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are گوش گرفته the meaning of which is not quite clear to me.

[2] The meaning is not quite clear. The words are بالا رفته in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but they are omitted from the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The meaning probably is, "Going up into the fort". It would be remembered that he was a prisoner in the Sulṭān Bahādur's camp, and it appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 359, that he informed the Sultān, "Having obtained the friendly offices of some of the chief nobles".

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should bind the girdle of service strongly and should continue to render him service". [1] His brother then told him privately, that now that it is not right, according to their religion, to shed your blood, and Bhūpat is coming to their assistance, bringing the Rānā and [2] forty thousand men with him; something should be done, so that there might be a delay of a few days longer, in the capture of the fort. Silhadī having applauded this opinion, said to the Sulṭān, "Let this matter be postponed today. Tomorrow after two watches (*pās*) of the day, the fort would be evacuated, and made over to the servants of the Sulṭān".

Sulṭān Bahādur then left that place and returned to his residence; and waited for two watches of the (next) day to pass. When a moment elapsed after the appointed time, Silhadī again represented to the Sulṭān, "If you order, this slave would go near the fort, and having ascertained the state of things would report". Sulṭān Bahādur made Silhadī over to trustworthy men, and sent him to the neighbourhood of the fort. Silhadī went to the fallen bastion, and began to give advice to the people in the fort. He said, "Oh ye careless Rājpūts! take note of the Sulṭān. He would immediately come out of the battery, and put you all to death". His object was this, that they should immediately rebuild the bastions. Lakhman gave no reply, and Silhadī returned in a state of fear. That night Lakhman

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[1] According to this the plan of deceiving the Sulṭān first originated with Lakhman, and according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 360, Silhadī informed the Sultān, that he was willing to become a Musalmān, as he was afraid that the Sultān's attack would be successful and all his people would be slaughtered; but according to the Cambridge History of India, page 328, "Silāhdī conciliated Bahādur, by perfidiously feigning to accept Islam, and thus obtained permission to meet his brother, ostensibly with the object of arranging for the surrender of the fortress, but when he and Lakhman Singh met, they agreed to await the relieving force expected from Chitor".

This is, on the face of it, somewhat contradictory. If they agreed to await the arrival of the relieving force (only), when they met, Silhadī could not have perfidiously feigned to accept Islām, and have met his brother.

[2] The relieving force is said to have been forty thousand in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and in Col. Briggs's translation. It is four thousand in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 360, makes it "forty or fifty thousand picked horse and artillery and innumerable infantry".

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sent two thousand *Pūrabīas* with a [1] son of Silhadī to the station where Bhūpat was. [2] Silhadī's son began to fight, and the Gujrāt army having exerted themselves beyond the power of men, killed many of the Rājpūts, and sent the head of Silhadī's son with the heads of other Rājpūts to the Sulṭān.

When Silhadī received information of the death of his son, he fainted. Sulṭān Bahādur now became aware of the real state of things, and made Silhadī over to Burhān-ul-mulk, so that he might be kept in prison in the fort of Mandū. At this time news came, that Bhūpat was bringing the Rānā with him from Chitōr. As he knew that the Sultān had arrived *jarīda*, or with a small force, the Rānā with great audacity came along by successive marches. The Sulṭān said, "Although I may have only a small force with me still in accordance with the saying, that one Musalmān is equal to ten *Kāfirs*, I shall meet them". The Sulṭān's [3] wrath became violent on hearing the news of the Rānā's approach; and he immediately sent Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Burhānpūr, and 'Imād-ul-mulk Sulṭānī for their chastisement. When Muḥammad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk arrived in the town of [4] Sarīsa, news came that the Rānā and Bhūpat had arrived near the town of [5] Kahrār. Muḥammad

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[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. say simply پسر سلهدی Silhadī's son, but Firishtah has Silhadī's younger son (پسر کوچک); and Col. Briggs has Silhuddy's youngest son. He is called a younger son of Silhadī in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, and Silāhdī's youngest son in the Cambridge History of India, page 328.

[2] He was apparently intercepted by the Gujrāt army. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, gives a different version of the incident. According to it, "A younger son of Silhadī's made an attack upon a royal post in the town of Barsiah with two thousand horse. But the Musulmāns were victorious; and the infidel fled to his elder brother, Bhūpat".

[3] One MS. has قوة غیبی but the other MS. and the lith. ed. have قوت غضبی.

[4] The name of the town is سریسه Sarīsa in one MS. and looks like صنیرسیه in the other. In the lith. ed. it is سرسه Sirsa. Firishtah and Col. Briggs do not give the name of the place, but say they had not gone far when they met Poorunmal. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, has Barsiah. The Cambridge History of India does not give the name of the place.

[5] The name is کهرار Kahrār and کهیرار Khīrār in the MS. It is کهرار Kahrār in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has کهرله Kehrla. Col. Briggs does

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Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk arrayed their troops for battle and advanced towards them; and when they arrived in the vicinity of Kahrār, Pūran Mal, another son of Śilhadī, [1] appeared there with two thousand *Pūrabīa* Rājpūts. Muḥammad Khān advanced to attack the fort, but Pūran Mal fled without fighting, and some of the *Pūrabīas* who were under him were taken prisoner. Muḥammad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk submitted a report to the Sulṭān to the effect that Pūran Mal had fled and joined the Rānā; and the latter had arrived quite near; and although the force under him was beyond any computation, still relying on divine help, and the auspicious fortune of His Majesty, they would not hold themselves excused from making all efforts to attack him.

On receiving this report, the Sulṭān left Ikhtiyār Khān and other *amīrs* to carry on the siege, and marching very rapidly traversed in the course of a night and a day, seventy Mālwa *karōhs*; and shone like a flash of lighting in the neighbourhood of Kahrār. Muḥammad Khān went a part of the way to receive him and brought him to his own quarters.

The spies of Rānā and Bhūpat took them the news, that the Sulṭān had on the preceding night joined his army; and his troops, which were like swarms of locusts and ants, would arrive almost immediately. The Rānā on hearing this news retired, and sat down one stage behind (his previous camp). In the morning Sulṭān Bahādur advanced one stage beyond Kahrār. At this place two Rājpūts came as emissaries with the object of making inquiries and delivered the following messages from the mouth of the Rānā, "The Rānā was one of the servants of the threshold, and his object in coming to these parts was, that he would advance his foot by way of intercession,

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not give the name of the place. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, has Kharōd, while the Cambridge History of India, page 328, has Kamkera.

[1] The word is ظاهر in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and حاضر in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. also has حاضر. According to the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, as well as the lith. ed. of Firishtah and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 361, and the Cambridge History of India, page 328, the force under Pūran Mal was two thousand men; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 121) makes it ten thousand cavalry.

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and ask for the [1] pardon of Silhadī's offences". The Sulṭān said, "At present [2] his forces and grandeur are greater than mine. If he had submitted a petition [3] without fighting, [4] he would of course have attained his object". When those two Rājpūts went back, and reported that they had seen the Sulṭān with their own eyes, the Rānā and Bhūpat in spite of all their great strength and pomp fled, making [5] three or four stages into one. At this time, news came that [6] Ulugh Khān with thirty-six thousand horsemen, and the elephants and artillery of Gujrāt had arrived in the neighbourhood. The Sulṭān owing to his great bravery, did not wait for the arrival of Ulugh Khān, but pursued the enemy for seventy *karōhs* with only the troops that

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[1] The word is استغفای, and looks like استغفاء in the MS. It is استغفا in the lith. ed. I have retained the latter, though Firishtah has استعفای. Of course استعفای and استغفار have the same meaning; the latter has been used by M. Hidayat Ḥosain in the text-edition.

[2] The words are جمعیت و شوکت شما in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; and جمعیت و شوکت او in the other MS. I think the latter reading is better and I have adopted it. The Sulṭān was addressing the emissary, but the force and grandeur he was referring to was not theirs, but the Rānā's.

[3] The reading in one MS. and in the lith. ed. is جنگ کردهٔ نه but in the other MS. it is جنگ ناکردهٔ. This latter is the correct reading and I have adopted it. Firishtah lith. ed. also has جنگ ناکردهٔ.

[4] The reading is مطلوب شما in both MSS. and in the lith. ed.; and شما also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, although it is misplaced there before مطلوب. I think او would be better, and I have adopted it; but M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained مطلوب شما in the text-edition.

[5] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have سه چهار but the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has چهار. The making of three or four stages into one shows the rapidity of their flight.

[6] The name is الغ خان Ulugh Khān in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has الف خان Alf Khān, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 121) has Aluf Khan. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has Alaf Khān; but Bayley in a note, page 362, says there is the usual confusion between Alaf and Ulugh. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the arrival of the reinforcement, or the name of the commander. The number of horsemen is thirty-six thousand in the MSS. and in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī; but it is thirty thousand in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and also in Col. Brigg's history.

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he had with him. The Rānā however got into Chitōr; and the Sulṭān leaving the punishment and castigation of the Rānā to the next year, returned to Rāīsīn; and on arriving there made the siege closer than before.

About the end of Ramaḍān, when Lakhman became hopeless of receiving reinforcement and saw destruction before his eyes, he came forward with humility and submission; and submitted a representation, that if the Sulṭān could summon Silhadī to his presence, and would draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of his offences, and would give him assurance of safety, this slave (that is he himself) would evacuate the fort, and [1] would surrender it to him. The Sulṭān, after much consideration, reminded himself that his object in undertaking the expedition was to free the Musalmān women from the disgrace of *kufr* (heathenism). If their (*i.e.*, Lakhman's and Silhadī's) prayer is not acceeded to, it is likely, that there should be a *jauhar*, and those helpless women would all be killed. Considering all this he granted Lakhman's prayer, and summoned Silhadī to his presence from the fort of Mandū. Burhān-ul-mulk hastened from Mandū bringing Silhadī with him.

After Silhadī had come, Lakhman hastened to wait (on the Sulṭān); and having obtained a *farmān* granting assurance of safety (to Silhadī), went up to the fort. The Sulṭān detailed a body of soldiers to guard the fort. Lakhman brought down the families of the other Rājpūts from the fort; but kept his own family and those of [2] Tāj Khān and of the principal Rājpūts in the fort. He again represented to the Sulṭān that there were about [3] four hundred women, who appertained to Silhadī, and Rānī Durgāwatī, the mother of Bhūpat had a prayer, that as Silhadī had become one of the special slaves of the Sulṭān,

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have تسليم مينمايد, but the other MS. has تسليم مينمايم. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt omits the passages from عرضداشت to بخاطر اوردند. Firishtah lith. ed. in the corresponding passage has تسليم ملازمان مينمايم.

[2] It is not clear how Tāj Khān got mixed up with the Rājpūts. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 121, 122) says that "Taj Khan, who had come to negotiate on the part of Lokmun, was permitted to return to the fort".

[3] The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 363, makes the number seven or eight hundred.

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if he was allowed to come to the fort, and to take down the members of his own family from it, the latter would be protected from the taunt of being taken down by strangers. The Sulṭān sent Malik 'Alī Shēr with Silhadī to the fort; and when the latter arrived there, Lakhman and Tāj Khān asked of him, "What would the Sulṭān grant to them in exchange for the fort of Rāīsīn, and the country of Gōndwāna". Silhadī said, "At present the town of Barōda with its dependencies has been determined upon for our residence; and it is likely that the Sulṭān would, out of his generosity, exalt me (more)".

Rānī Durgāwatī and Lakhman and Tāj Khān said, "Although the Sulṭān would show us favour and kindness, still for many generations this country has been in our possession, in reality if not in name, like an empire; and now fate has ordained that we should all be *(again)* together. The right way of bravery is this, that we should perform *jauhar* of our women and children, and should ourselves fight and be slain; and there should be no further longing left in our hearts". Silhadī was much moved by Rānī Durgāwatī's words, and assumed an attitude of rebellion and revolt. Although Malik 'Alī Shēr offered much friendly counsel, it was of no avail. (Silhadī) said in reply to Malik Shēr, "Every day one *krōr* of betel leaves, and some seers of camphor are consumed in my harem, and every day [1] three hundred women put on new garments. If we are killed with our women and children, what honour and glory!" He then arranged for the rite of *jauhar*, and Rānī Durgāwatī, taking her [2] daughter-in-law, who

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[1] The word is سیصد, but I suppose it means three hundred, and not thirteen hundred, or three thousand. The lith. ed. is defective here, having سال instead of پان and leaving out the words سیصد زن. There is a slight difference in the MSS. also; one has سیصد زن هر روز, but the other has سیصد زن دارم که. Silhadī's ideas of his own pomp and grandeur were rather curious.

[2] The word is عروس, which ordinarily means a bride, but it can only mean a daughter-in-law here. The lith. ed. of Firishtah, however, omits the word عروس, and makes Rānī Durgāwatī herself the daughter of Rānā Sānkā. The passage in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī is doubtful. It is said there according to the translation, that a daughter of the Rānī, who was the wife of Bhūpat was among the seven hundred women who were burnt. Bayley, page 365, in a note says that the word wife may be a mistake for mother. I think, however, that the account in the Ṭabaqāt is correct.

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was the daughter of Rānā Sānkā, with (her) two children by the hand got into the *jauhar*; and they with seven hundred beautiful women were burnt. [1] Silhadī with Tāj Khān and Lakhman then armed themselves, and coming out fought with the Dakinī infantry, who had gone up to the fort. When the news reached the camp, the Gujrāt army galloped up to the fort, and sent that ill-fated band to hell; while of the army of Sulṭān Bahādur, only four foot soldiers attained to the happiness of martyrdom.

About this time Sulṭān 'Ālam, the ruler of Kālpī came as a suppliant to Sulṭān Bahādur, against the assaults of the armies of [2] His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī. Sulṭān Bahādur granted the forts of Rāīsīn and Chandērī, and the territories of Bhīlsa as a *jāgīr* to him. He also appointed Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Asīr, to capture the fort of Kākrūn, which in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī had come into the possession of the Rānā; and himself started on an expedition to hunt elephants. He captured many elephants; and after meeting out their deserts to the rebels of the [3] hilly country of Kānūr, made it over to [4] Ulugh Khān. He also took possession of Islāmābād and Hūshangābād and the whole of the country of Mālwa, which was in the possession of *zamīndārs*; and granted them as *jāgīrs* to the *amīrs*

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 328, says that the Rājputs showed little of their usual spirit, as although they were all slain, the losses of the Muslims amounted to no more than four or five. It appears, however, from Firishtah, that the total number of Rājpūts was not more than one hundred; and according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, they offered a stout resistance.

[2] Firishtah agrees with this; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī gives an account of Sultān 'Ālam, from which it appears that he was placed in charge of Kālpī by Nizām 'Ali Khalīfah, Bābar's *wazir*. He ruled Kālpī well during Bābar's lifetime; but after his death he rebelled against Humāiūn, and then sought shelter with Sultān Bahādar. The Cambridge History of India, page 328, however, says that "He had fled from his principality before Bābur".

[3] The name is کوہ کالو in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and کوہ کالور in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. also has کوہ کالو, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 368, has the fort of Kānūr; and the Cambridge History of India, page 328, Kanōr. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted کوہ کالور in the text-edition.

[4] The name is الخان and الیخان in the MS., and الف خان in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has الغ خان; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India, page 329, have Alp Khān.

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of Gujrāt, and to his own trusted adherents. When Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Asīr, was advancing towards Kākrūn, Sulṭān Bahādur also arrived in that neighbourhood with great rapidity. [1] A man of the name of Rām, who was the governor of the place on behalf of the Rānā, evacuated it, and fled. Sulṭān Bahādur occupied himself there for four days in festive assembly and entertainment; and granted rewards and favours to each one of the men who were near his person. He then sent 'Imād-ul-mulk and Ikhtiyār Khān, who were among his great nobles, to capture the fort of [2] Mandisōr; and himself went to Mandū. The governor of Mandisōr, who was an officer of the Rānā evacuated it [3] and fled; and in the course of one month the forts of Kākrūn and Mandisōr came into the Sulṭān's possession.

The Sulṭān advanced from Mandū to Chāmpānīr. Information came at the latter place, that the [4] *firangīs* had come to the port of

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[1] The MSS. have رام نامی, while the lith. ed. has رام نام. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has رام جی نامی. The name is not given either by Col. Briggs or in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or in the Cambridge History of India. It would appear from Col. Briggs and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī that Muhamad Shāh had not yet succeeded in capturing Gāgrūn, but when Sultān Bahādar appeared, the place was evacuated (Bayley, pp. 367, 368).

[2] The name is دنتور Dantūr, and دستور Dastūr in the MSS.; and looks like دمتور Damtūr in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has رسور Rasūr, and Col. Briggs has Runtunbhore (vol. IV, p. 123). The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 368, and the Cambridge History of India have Mandisōr or Mandasor, which I have adopted.

[3] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. has قلعه را خالی گذاشته گریخت. The other has the same, but inserts باتر between گذاشته and گریخت. The lith. ed. has خالی کرده باشته گریخت. Firishtah lith. ed. has the same reading as the first MS., and I have adopted it.

[4] With reference to this, see the footnote in Col. Briggs, vol. IV, page 123, from which it appears that according to Faria-e-Souza (tome I, part iv, chapter iv) it was one of the greatest efforts made by the Portuguese, but it appears to have failed entirely. The fleet consisted of four hundred vessels, on which were embarked three thousand six hundred European soldiers and ten thousand native soldiers, besides seamen and Lascars. The Mahomedans under Moostufa Khan the Governor of Diū or Dīp so completely repulsed the attack that the Portuguese had to return to Goa. Bayley also in a note, on page 369, says that it was a very important struggle, and he hoped to discuss it more

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Dīp, and had raised the standard of power. The Sulṭān advanced towards Dīp and when he arrived in its neighbourhood, (he heard) that the *firangīs* had fled; and a great cannon, which exceeded in size all other cannon in India, came into his possession. The Sulṭān had it conveyed to Chāmpānīr by means of a special machine. He then determined to seize Chitōr, and marched from Dīp to Kanbāyet and from there to Aḥmadābād. Here he went on pilgrimage to the tombs of the holy Shaikhs and of his great ancestors. He collected troops, and with the artillery of Dīp and Gujrāt advanced towards Chitōr. [1] At this time Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā fled from the court of His Majesty Humāyūn Bādshāh, and came as a suppliant to the Sulṭān. When the latter arrived at Chitōr, the Rānā shut himself up in the fort; and the period of the siege was prolonged to three months. On many occasions brave men prepared for combat came out from the two armies, and performed gallant deeds. On most of these occasions victory and triumph fell to the lot of the Gujrātīs. In the end the Rānā came forward with humility, and paid a large subsidy and making the crown and the [2] jewelled belt, which he had taken from Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī the ruler of Mālwa, and some horses and elephants, the ransom of his life, turned the Sulṭān back to Gujrāt.

This victory and the coming of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, and the gathering together of the descendants of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī in his service became the cause of the increase of Sulṭān Bahādur's pride. It also became the cause, that set on move the chain of hostility with His Majesty Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh. In order to carry out this intention, he conferred favours on Tātār Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī, who was distinguished above

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fully in an appendix on Portuguese affairs in his second volume. The Cambridge History of India, page 329, only mentions Bahādur's visit to Diū, and says nothing whatever about the attack by the Portuguese.

[1] Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā was a prisoner in the fort of Bīāna, and fled from there in the year 940 A.H.

[2] About this belt see Note on page 124 of Col. Briggs's History, vol. IV, from which it appears that it was sent with Bahadur Shah's family to Medina; and it eventually found its way in the shape of a present to the Grand Seignior, Soliman the Magnificent.

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all his equals in manliness and bravery; and paid [1] thirty *krōrs* of gold to Burhān-ul-mulk, the governor of the fort of [2] Ranthambōr, so that in concert with him and with his advice the money might be spent by Tātār Khān in collecting an army. Within a short time about forty thousand horse assembled [3] round Tātār Khān. He began to make inroads on the outskirts of the dominions of His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī. In the year 941 A.H. repeated [4] letters came from

[1] The actual words in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. are, سی کرور زر which means thirty *krōrs* of gold coin (probably *Muẓaffarīs*) and Firishtah has definitely سی کرور مظفری thirty *krōrs* of *Muẓaffarīs*. Col. Briggs, however, has three crores of rupees and says, in a note, three millions sterling. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, p. 382) does not mention the amount, but it says that thirty (not forty as in the text) thousand horse were placed under Tatār Khan Lodī to march to Dehlī by way Bāiānah.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have برهان الملک حاکم قلعه زنتهمبور, Burhān-ul-mulk, the governor of the fort of Ranthambōr; but Firishtah lith. ed. has برهان الملک حاکم قلعهٔ اسیر, Burhān-ul-mulk the governor of the fort of Asīr; while Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 125) has Imad-ool-ool-Moolk, the governor of Runtunbhore. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī does not mention Burhān-ul-mulk or 'Imād-ul-mulk. The Cambridge History of India, page 330, has Burhān-ul-Mulk governor of Ranthambhor.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have بر تاتار خان; but the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt has با تاتار خان. I have adopted the former reading.

[4] It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 375, that several letters passed between Humāyūn and Bahādar about the extradition or expulsion of Muhammad Zamān Mirzā. In the first letter Humāyūn urged Bahādar to act in an amicable spirit; in the second he expressed surprise at Bahādar's unfriendly conduct. A copy of the third letter is given in Mīr Abū Turāb's Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, and a translation of it in Bayley's History of Gujarāt. A copy of the fourth letter, which was Bahādar's reply, is also given in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt and a translation of it by Bayley. It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 380, that Bahādar's replies were written by Mullā Mahmūd Munshī, who had been formerly in Humāiūn's service, but had done something which had greatly incensed the latter, and he had accordingly fled and taken refuge with Sultān Bahādar. The drafts of these letters by this man were in rude and insolent language, but Bahādar's ministers, who were wise and prudent men, had all the insulting expressions erased before the letters were sent. The last draft was, however, brought by the Munshī to the Sultān when he was drunk, and he directed it to be despatched at once, and it was sent accordingly, when the Munshī had affixed the Sultān's seal to it. Next morning when the ministers and the other *amīrs* saw the draft they were surprised at its insolent language,

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Humāyūn Bādshāh to Sulṭān Bahādur, to the effect that even if he does not send Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā to his presence, he should at least expel him from his own dominions. Sulṭān Bahādur on account of his great pride and self glorification did not send a satisfactory reply. In addition to this Tātār Khān attacked Bīāna and seized it. His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī sent Hindāl Mīrzā to crush him. When the Mīrzā arrived in the neighbourhood of Bīāna, the men who had gathered round Tātār Khān dispersed; and not more than two thousand horsemen remained with him. Owing to his great shame and remorse, that he had spent such a large sum of money upon his faithless soldiers, he could not go and wait on the Sulṭān and ask him for further help. Having no alternative left, he decided on a battle; and, when the two armies met, he made an onslaught on the centre of Mīrzā Hindāl's army; and was, with the three hundred men who were with him, slain; and the fort of Bīāna came into the possession of Mīrzā, the royal officer.

His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī took this victory to be a good omen, and advanced to crush Sulṭān Bahādur. It so happened that the latter had at this time again advanced to seize the fort of Chitōr, with a large army, and all the appliances for the capture of fort. When the news of the defeat and death of Tātār Khān, and of the advance of His Majesty (Humāyūn) reached him at the foot of the fort of Chitōr, he became extremely anxious, and had a conference as to the course he should adopt. The opinion of most of the *amīrs* was to the effect, that he should raise the siege of Chitōr, and advance to meet Humāyūn; but [1] Ṣadr Khān, who was the greatest of his nobles, submitted, "We are besieging the *Kāfir*; if a Bādshāh of the Musalmāns comes to attack us, he would be supporting and helping the *Kāfir*; and [2] such an act would be talked about among Musalmāns

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A messenger on a swift horse was at once sent to intercept the letter but he was unable to do so; and the letter reached Humāiūn, and was the direct cause of the war between the two sovereigns.

[1] It is curious that although he is called the بزرگترین امرا, he has never been mentioned before. Firishtah lith. ed. has by mistake حیدر خان, Ḥaidar Khān. The Cambridge History of India, page 330, has "Sadr Khan, one of his officers".

[2] One MS. has by mistake این امر روز تا قیامت.

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till the day of the resurrection. It is right for Your Majesty's benefit, that we should not abandon the siege; and there is a strong likelihood that he (*i.e.*, Humāyūn) would not attack us during this time". When His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī encamped at Sārangpūr, and the facts of this conference were reported to him, he halted there for a few days; so that Sulṭān Bahādur having erected covered ways, took the fort of Chitōr by force and violence; and put a large number of Rājpūts to death.

When Sulṭān Bahādur after his mind had been freed from all anxieties about the conquest of Chitōr advanced to fight with Humāyūn Bādshāh, the latter also having had the drum of departure beaten, prepared to meet him; and the two armies met each other in the vicinity of Mandisōr. While the tents had not yet been fixed, Saiyid 'Alī Khān and Khurāsān Khān, who were the commanders of the vanguard of Sulṭān Bahādur's army, fled from the army to His Majesty the Humāyūn Bādshāh, and united with the main body. The Gujrātīs on seeing this were heartbroken. Sulṭān Bahādur then took counsel with the *amīrs* and the leaders of different groups as to the way in which the war should be carried on. Ṣadr Khan said, "We should fight a drawn battle tomorrow, [1] for the troops have gained strength and courage from the capture of Chitōr, and their eyes have not yet been frightened by the power and grandeur of the Mughal army". [2] Rūmī Khān, who was the officer in-charge of the artillery of Sulṭān

[1] The MSS. have ولشکریان. The lith. ed. has چراکه لشکریان; while the lith. ed. of Firishtah has چه که لشکریان.

[2] Rūmī Khān's statement that cannon and muskets do not come into action in a battle appears to be preposterous on the face of it; and it is strange that his advice was accepted by Sulṭān Bahādur, and acquiesced in by the other leaders. None of the other histories says anything about the treachery of Rumī Khān, but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 383, and the following pages, gives a circumstantial, and what appears to me, a convincing account of such treachery. It appears that Sultān Bahādar had given a promise to Rūmī Khān, that he would place him in command of the fortress of Chītōr, but after it was taken, the ministers and nobles were jealous and strongly objected; and the Sultān could not keep his promise at the time. Rūmī Khān was deeply offended, and he wrote secretly to Humāiūn, and informed him that if he would march in that direction the defeat of Sultān Bahādar might easily be compassed, "for", he wrote "the Sultān places entire reliance on my judgment, and I will contrive a way for the success of the Emperor's army". The words within inverted

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Bahādur, submitted that cannon and muskets [1] do not come into use in a battle; and the artillery, which has come into the possession of this government is such, that it is not known whether any sovereign except the *Qaiṣar* of *Rūm* (the Sulṭān of Turkey) has anything like it. On this account it is advisable that a [2] ditch should be dug around the army, and skirmishes should be fought every day, and bold warriors of the Mughal army would come and deliver attacks all round the camp, and would be killed by the discharges of cannon and the muskets.

Sulṭān Bahādur approved of this plan and a ditch was dug round the camp. At this time Sulṭān 'Ālām Kālpīwāl, on whom Sulṭān Bahādur had conferred Rāīsīn and Chandērī and that *ṣūba* as *jāgīrs*, came with a large army, and joined the Gujrāt camp. For two months the two armies sat face to face; and [3] the Mughal troops raided round the camp, and shut up the way of the ingress and egress of grain. After some days had elapsed in this way, a [4] great scarcity made its

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commas are also within inverted commas in Bayley's history, from which it would appear that the writer had seen the letter and was quoting from it; but unfortunately no reference has been given.

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (Denison Ross, p. 14), however, says something which is slightly different, and which if correct makes the advice less absurd. It says what Rūmī Khān said was ما توپ و تفنگ بسیار داریم انها را کار نفرمایم و سپاه خود را بکشتن دهیم and further on و بتدریج هر روز طرح جنگ انداخته - مغولانرا روبروی توپخانه بیارند و توپها را سر دهند. As a matter of fact, however, much use does not appear to have been made of the cannon and muskets.

[2] The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 14) says که ارابه کنند. Sir Denison Ross, the editor of the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, says *araba* means "an enclosed camp or *zariba*", although in the dictionary it only means a cart or wagon.

[3] Firishtah's account explains better, how it was that the Mughal army suffered such small loss from the cannon and muskets of the Gujrātīs, and was still able to blockade the camp.

[4] A graphic, but what appears to me, to be a somewhat exaggerated account of this scarcity is given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 384. On the same and also on the next page a further instance is given of Rūmī Khān's treachery. It appears that a leader of *Banjārahs* came and told Sultān Bahādar that he had brought a million bullock-loads of grain, but could not bring them into the camp for fear of the Moghals. Sultān Bahādar accordingly sent out five thousand men secretly at night to escort the *Banjārahs*; but Rumī Khān wrote and informed Humāiūn, and the Gujarātī escort was defeated, and the grain was intercepted and taken into the Moghal camp.

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appearance in the Gujrāt army; and all the fodder that was in the neighbourhood was entirely exhausted. Owing to the attacks of the Mughals, no one had the power, that he should go to a distance from the camp and bring grain and fodder. Sulṭān Bahādur saw that his remaining there any longer would result in his capture. Therefore one night he came out from behind his pavilion and, with five of his trusted *amīrs*, one of whom was the governor of Burhānpūr and another [1] Mallū Qādir Khān, governor of Mālwa, [2] fled towards Mandū. When his army came to know of his flight, [3] each man fled in a (different) direction.

His Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī Humāyūn Bādshāh [4] pursued (Sulṭān Bahādur) to the foot of the fort of Mandū, and on the way many men were killed. Sulṭān Bāhādur shut himself up in Mandū; and after some time [5] Hindū Bēg Qūlchīn and a number of other Mughal *amīrs* got into the fort from the [6] bastion of the seven hundred steps. Sulṭān

[1] One MS. omits Qādir.

[2] A somewhat different account of the circumstances attending and immediately proceeding Sultān Bahādar's flight is given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, pp. 385, 386. The date of the flight is given as the 20th Ramazān, 941 A.H., 25th March, 1535 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 331, gives 25th April, 1535, as the date of the flight. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (pp. 17, 18) has a rather incoherent account of Sulṭān Bahādur's proceedings immediately before his flight.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have هر کدام but the other MS. has هر کدامی; I have adopted the former.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have تعقب فرموده در راه; the other MSS. have تعقب فرمود و در راه. I have adopted the latter reading.

[5] The names are هندو بیگ قوچین and هندو بیگ قولچین in the MSS. In the lith. ed. it is هاروں بیگ قولچی, which is incorrect. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is Hindū Bēg without any suffix. The name does not appear to be mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī or the Cambridge History of India.

[6] The words are از مرچل هفتصد زینه in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has incorrectly با هفتصد نفر, *i.e.*, with seven hundred men; and Col. Briggs says that "Hindoo Beg and seven hundred Moguls who entered the fort at night along with his followers". The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 17) says the Mughals got into the fort از طرف راه هفتصد زینه, *i.e.*, from the direction of the path of the seven hundred steps. The Cambridge History of India (p. 331) says, "A division escaladed the walls of the fort at night". The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī

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Bahādur was asleep when there was a great noise; and the Gujrātīs in great dismay took the path of flight. Sulṭān Bahādur with five or six horsemen went away in the direction of Chāmpānīr. Ṣadr Khān and Sulṭān 'Ālām, governor of Rāīsīn and that *ṣūba*, took shelter in the citadel of [1] Sūnkar; and after two days they asked for assurances of their lives being spared, and waited on Jinnat Āshiānī. Ṣadr Khān was taken into the latter's service; but Sulṭān 'Ālām, as he had been guilty of improper behaviour, had, by order of Humāyūn, his sinews cut off (*i.e.*, he was hamstrung). Sulṭān Bahādur sent the treasure and jewels which he had at Chāmpānīr to the port of Dīp, and himself went to Kanbāyet. When His Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī in pursuit of him arrived at the foot of the fort of Chāmpānīr he marched from there and proceeded towards Kanbāyet on [2] wings of speed. Sulṭān Bahādur took [3] fresh, strong horses and went on to the port of Dīp. His Majesty Humāyūn arrived at Kanbāyet the very day that Bahādur started for Dīp, and leaving Kanbāyet he [4] took possession of Chāmpānīr. Ikhtiyār Khān Gujrātī, the governor of the fort, occupied himself in defending it, but his Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī seized it by a [5] plan which has been described in the narrative of his history. Ikhtiyār Khān took shelter in the citadel of the fort, which was called Mūlīā; and in the end after praying for quarter, acquired the honour of serving His Majesty. As he was distinguished by great excellence and accomplishments above all the other *amīrs* of Gujrāt, he was enlisted among the courtiers of Humāyūn's special *majlis*.

(Bayley, p. 387) ascribes the capture of Mandū to the treachery of Rūmī Khān. It says that the latter wrote to Bhūpat son of Silhadī, who had charge of one of the gates, to revenge the wrongs of his family by throwing it open, and the Moghals entered by it.

[1] Written as سونکر and سونکهر in the MSS., and سونگر in the lith. ed.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بجهاج تعجیل but the other MS. has بر سبیل تعجیل. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted بجناح تعجهل in the text-edition.

[3] The actual words are اسپان تازہ زور in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has by mistake اسپان تازہ روز.

[4] The MSS. have قبل فرمودند, and قبل کردند. The lith. ed. has قبل کرد. I have adopted قبل کردند.

[5] See *ante*, Translation, vol. II, pp. 54 and 55. See also note 55, page 353.

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All the treasures of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt, which they had collected in the course of many long generations, fell into his hands and were distributed among the soldiery [1] by shield-fulls.

As much booty had fallen into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiers, no one that year paid any heed to the collection of the revenue; and in the beginning of 940 A.H., in spite of the fact that His Majesty continued to be at Chāmpānīr, repeated petitions were sent by the *ra'īyats* of Gujrāt to Sulṭān Bahādur, to the effect that if he would appoint one of his [2] servants to collect the revenue, the proper amounts would be remitted into the treasury. Sulṭān Bahādur deputed his slave 'Imād-ul-mulk, who was noted for his great bravery and the excellence of his powers of management, with a large army for [3] collecting the revenue. When 'Imād-ul-mulk began to collect troops, and arrived in front of Aḥmadābād; according to a statement, about fifty thousand men had already collected round him. From that place he deputed officers to all the neighbouring countries to collect the revenue. When this news reached Jinnat Āshiānī, he [4] entrusted the guarding of the treasure to Tardī Bēg Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*, and a man on whom he reposed his trust; and himself advanced towards Aḥmadābād. He sent Mīrzā 'Askarī with Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Hindū Bēg one stage in advance of him. In the neighbourhood of Maḥmūdābād, which is twelve *karōhs* from Muḥammadābād, Mīrzā 'Askarī had a severe battle with 'Imād-ul-mulk, and the latter was defeated; [5] and many Gujrātīs were slain.

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[1] The words in the MSS. are زر به سپر به لشکریان and زر به سپر بلشکریان. The lith. ed. has با سپر بلشکریان. I have not been able to find out in any other history how the money was measured and distributed. Firishtah in the corresponding passage simply says زر بر لشکریان تقسیم شد.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have یکی ازملازمان, but the other MS. has یکی از متعلقان; I have adopted the former.

[3] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have بتحصیل ولایت فرستاد; but Firishtah in the corresponding passage has بتحصیل مالیات ولایت which is better, and the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 25) has تحصیل مال واجبی.

[4] According to the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 27) the treasure was entrusted to Maulānā Maḥmud Lārī who is said to have been اخوند or tutor; and the fort to Tardī Bēg.

[5] Firishtah copies the language of the Ṭabaqāt almost word for word, but here he says عماد الملک شکست یافته با گجراتیان بیشمار بقتل رسید, from which it

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After that His Majesty encamped in front of Aḥmadābād; and [1] made over the government of that place to Mīrzā 'Askarī, and Pattan Gujrāt to Yādgār Nāṣīr Mīrzā, and Bahrōj to Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān and [2] Barōda to Hindū Bēg Qūlchīn, and Chāmpānīr to Tardī Bēg Khān, and himself went to [3] Burhānpūr. From there he went to Mandū.

[4] At this time, Khān Jahān Shīrāzī who was one of the *amīrs* of Sultān Bahādur, collected an army and took possession of Nausārī; and Rūmī Khān having joined him from the port of Sōrath, they marched towards Bahrōj. Qāsim Ḥosain Sulṭān finding that he was not strong enough to meet them went to Tardī Bēg Khān at Chāmpānīr; and disturbances and rebellion commenced over the whole of Gujrāt. At this time Ghaḍanfar who was one of the *amīrs* of Mīrzā 'Askarī fled and went to Sulṭān Bahādur, and incited him to advance to Aḥmadābād. The details of this [5] brief statement have been narrated in their proper place. All the *amīrs* [6] except Tardī Bēg Khān now

would appear that 'Imād-ul-mulk was himself slain, though this is not expressly stated anywhere else. The battle and most of the incidents narrated here were narrated previously in the history of Humāyūn's reign; see translation, vol. II, p. 57. A rather long account of the battle with some irrelevant matter is given in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 27); but the purport of it agrees with that given in the Akbarnāma.

[1] This distribution of governments has already been mentioned in the history of Humāyūn's reign (translation, vol. II, p. 58).

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have برودرا, but I have as before adopted the present spelling Barōda, but M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained برودرا Barōdra in the text-edition.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 333, says Humāyūn marched to Burhānpur. Muhammad Shāh or Muhammad Khān Āsīrī wrote to him to spare his little kingdom, and invited the other rulers of the Deccan to form a league for their mutual defence; but Humāyūn's operations were confined to a military promenade through Khāndesh.

[4] See *ante*, translation, vol. II, page 58. The conduct of Rūmī Khān contradicts, to some extent, the accounts given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī of his treachery against Sultān Bahādar. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 29) describes in some detail, how Humāyūn's governors vacated or were made to vacate their various districts or fiefs.

[5] See *ante*, translation, vol. II, page 59. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt does not appear to mention the incident.

[6] Both MSS. have بعد تردی بیگ خان; but the lith. ed. has بغیر از تردی بیگ خان.

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assembled in Aḥmadābād. Sulṭān Bahādur advanced into [1] Gujrāt. 'Askarī Mīrzā and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and all the *amīrs* agreed among themselves, that as it was difficult or in fact impossible to meet and withstand him, and as Jinnat Āshiānī was in Mandū, it would be most advisable to seize the treasure which was in Chāmpānīr, and advance towards Āgra; and having taken possession of those districts, [2] read the public prayer in the name of Mīrzā 'Askarī. At the same time the rank of *vazārat* should belong to Hindū Bēg, and the other *Mīrzās* should go and take possession of any province which they might think of. On this decision they relinquished the country of Gujrāt for nothing; Gujrāt which had been acquired with so much trouble and hardship. They advanced towards Chāmpānīr. Tardī Bēg Khān having obtained information of the wicked design of the *Mīrzās* and the other nobles endeavoured to strengthen the fort.

[3] The *amīrs* started from Chāmpānīr in the direction of Mālwa; and commenced to tread along the desert of disgrace and shameless-

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[1] He was at Dīp, which was in Sōrath.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 333, says, "'Askarī Mīrzā at Ahmadābād was meditating his own proclamation as King of Gujarāt". This appears to me to be totally incorrect. 'Askarī Mīrzā and all the other Mughal nobles were giving up the possession of Gujrāt, and were marching towards Āgra. He could not, therefore, think of proclaiming himself as the king of Gujrāt. He wanted to proclaim himself as *Bādshāh* of Dehlī. The Cambridge History of India further goes on to say that Mīrzā 'Askarī and others besieged Tardī Beg at Chāmpāner. This is scarcely correct. Neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah says so; and even the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt which gives, on page 31, the negotiations between the Mīrzās and Tardī Bēg Khān does not say so. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt which has been edited by Sir Denison Ross is slightly incoherent; for instance, the sentence beginning with درین ایام and ending with بچانپانیر است, on the page referred to is incomplete. The punctuation is peculiar. There are two marks, a * and a — ; and it is not clear what they exactly represent; but whether the sentence referred to ends with بچانپانیر است where there is the dash mark or with گرفتن تو کردہ اند, where there is the star mark; there is no verb to سلطان بہادر ; and if the sentence begins and ends with the star mark then it curiously jumbles up two totally unconnected matters.

[3] Both the MSS. have no nominative to the verb شروع کردنی, but the lith. ed. had امرا, and Firishtah in the corresponding passage has میرزایان. I have adopted the reading of the lith. ed.

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ness. When Sulṭān Bahādur found Gujrāt unguarded, he advanced towards Chāmpānīr to crush Tardī Bēg Khān. The latter took with him such portion of the treasure of Chāmpānīr as he could, and commenced to retrace his steps to Āgra. Sulṭān Bahādur halted at Chāmpānīr for ten days, and occupied himself in arranging the affairs of that neighbourhood. As, in the times of the power of Jinnat Āshiānī, he had owing to his great distress and weakness asked for help from the *firangīs*, he knew for certain that they would come; and knowing that the ports of Gujrāt were unguarded, and being afraid that they should come under the possession of the *firangīs*, he started from Chāmpānīr, and advanced towards Sōrath and Junāgarh, so that, on the arrival of the *firangīs*, he might turn them back by any means that might be possible. [1] He had been engaged for some days in travelling about and hunting, when news came that five or

[1] The circumstances attending Sulṭān Bahādur's death are given in the different histories in a way which mainly agrees with the text. Firishtah copies it almost word for word. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 132–141) reduces the number of Europeans to four or five thousand but otherwise agrees. He, however, gives extracts from Fariah-e-Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia, and also from the Mirut Iskundry, to give the two opposite versions of the incidents connected with Sultan Bahadur's death. The Portuguese version shows that Nuno de Cunha, who commanded at Goa, but who having been informed by Emanuel de Souza, who commanded at Diū, had come to the latter place, were both convinced that Badur intended to seize, and put them to death, and to secure the fort of Diū which he, when hard pressed by Humāyūn had given them permission to build; and they were also contriving to seize him, put him to death. As to the actual occurrence, the Portuguese version is that Emanuel de Souza was going to invite the king to the fort . . . . He came up with the king's barge, and made the offer (invitation ?) by means of Rume Cham (رومی خان) . The latter cautioned the king, but he slighted the warning, and invited Emanuel de Souza to come into his barge. The latter when doing so fell into the sea, but was pulled up, and taken to the king. At the same time another Portuguese barge came up with some gentlemen on board, who seeing Emanuel de Souza hastily got into the king's barge. The king suspecting their sudden coming on board, and remembering the caution given by Rume Cham ordered his officers to kill Emanuel de Souza. James de Mesquita understanding it, flew at and wounded the king. Emanuel de Souza was killed and there was a bloody fray. Finally Badur attempted to escape by swimming, but he was in danger of drowning. Then Tristan de Payva de Santarem reached out an oar to him to take him on board,

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six thousand *firangīs* had arrived in *gẖarābs*. When they arrived at the port of Dīp, and heard of the restoration of Sulṭān Bahādur to power, and of the return of His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī, they became ashamed and repentant about their coming. They agreed among themselves, that by any deception that might be possible they should take possession of Dīp. Their chief, in accordance with this plan, feigned illness and spread a report about it. His object was that he might not have an interview with Sulṭān Bahādur. The latter sent men one after another to summon him, and got (the same) reply. In the end thinking that the *firangīs* were afraid of him he got into a barge, with a small number of men, to go and reassure them. The *firangīs* finding the opportunity which they had been seeking, planned to act treacherously. The Sulṭān perceiving this, tried to get back into his barge. At the time when he was stepping into it, from the *gẖarāb* of the *firangīs*, the latter separated the two vessels; and the Sulṭān being unable to get into his own barge fell into the sea, and having sunk once, put his head out of the water. At this time one of the *firangīs* struck him with a spear and drowned him. The Gujrāt army returned without any delay to Aḥmadābād; and the

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when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed.

The Mirut Iskundry's account is different. According to it the Portuguese built a fort at Diū after obtaining Bahadur Shah's permission to build an enclosure on a *hide* of land, but they cut the cow hide into narrow strips and enclosed a large area on which they built a strong fort. When Bahadur was restored to power, he began to think of a stratagem to expel them and the Portuguese becoming aware of his intention became suspicious. When he came to the neighbourhood of Diū, he sent one Noor Mahomed Khuleel to the Portuguese chief with instructions to persuade the latter to come and visit the king. The envoy when drinking with the Portuguese chief divulged the king's real intentions to the latter. The Portuguese chief told him that he was unable to go on account of his indisposition. The king determined to go on board the Portuguese chief's barge on the plea of inquiring about his health, but really with the object of allaying his suspicions. When he got on board, the Portuguese, according to a pre-conceived plan, cut him and his companions down. The date of the murder is given as 3rd Rumzan, 943 A.H., 14th February, 1537 A.D.

The Cambridge History of India, page 334, gives 13th February, 1537, as the date of Sultān Bahādur's death.

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port of Dīp came into the possession of the *firangīs*. This event happened in the month of Ramaḍān, in the year 943 A.H.

The period of Sulṭān Bahādur's reign was [1] eleven years and nine months.

[2] A NARRATIVE OF MĪRĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, RULER OF ASĪR AND BURHĀNPŪR.

When Sulṭān Bahādur packed up the goods of existence, his mother Makẖdūma-i-Jahān and the *amīrs*, who had been attending on his stirrups, retraced their steps from Dīp to Aḥmadābād. On the way intelligence reached them, that Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, whom Sulṭān Bahādur had, in the time of the disturbances, sent towards Dehlī and Lāhōre, that he might create disturbances in northern India, and cause dissensions in the Chaghtāī army had returned from the neighbourhood of Lāhōre, and had arrived at Aḥmadābād. Immediately on hearing of the martyrdom of Sulṭān Bahādur, he commenced weeping and making much lamentation, and changed his dress, *i.e.*, put on mourning; and started towards Dīp in order to offer his condolence. When he joined the camp, Makẖdūma-i-Jahān, as far as lay in her power, sent the necessary articles for his entertainment, and made him put off his mourning garb. [3] But that fortunate Mīrzā made his inquiries into the circumstances

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[1] One MS. has only eleven years, but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. have eleven years and nine months.

[2] The heading is partly obliterated in one MS. In the other it is as I have it in the text. The lith. ed. has حکومت between ذکر and میران محمد شاہ, and substitutes والی for حاکم.

[3] The Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah confine themselves to the above narrative of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā's misdeeds; but the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, and the Tārīkẖ-i-Gujarāt say that he attempted to usurp the throne of Gujarāt. Their accounts are, however, different. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 400, he went to the apartments of the Sultān's wives, and after offering many condolences, he urged that they should adopt him as a son and help him. The ladies said that they never interfered in politics; and the question of the Sultān's successor should be settled by the ministers. When his pretensions became known, the *amīrs* decided that the task of putting him down must have precedence of all other matters; and should be entrusted to 'Imād-ul-Mulk. There was some opposition to the latter part of the plan by Afzal Khān. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, however, started with a large army for Sōrath; and when he reached

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of the Sulṭān's mother, and showed his kindness towards her, in this (strange) way, that at the time of his departure he made an attack on the treasury, and carried away from it, according to a reputed statement, seven hundred chests of gold, and went away to a distance; and twelve thousand horsemen, Mughals and Hindūstānīs collected round him.

The *amīrs* of Gujrāt became perturbed on beholding this new disturbance, and took counsel with one another, about the choice of a *bādshāh*. As Sulṭān Bahādur had repeatedly expressed his intention of making Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, who was his nephew (sister's son), his heir, [1] everyone agreed to select him as the Sulṭān, and had

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the neighbourhood of U'nah the Mīrzā came out and bravely offered battle; but was defeated and was obliged to take refuge in exile.

The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (pp. 36–39) says that Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā hastened to Dīb, that he might take his revenge of Sulṭān Bahādur's murder from the *firangīs*. He then seized the treasure which was being brought from Dīb, and took possession of it; and, according to the account which is generally believed, there were nine hundred chests of gold. He also had the public prayer read in his own name at Dīb. When this news reached Aḥmadābād, the *amīrs* determined to vacate Aḥmadābād, and go away to different places. At this juncture 'Imād-ul-mulk came to the *majlis* and demanded of Afḍal Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, who were the *vakīls* of the Sulṭān, what they intended to do. On hearing their views he reproached them that they could think of lowering their heads before Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. They say that the people of Gujarāt were too weak to meet the army, which Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā had raised with the treasure he had robbed. He exhorted them to remain quietly at Aḥmadābād and allow him to deal with Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. They agreed. He had at that time only nine horsemen with him. He started from Aḥmadābād, and halted at 'Uthmānpūr, and made a proclamation of the grant of *jāgīr*, etc., to the soldiers. Within one month he had forty thousand horsemen. He then marched against Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. The latter however took shelter in an entrenchment. His *vakīl*, and the commander of this army Ḥisām-ud-dīn Mīrak, son of Mīr Khalīfa, offered battle; and on the 3rd day when he was fighting, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā escaped from the entrenchment, and fled to Sind.

The Cambridge History of India, pp. 334, 335, says that Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā claimed the throne of Gujarāt on the ground that Sultān Bahādur's mother had adopted him but says nothing further about what happened to him later.

[1] Firishtah agrees generally, and so does the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, however, says that while the *amīrs* were engaged in discussing

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the *khuṭba* read and the *sikka* struck in his name in his absence. They sent swift messengers to bring him. They also nominated [1] 'Imād-ul-mulk with a large army for the destruction of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. The [2] latter fought with him and was defeated.

Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, whom Sulṭān Bahādur had sent as far as Mālwa in pursuit of the Chaghtāi army, died of natural causes, a month and half after the *khuṭba* had been read in his name.

An account of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Laṭīf Khān, son of Muẓaffar Shāh.

As Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī passed away from the evil place of the world to the well-filled land of the after-world; and [3] except

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the matter of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, ambassadors came from Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh demanding the kingdom on the ground of his appointment by Sulṭān Bahādur to be his successor, and on that of his right of inheritance and kingship.

[1] See note 3, page 381.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. here call him Muḥammad Zamān, but the other MS. prefixes Mīrzā to the name; and adds 'retired to the country of Sind'.

[3] Both MSS. have بعد, but the lith. ed. has بغیر. Firishtah lith. ed. also has بغیر. The Cambridge History of India, page 335, in order I suppose to be original and quaint, calls Mahmūd Khān the last remaining heir of Muhammad Karīm instead of calling the latter Sultān Muhammad or Sultān Muhammad I. The Cambridge History of India also says that "Mubarak II, who had succeeded his brother in Khāndesh, and had almost certainly hoped to receive a summons to the throne of Gujarāt, would not surrender him, until a force led by Ikhtiyār Khān invaded Khāndesh". It appears to me that there are several mistakes in this sentence. In the first place, Mubarak II did not succeed his father. The latter was succeeded by his infant son, and after the latter had been put to death by Mubārak he ascended the throne of Khāndēsh. In the second place there is no evidence to show that he had hoped to be summoned to the throne of Gujrāt. Even the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, which has been edited by Sir. Denison Ross, who is also the author of Chapter XIII of the Cambridge History of India, does not say so. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 39) says that the emissaries from Khāndēsh claimed the throne of Gujarāt for the infant son of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, but Mubārak II, who had put that infant son to death, would hardly have the face to claim the throne of Gujarāt, or had the hardihood to expect a summons to it. And finally it does not appear that Ikhtiyār Khān had to lead a force into Khāndēsh. He did not even go there. Maḥmūd Khān was, according to the testimony of all the historians, brought to Gujrāt by Ikhtiyār Khān's brother Muqbil Khān. According to the Tārīkh-i-

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Maḥmūd Khān, son of Laṭīf Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, there was no heir left to the throne; and he was imprisoned in the custody of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh by order of Sulṭān Muẓaffar; the *amīrs* of Gujrāt sent a man to summon him. [1] Muḥammad Shāh's son raised objections about sending him. The *amīrs* of Gujrāt collected an army, and decided to march to Burhānpūr; and [2] he (apparently the son of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh) becoming aware of this sent Maḥmūd Khān to Gujrāt. He was placed on the throne of Gujrāt on the [3] 10th Dhī-ḥijja, 944 A.H., 10th May, 1538 A.D., with the title

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Gujarāt, as also according to the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, there was a threat of an army being sent to Burhānpūr; and the Tārikh-i-Gujarāt only adds that tents were sent out.

It is, however, true, as Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 144) says that a Guzerat chief marched to Boorhanpoor to invite Mahmood to the capital.

[1] It appears from the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī that Mīrān Muhammad Shāh's son was an infant at the time of his father's death. He was, however, placed by the ministers on the throne; and they determined to put Mubārak Khān Muhammad Shāh's brother to death, lest he should rebel against his nephew. They accordingly had him brought to Burhānpūr and made him over to a nobleman of the name of 'Arab Khān. He, however, gained the latter over; and with his help attacked the palace, and placed his nephew in confinement. He then told the *amīrs* that the regency belonged of right to him. They knew that they were helpless. He then put his nephew to death, and was proclaimed as Mubārak Shāh (Bayley, pp. 404, 405).

The Tārikh-i-Gujarāt (pp. 39, 40) says that the ambassadors came to Gujarāt, and demanded that as *khuṭba* had been read in the name of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, it should be read also in the name of his son. The Gujarāt *amīrs* did not agree to this argument and pointed out that as Maḥmūd Khān was living in safety in the fort of Bīāwal, they should send him to Gujarāt. They also appointed Muqbil Khān, brother of Ikhtīyār Khan, to bring him; and threatened, that, if he was not sent, they would march to Burhānpūr. When Muqbil Khān went there, Maḥmūd Khān was made over to him.

[2] Firishtah says that it was Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, brother of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, who raised objection to the sending of Maḥmūd Khān. See also the preceding note.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 335, mentions August 8th, 1587, as the date of the accession. I suppose this is a misprint, for otherwise it is incorrect by 59 or 60 years. The date given in the text agrees with that of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 144), however, makes it "10th Zeekad 944 A.H., April 5th 1538". The Cambridge History of India also gives the new Sultān the title of Sa'd-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh III. This may be correct, but I have seen it nowhere else; and no other *bādshāh* of Gujrāt had the first name ending in *dīn*.

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of Maḥmūd Shāh. [1] Ikḥtiyār Ḵẖān Gujrātī, who had gone to Burhānpūr to bring him, became all-powerful; and the reins of the affairs of the kingdom [2] came into his grasp of power.

[3] After a few months, in the year 945 A.H. the *amīrs* fell out amongst themselves. Daryā Ḵẖān and 'Imād-ul-mulk united together and put Ikḥtiyār Ḵẖān to death. 'Imād-ul-mulk became *Amīr-ul-ūmarā*, and Daryā Ḵẖān, the *vazīr*. [4] At the end of that year enmity appeared between them also. Daryā Ḵẖān took Sulṭān Maḥmūd out of the city on the pretext of a hunting excursion; and went away in the direction of Chāmpānīr. When 'Imād-ul-mulk

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[1] Firishtah also says that it was Ikḥtīyār Ḵẖān who went to Burhānpūr; but see note 1, page 384, from which it would appear that it was his brother Muqbil Ḵẖān who went. Col. Briggs also says that it was Mokbil Khan.

[2] The word وزار is omitted in one MS.

[3] Firishtah agrees generally but he calls Daryā Ḵẖān, Daryā Ḵẖān Ghūrī; and he calls 'Imād-ul-mulk's *jāgīr*, Siramgāon and Sūrat. Col. Briggs does not say that 'Imād-ul-mulk and Daryā Ḵẖān combined together, and put Ikḥtiyār Ḵẖān to death; but he says Yekhtiar Khan lost his life in an affray. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, pages 407, 408, gives a circumstantial account of how Ikhtiār Khān was killed. According to it, the young Sultān was kept practically in confinement by Ikhtiār Khān, Mukbil Khan and the latter's son Lād Khan. He was dissatisfied, but feigned to be totally indifferent. Lād Khan one day proposed to him that if he would give the word, he would so manage that Dariā Khan and 'Imād-ul-Mulk would go to retire behind the veil of death. The Sultān at once rode to the house of 'Imād-ul-Mulk; and the latter and Dariā Khān went to the palace; and Ikhtiār Khān, Mukbil Khān and Lād Khan were all hanged in front of the audience hall; Ikhtiār Khān protesting his innocence to the last moment.

The account given in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (pp. 41, 42) is not very clear; but according to it there was a quarrel between Ikḥtīyār Ḵẖān and 'Imād-ul-mulk and Daryā Ḵẖān, because the young Sulṭān was kept in charge of Ikḥtīyār Ḵẖān's brother Muqbil Ḵẖān. 'Imād-ul-mulk and Daryā Ḵẖān charged Ikḥtīyār Ḵẖān with disloyalty to the Sulṭān; and with conspiring with the ruler of Burhānpūr. He stoutly denied it; but they appeared to have wrung his neck; and buried his body in the garden of the palace where the quarrel took place.

The Cambridge History of India, page 345, seems partially to follow this version.

[4] As to the quarrel between 'Imād-ul-mulk and Daryā Ḵẖan, all the histories appear to agree. It appears that most of the nobles were on the side of Daryā Ḵẖān; and 'Imād-ul-mulk was deserted by them and by the army he had collected; and so had to give in.

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became aware of these happenings, he began at once to collect his forces; and opening his hands for lavish gifts, got an immense army together, and advanced towards Chāmpānīr. After two or three months most of the Gujrātī soldiers, who had obtained large sums of money from him, separated from him and united with the Sulṭān. 'Imād-ul-mulk in his distress agreed to an amicable settlement, and it was settled that 'Imād-ul-mulk should go away to Jhālāwār, and some *parganas* of Sōrath which were in his *jāgīr*; and the Sulṭān should return to his capital of Aḥmadābād.

Again in the year 949 A.H. Daryā Khān advanced towards the country of Sōrath, taking Sulṭān Maḥmūd and a well-equipped army with him, in order to extirpate 'Imād-ul-mulk. The latter came forward to meet him; but after a battle fled and went as a suppliant to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd advanced towards Burhānpūr in pursuit of him. Mīrān Mubārak Shāh assembled his army and came forward to aid 'Imād-ul-mulk. He encountered the Gujrāt army in the battlefield, but was defeated. 'Imād-ul-mulk then fled from Burhānpūr, and took shelter with Qādir Shāh, the ruler of Mālwa. [1] Mīrān Mubārak Shāh sought the intervention of the great men of the age, and coming in by the door of peace rendered homage to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Daryā Khān acquired much power and strength owing to the departure of 'Imād-ul-mulk, and took upon himself the performance of all matters and affairs of the government and revenue administration; and allowed no one else to interfere in them. Gradually things came to such a pass that he made Sulṭān Maḥmūd a puppet and acted himself as the *bādshāh*. Then one night, in concert with [2] *Jarjīū*, a pigeon fancier, the Sulṭān

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[1] The reason for Mīrān Mubārak Shāh's asking for peace, and doing homage to Sulṭān Maḥmūd is explained by Firishtah, who says سلطان محمود شاه چون در خاندیش فروکشی کرده بتاخت و تاراج مشغول گشت, *i.e.*, Sulṭān Maḥmūd invaded Khāndēsh, and occupied himself in plundering and ravaging (the country).

[2] The name is given as جرجیو کبوتر, and جرسو کبوتر باز in the MSS., and برجیو کهوکر کبوتر باز in the lith. ed. It is جرجیو کبوتر باز in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. The name does not appear to be mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt. In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 416, the man is called Jarjī the bird catcher; and the Cambridge History of India, page 337, has Chīrjī a fowler. I have adopted Jarjīū, a pigeon fancier. The way in which the Sulṭān fled

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came out of the citadel of the fort of Aḥmadābād; and went to 'Ālam Khān Lūdī, who held Dūlqa and Dandūqa as his *jāgīr*.

[1] 'Ālam Khān Lūdī considering the advent of the Sulṭān a great honour, collected his troops; and four thousand horsemen gathered round him. Daryā Khān brought forward a [2] boy of unknown descent, and gave him the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh; and collected the army of Gujrāt. He brought the commanders of the army over to his side by promising to increase their *jāgīrs* and add to their titles; and advanced towards Dūlqa. 'Ālam Khān came forward, and met him, and [3] a great battle raged between the two armies. At the first onset, however, 'Ālam Khān defeated the vanguard of Daryā Khān's army; and advancing into his special detachment fought with great gallantry and courage. But when he came out of the battlefield there

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to 'Ālam Khān is described in almost identical words in the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 416, gives a circumstantial account which differs in various particulars from that in the Ṭabaqāt. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt gives some account of what happened before the flight, but does not say anything about the flight itself. The Cambridge History of India's account is somewhat different. چرجیو in the text-edition.

[1] One MS. has معزم عالم خان but the other MS. and the lith. ed. have عالم خان لودی. Firishtah also has عالم خان لودی and I have adopted it.

[2] طفل مجهول النسبی is the description in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has مجهول النسب. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt has از قبیله سلطان احمد بانی احمد آباد; and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, page 417, describes the boy as a descendant of Sultan Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadābād. The Cambridge History of India calls him a child of obscure origin. It appears that Daryā Khān was willing to give up his position; and in fact sent in his resignation; but was overruled by Fattūjī Muhāfiz Khān, who was a relation of his, and a man of much experience; and then he produced the pretender, and marched out to meet 'Ālam Khān and Sultān Mahmūd (p. 338).

[3] The account of the battle as given in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī is entirely different. According to it Dariā Khān was victorious, and took possession of Dhōlkah; and both the Sultān and 'Alam Khān fled. After their defeat, however, large bodies of troops joined him, and Dariā Khān found his army dwindling away. He attempted to enter Ahmadābād, but the people shut the gate in his face, and attacked him with arrows and musket fire. Then the Sultān and 'Alam Khān advanced to Ahmadābād. Dariā Khān sent his family and treasures to Chāmpānīr; and went himself to Burhānpūr to bring Mīrān Mubārak Shāh as his ally.

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were no more than five horsemen with him, and he could not find Sulṭān Maḥmūd, whom he had left with his own troops at the gate. He became perplexed and distressed, but it came into his mind that as after the first attack the vanguard of Daryā Khān's army had fled and gone away towards Aḥmadābād, the news of his defeat might have been spread about in the city; and he should therefore betake himself there. Then with the five men who were with him he advanced to Aḥmadābād; and going to the royal palace made a proclamation of his victory. When the citizens saw 'Ālam Khān, as they had seen some of the fugutives belonging to (Daryā Khān's) vanguard a moment before, they became sure of Daryā Khān's defeat. They came in a large [1] body; and waited on him. He gave an order, and in a moment the people plundered Daryā Khān's house and having strengthened the gates of the city, sent swift messengers to bring Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The messengers from Aḥmadābād came to Daryā Khān, who had after gaining the victory (over the troops that were opposed to him), halted in his camp; and informed him of what was happening at Aḥmadābād. He then advanced towards that city. As the families of the *amīrs* were in the city, which was in the possession of 'Ālam Khān, most of them separated from Daryā Khān before he arrived there. About this time Sulṭān Maḥmūd also arrived. Daryā Khān then fled towards Burhānpūr and matters turned [2] upside down. Daryā Khān did not find a resting place at Burhānpūr, and went to Shēr Khān Afghān, and [3] was received with favour by him. After the departure of Daryā Khān, 'Ālam Khān took up the post and the work of the *vazārat*. But he also, owing to his great pride, wanted

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[1] One MS. has جماعهٔ جماعهٔ while the other has جماعهٔ and the lith. ed. has جماعت Firishtah also has جماعت but I prefer جماعت جماعت.

[2] The words are قضیه منعکس شد. There are no similar words in Firishtah and the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt. I think the meaning is, that Daryā Khān had defeated Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, and the latter had to sue for peace. The tables were now turned, and Daryā Khān had to go and seek shelter in Burhānpūr.

[3] Firishtah and the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt also say so. The latter says he entered the service of Shēr Khān; but the Cambridge History of India, page 339, gives an account of some of his further adventures, and of an unsuccessful attempt made by him and 'Ālam Khān Lodī, who according to the Cambridge History of India had now joined him to place 'Alā-ud-dīn Fath Khān of the royal line of Sind on the throne of Gujarāt.

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to be independent and overbearing like Daryā Khān in all respects. Sulṭān Maḥmūd got the *amīrs* to combine with him, and attempted to seize him. He received warning of this, and fled and went to Shēr Khān. After his mind had been set at rest by the termination of the dissensions of the rebel *amīrs*, Sulṭān Maḥmūd set himself to manage the government of the country, to increase the cultivation and to comfort the soldiers. Within a short time he restored the country to its original condition. He treated the nobles and other great men, and the gentry and pious men with kindness and favour. He carried on the government till the year 961 A.H. without any dissension and any enemy.

[1] But in the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of that year, one of his servants who had the name of Burhān, and who showed himself to be a man of piety in the eyes of men, and devoted most of his time in prayer and worship, and always acted as the Sulṭān's *pēsh-namāz* or leader in the prayers, in a hunting excursion murdered him. The particulars of this brief statement are these: on one occasion, the Sulṭān shut him up between walls on account of some fault committed by him in his service, and left an aperture for his breath to pass

[1] Before mentioning the assassination of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Firishtah mentions the foundation of the new city of Maḥmūdābād, which, however, could not be completed by the Sulṭān, and also the erection of the fort of Sūrat under the supervision of Ghaḍanfar Āqā, his Turkī slave, who had the title of Khudāwand Khān. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt says that Humāyūn after his restoration wrote a letter to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, proposing an alliance, and suggesting that Sulṭān Maḥmūd should invade Mālwa, while he himself would advance against others, whom he, rather vaguely, describes as مخالفان باغی or rebellious enemies. Accordingly, Sulṭān Mahmūd took a muster roll of his troops, and چادر بر سر مندو زدند, which I suppose means, invaded Mandū (pp. 43, 44). The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī has a long account of Sultān Mahmūd's liking for low company, and of his conferring the title of Muḥāfiz Khān on Jarjī the pigeon fancier; and of this man's insolence towards the *amīrs*, and his getting a *farmān* from the Sultān for the execution of 'Alā-ud-dīn Lōdī and Shujā'at Khān. The *amīrs* then demanded that Jarjī should be made over to them. The Sultān refused to do so. The *amīrs* pretended to accept the Sultān's order, but prayed that he would allow them to make their obeisance to him. The Sultān held a *darbār*, and when Jarjī appeared there, he was murdered in open *darbār* in the Sultān's presence. The *amīrs* then made a plan for guarding the Sultān, and later of blinding him, and dividing the kingdom among themselves (Bayley, pp. 421–423).

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through, but after a time released him. The wretched Burhān kept this old grudge concealed in his mind. He united with himself a number of hunters, whose occupation was to hunt tigers, and promised each one of them the rank of an *amīr*. One night when the Sulṭān had gone to sleep after coming back from hunting, he in concert with his nephew (sister's son) named Daulat, who was in close attendance on the Sulṭān, tied [1] the latter's hair firmly to the wood of his bedstead, and passed a sword across his throat. That victim (of their cruelty) had placed both his hands on the edge of the sword, so that his hands were also cut, and he was murdered. (Burhān then) kept the tiger hunters hidden in a corner, and sent men to summon the great *amīrs*. He also told the musicians that the Sulṭān had ordered that they should play on their instruments outside the house.

Half the night had passed when he secured the attendance of Khudāwand Khān and Āṣaf Khān, who were both the *vazīrs*; and took them to a private chamber, and had them murdered. In the same way he summoned twelve of the great *amīrs* and killed them all. Then his men went to summon I'tmād Khān. The latter said, "The Sulṭān cannot possibly have sent for me at such a time; I have only a little while ago come from attending on him"; and he delayed in coming. Burhān sent another man to summon him. His suspicion and alarm became greater, and he did not come. When Afḍal Khān, who was one of the distinguished *amīrs* and with whom Burhān had ancient friendship came, Burhān took him to a private place, and told him, "The Sulṭān is displeased with Khudāwand Khān and Āṣaf Khān, and wants you to take their place, and he has sent this robe of the *vazārat* for you". Afḍal Khān said, "Until I go to the Sulṭān's presence and see him, I shall not put on the robe". Burhān then took Afḍal Khān to the place, where the martyr Sulṭān was lying, and said, "I have killed the Sulṭān and the *vazīrs* and all the nobles. I now make you my *vazīr*,

[1] The accounts of the murder as given in Firishtah and the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī and the Cambridge History of India agree mainly with that in the text; but there are various differences in details. It was committed on the night of the 12th of Rabī'-ul-āwwal, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad. The murderer is called Burhān in all the histories, except the Cambridge History of India, where he is called Burhān-ud-dīn (p. 342).

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and will entrust all the power to you". Afḍal Khān commenced calling him names, and made an outcry. That wicked man then murdered him also. He then conferred titles on each one of a number of obscure soldiers, and vulgar men who came that night; and gave them hopes of being made *amīrs*. He stretched his hands to the public treasure and gave much gold to the people. He was occupied till the morning with the giving away of the gold; and in the morning placed the royal umbrella over his head, and made a general proclamation. He then collected all the elephants belonging to the Sulṭān, which were in the city and having distributed the horses in the Sulṭān's stables among the people of the lower classes, made them the supports of his power. When it became morning, the news of the Sulṭān's martyrdom spread about. 'Imād-ul-mulk, the father of Chengīz Khān and Ulugh Khān Ḥabshī and other *amīrs* collected together, and attacked that man of wretched destiny. He, in accordance with the line:

Hemistich:

Empire if even for a moment is precious,

had the royal umbrella raised over his head, and came to oppose them with a mob of common people and a few elephants; and at the first [1] assault fell on the dust of wretchedness, and was slain by Shērwān Khān. A rope was then tied round his leg, and he was dragged about all round the *bāzār*, and in different parts of the city.

The period of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was eighteen years and two months and odd days.

It so happened that Islām Khān, son of Shēr Khān, the ruler of Dehlī, and Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, the ruler of Aḥmadnagar, died during [2] this year by natural death; and a poet has composed the following couplets, giving the date of their death:

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[1] The manner in which Burhān met his fate is described in much the same manner in Firishtah and the other histories. The account in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 49) is very circumstantial. The encounter with Shirwān Khān is somewhat differently narrated in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

[2] According to Firishtah, the year was 961 A.H.; and his own father Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh was the writer of the couplets. The couplets are also given in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, but the name of the author is not mentioned there and there are slight variations in the wording (p. 49).

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Couplets:

Three sovereigns died in the course of a year,
Through their justice, was *Hind* (India) the seat of peace.
One Maḥmūd Shāh, of Gujrāt Sulṭān,
Who like his grandeur, youthful was;
The other Islām Khān of Dehlī Sulṭān,
Who in his reign, was a Lord of Conjunction great.
The third was Niẓam-ul-mulk Baḥrī,
Who in the Deccan, held sovereign sway.
Of the date of the death of these sovereigns three
If they ask thee 't was "the death of monarchs great".

Sulṭān Maḥmūd was [1] a virtuous ruler, and possessed pleasant manners. He spent most of his time in the society of learned and pious men; and on great days, such as the day of the death of His Holiness the Prophet, may the blessings of God and His peace be on him! and on the dates of the deaths of his own ancestors, and on other auspicious days, he gave food to *faqīrs* and other deserving persons. He held the ewer and the basin in his own hand and washed the hands of the men. [2] And *sarīṣāf* and all pieces of cloth, which were intended for his own garments, were first made into [3] table-cloths for *darwīshes* and *faqīrs*, and afterwards fashioned into wearing apparel for him.

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[1] The actual words are بادشاه نیک نهاد و پسندیده اطوار بود.

[2] The readings in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are unintelligible at this place. The MSS. have و پارچهائی صرلصاف و هر پارچه. The lith. ed. has the same with the exception that instead of صرلصاف it has سرساف. The corresponding passage in Firishtah has و پارچهای سریصاف که بجهت پوشش او مقرر بود اول دستار و جامه درویشان میکردند. This makes sense. It means the *sarīṣāf* and other kinds of cloth, which were intended for garments for his own use, were first made into turbans and garments for the *darwīshes*, etc. Firishtah has been followed in the text-edition except that بود has been changed to بودی.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have دستار خان, but the other MS. has دستار خوان; but see the preceding note, from which it will appear that in the corresponding passage Firishtah has دستار و جامه.

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At a distance of twelve *karōhs* from Aḥmadābād, he laid the foundation of the city, to which he gave the name of [1] Maḥmūdābād; and built an arcaded *bāzār* from Aḥmadābād to that place. He also established a deer park on the bank of the stream called [2] Kharī nadī, and built a wall of burnt bricks adorned with turrets for a distance of seven [3] *karōhs*. In this deer park he erected beautiful structures at different places; and various kinds of animals were allowed to roam about free in the park; and they increased and multiplied by breeding in it. As he was very fond of the society of women, he collected a large number of them in his harem. He always hunted and played *chaugān* in the deer park with them. The trees in it were wrapt in red and green velvet. There were many pleasant gardens in it and handsome women were engaged in attending to them.

Whenever any of the women in his harem became pregnant, he ordered that she should have a miscarriage; and did not allow any of them to have a male child. He had made I'tmād Khān the attendant of his harem, and had directed him to attend to the direction of the ladies. I'tmād Khān had by way of prudence and caution, destroyed his own virility by eating camphor. The writer of this book has on various occasions visited the deer park and the buildings in it.

As visits to the tomb (of holy men) by the women, and their gathering together on various [4] pretexts had become extremely common in Gujrāt; and immorality and licentiousness had become, as it were, a matter of habit and custom, and there was (in the opinion of the people) no wickedness in such conduct, Sulṭān Maḥmūd forbade the going of women to these places, and their going and coming during days and nights to the houses of people. He also

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[1] The town had been built by his ancestor Maḥmūd Bēgarha; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd III, took up his residence in it, and restored and enlarged it.

[2] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has کهار ندی in the text-edition.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have the words دهلی را between هفت کروه and دیوار از خشت پخته.

[4] One MS. has خانه instead of بهانه.

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gave money to [1] some, and sent them to procure women, and when they brought them before him, he ordered them to be punished; and in this way he [2] effectively stopped such acts.

[3] An account of Sulṭān Aḥmad.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd became a martyr and left no son behind him, I'tmād Khān, in order to prevent the bursting out of the flames of disorder and disturbance, produced a [4] boy of tender years by the

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[1] One MS. and the lith ed. have به بعضی, but the other MS. has بمردم which appears to me to be better, and has been adopted in the text-edition.

[2] The actual words are بخوبترین وجهی سدّ ابن باب کرده بود, which translated literally, would be, had in the best way closed this door. The MSS. have خوبتر, but the lith ed. has خوبترین.

[3] This is the heading in the MS. The lith. ed. has ذکر سلطنت احمد شاه.

[4] This is the account in the MSS. and in the lith ed. Firishtah, however, says that it was Razī-ul-mulk, who produced the youth, who was a descendant of Aḥmad Shāh II. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Bayley, pp. 454, 455) says, that after the death of Sultān Mahmūd, the *amīrs* inquired of I'timād Khān, who was fully acquainted with the late Sultān's domestic affairs, whether the latter had left a son behind him. On his answering in the negative, they inquired whether any of his widows was expecting a child. This also he answered in the negative. They then inquired, whether there was any relative of the Sultān, who was fit to succeed to the throne. He said there was a youth of the name of Ahmad Khān who was living in Ahmadābād. Rezī-ul-Mulk was accordingly sent in a cart with very fast horses. He found Ahmad Khān buying some grain at a shop near his house, and recognising him, brought him at once to Mahmūdābād. The account in the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (pp. 49, 50) agrees, except that it says that the nobles wanted to know from I'tmād Khān if the late Sulṭān had even left a daughter behind, so that they might place her on the throne. Here again the answer was in the negative. Then it became necessary to enquire about distant relations; so Raḍī-ul-mulk, one of the descendants of Aḥmad Shāh, the founder of Aḥmadābād, who was five or six generations below him, and was a youth in his twelfth year, was brought forward.

It will be seen that there is considerable amount of divergence among the four historians, who were more or less contemporaneous with the events which they were describing. According to the author of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, whose father Shaikh Maḥmūd, commonly called Shaikh Mānjhū, was the manager of Saiyid Mubārak's affairs, the name of the youth, who was selected to be the Sultān, was Ahmad Khān, and Razī-ul-Mulk was the name of the man who was sent to bring him from Ahmadābād. Firishtah appears to agree, though

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name Raḍī-ul-mulk, describing him as a descendant of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadābād; and in concert with [1] Mīrān Saiyid Mubārak Bukhārī, and the other *amīrs*, who had escaped with their lives from the sword of the ungrateful Burhān, placed him on the throne of empire, and gave him the title of Aḥmad Shāh. They comforted the *amīrs* by confirming their *jāgīrs*. I'tmād Khān kept the affairs of the kingdom in his own hand, and left the newly chosen Sulṭān nothing but the name; and having obtained the whole power, kept him (confined) in his house.

When five years had passed in this way, Sulṭān Aḥmad unable any longer to remain in this state got out of Aḥmadābād, and went to Maḥmudābād to Saiyid Mubārak Bukhārī, who was one of the great *amīrs*. Mūsā Khān Fūlādī and Sādāt Khān and 'Ālam Khān Lūdī and other men collected round him. [2] Shaikh Yūsuf also went and joined him. The Sulṭān conferred on him the title of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn. I'tmād Khān, in concert with 'Imād-ul-mulk, father of Chengīz Khān, and Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān Ḥabshī and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk and other *amīrs* of Gujrāt with a part of artillery attacked Saiyid Mubārak. The latter although he had a smaller army than I'tmād Khān arrayed his troops to meet him in battle. When the battle began, a [3] cannon ball struck Saiyid Mubārak, and he was slain; and Sulṭān Aḥmād was defeated. He wandered

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he does not give the name of the youth who was raised to the throne; but the Ṭabaqāt and the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt say that it was Raḍī-ul-mulk, who was placed on the throne.

The Cambridge History of India (p. 343) does not mention these differences, but in its own confident way, gives a narrative which differs in some particulars from all of them. It says that one Khalīl Shāh was at first reported to be a son of the murdered Sultān, but on enquiry he could not be produced; and the writer surmises, that there was a conspiracy to foist a lad of unknown parentage on the throne, but the conspirators lost heart at the last moment. This Khalīl Shāh is mentioned by none of the other historians. Then Raẓī-ul-Mulk who was the great-grandson of Shakar Khān, a younger son of Ahmad I, was raised to the throne with the title of Ahmad Shāh II.

[1] One MS. omits the prefix Mīrān.

[2] Firishtah calls him Ā'ẓam Khān Mālwī.

[3] Firishtah also says گلوله توپی, but the Cambridge History of India, page 344, says that Sayyid Mubārak was killed by an arrow.

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about in distress for some days in the jungle; and then came and saw I'tmād Khān again. The latter confined him in his house, and did not permit anyone to approach him.

When I'tmād Khān's power increased, 'Imād-ul-mulk in concert with Tātār Khān Ghūrī attacked his house with [1] great force; and placing their cannon in position, commenced a bombardment. I'tmād Khān unable to meet them fled towards [2] Pāl which is in the neighbourhood of Chāmpānīr; and began to collect men from all sides. Then people intervened, and brought about a peace between him and 'Imād-ul-mulk. The districts of Bahrōj and Chāmpānīr and Nādōt and the other *parganas* between the rivers Mahindrī and Narbada were allotted to 'Imād-ul-mulk as his *jāgīr*; and I'tmād Khān came back, and again took charge of the duties of the *vakīl* of the Sulṭān; and endeavoured to guard Sulṭān Aḥmad as before; and they detached a body of fifteen hundred horsemen out of the personal *jāgīrs* of Sulṭān Aḥmad. Other men joined the Sulṭān and in spite of the fact that I'tmād Khān prevented men from mixing with him, a number of men [3] gathered round him, and for a short time he attained to some grandeur. He thought of getting rid of I'tmād Khān, and held a consultation with his confidants about slaying him. Sometimes, owing to his youthful inexperience he would strike his sword on a plantain tree and say "I have cut I'tmād Khān in two". When the latter became cognizant of these matters he forestalled the young Sulṭān, and one night put him to death and threw his corpse over the wall towards the river opposite to the house of Wajīh-ul-mulk; and spread a report among men to the effect that the Sulṭān had gone to Wajīh-ul-mulk's house at night to carry on an intrigue; and not being recognised, had been killed.

The period of his rule was eight years.

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[1] The actual words are بضرب راست in some MSS.; M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted بطرف راست in the text-edition.

[2] Firishtah also has Pāl, but the Cambridge History of India, page 344, has Hālol.

[3] The MSS. have بر دور او جمع شدند, and بر او جمع شدند and the lith. ed has بر گرد او جمع شدند.

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN MUẒAFFAR, SON OF SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD, SON OF LATĪF KHĀN.

At the end of the year 967 A.H., 1562 A.D., I'tmād Khān brought a boy by the name [2] Nanū before the assembly of the *amīrs* of Gujrāt; and swore that he was the [3] son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He said "that the boy's mother [4] Jārīah was an inmate of the [5] special harem of the Sulṭān. When she became pregnant, the Sulṭān made her over to me, so that I may bring about her miscarriage. As her pregnancy had passed the fifth month, I concealed her in my house, and have looked after her up to this day". As the throne of Gujrāt was vacant, Saiyid Mīrān, the son of Saiyid Mubārak Gujrātī took up the imperial crown in the assembly of the great and the noble, and [6] placed it on the head

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[1] This is the heading in the MS. In the lith. ed. the word سلطنت is inserted before the word Sulṭān.

[2] The name is ننو Nanū in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and appears to be تنو Tanū in the other MS. Firishtah does not give the name. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 155) calls him "Hubboo", which he says in a note is the "familiar contraction of Hubeeb". The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 52) gives him the name of نتو Natū, but a few lines further on نتهو Nathū. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, calls him Nathū.

[3] The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt (p. 52) tells a curious story about Nathū's father having been a گاوبان or cowherd; and his mother having been taken prisoner by Sulṭān Maḥmūd; that she was kept outside the harem of the Sulṭān, and before the latter could see her, and decide whether he would take her into the harem, she gave birth to Nathū. As the child was born almost under the shadow of the Sulṭān's presence, it resulted in his having the insignia of royalty for a time.

If this story is correct, it is curious that the facts should not have been known to the *amīrs*, and I'tmād Khan's stories should have received any credence.

[4] I do not know what جاریه *Jārīah* is, or whether it is a proper name.

[5] The word خاص occurs in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but is omitted from the other MS.

[6] Firishtah lith. ed. does not mention the coronation; but says, somewhat inconsistently, that the *amīrs* having no other alternative divided the kingdom among themselves, and became completely independent. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 155) says that the mother of the boy concealed her pregnancy till the fifth month, when the medicines given to her to produce an abortion had no effect, and the child was born, and was brought up privately. Witnesses were

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of that child. He received the title of Muẓaffar Shāh; and the *amīrs* offered congratulations and felicitations on his accession.

The duties of the *vazārat* continued to be entrusted to I'tmād Khān; and he received the title of *Masnad-i-'Ālī*. The great *amīrs* having acquired independence in their *jāgīrs* did not allow anyone to interfere with them. Among them the district of Pattan as far as the *pargana* of [1] Karī came into the possession of Mūsā Khān and Shēr Khān Fūlādī. In [2] Rādhanpūr and Tarwāra and Tahrād and Maujpūr, and some other *parganas*, Fatḥ Khān Balūch was in possession. [3] The *parganas*, which were situated between the Sābarmatī and the Mahindrī were in the possession of I'tmād Khān, who gave a portion of them to other Gujrātīs. The port of Sōrath and Nāgōt and Chāmpānīr were in the possession of Chengīz Khān son of 'Imād-ul-mulk Sulṭānī. Rustam Khān who was the husband of Chengīz Khān's sister held Bahrōj. Dūlqa and Dandūka were allotted to Saiyid Mīrān son of Saiyid Mubārak Bukhārī. Amīn Khān Ghūrī seized the fort of Junāgarh, and Sōrath; and [4] kept himself aloof from the other *amīrs* of Gujrāt.

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procured to swear to these facts and the evidence being considered sufficient, the boy was crowned. The version of the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt has already been given. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, says that I'timād Khān's history was totally false, but as an heir had to be found, the boy he produced was accepted.

[1] The name is كرى in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It is omitted in the other. Firishtah lith. ed. has كدلى, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 156) has Kurry. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, has Kādī.

[2] Firishtah agrees as to the first two names. He does not mention the third, and calls the fourth مورچپور Mūrchpūr. Col. Briggs calls them Radunpoor, Neriad, Tehrwara and Moonjpoor. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, does not give the names, but says the whole of the north of Gujarāt as far south as Kādī was in the possession of Mūsā Khān and Sher Khān and Fath Khān. The Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt does not specify the *jāgīrs* of the different *amīrs*, but says they were all trying to extend their respective *jāgīrs*, and encroaching on that of I'tmād Khān; and the latter sent petitions to Akbar to invade Gujarāt.

[3] Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India, page 345, agree generally; but Firishtah and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 156) call Roostoom Khan the nephew (خواهر زاد) of Chungiz Khan. The Cambridge History of India agrees with the Ṭabaqāt in calling him his brother-in-law.

[4] One MS. has نفاق instead of اتفاق.

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I'tmād Khān kept Sulṭān Muẓaffar Nanū, [1] more or less in a state of imprisonment, in the palace of the Sulṭān. On the days of audience a *masnad* used to be spread for him, and having seated him on it, I'tmād Khān himself [2] sat behind him. The *amīrs* attended to salute the Sulṭān. When some days had passed in this way, Chengīz Khān and [3] Shēr Khān Fūlādī arrived at Aḥmadābād to offer their condolences and congratulations to the Sulṭān. [4] When a year had passed in this way the Fūlādīs having found an opportunity, attacked Fatḥ Khān Balūch, who had *parganas* Tahrād and Tarwāra and Rādhanpūr and [5] Mūrwāra and Kākrēj as his *jāgīr*, and who on account of his proximity had hostility with them. He fought with them, was defeated, and went to I'tmād Khān and complained to him. I'tmād Khān was enraged at this and having collected troops attacked the Fūlādīs with a large and powerful force. The latter shut themselves up in the fort of Pattan, and commenced to show their weakness and repentance. I'tmād Khān did not accept their excuses; and went on vigorously with the siege. When the Fūlādī Afghāns were reduced to great straits, the young warriors among [6] them collected together, and going to Mūsā Khān and Shēr Khān, said that as (I'tmād Khān) does not accept our humility, there is no other alternative but that we should fight with him, and if necessary surrender our lives. Five hundred of them then sallied out of the fort; and Mūsā Khān and Shēr Khān with the men that they had—whose numbers did not amount to three thousand—also came out. I'tmād Khān arrayed the Gujrātī army, which exceeded thirty thousand horsemen. The Fūlādīs

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[1] The words are محبوس گویا.

[2] در پس سر او, *lit.*, behind his head.

[3] One MS. omits the name of Shēr Khān Fūlādi, apparently by mistake, for the suffix Fūlādī, which belongs to Shēr Khān is appended to the name of Chengīz Khān. Firishtah has both names.

[4] It is possible that something has been omitted here, for it was hardly necessary to mention the arrival of Chengīz Khān and Shēr Khān, unless it was meant to lead to something.

[5] This may be the same as Maujpūr already mentioned. In the text-edition کاکرنج has been adopted in place of کاکریج.

[6] One MS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have این جماعه but the other MS. has این طایفه.

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hurled themselves on I'tmād Khān's special troops and drove them away. Ḥajī Khān, a slave of Salīm Khān the son of Shēr Khān, who was one of the leaders of I'tmād Khān's army stood aside without joining in the battle. I'tmād Khān was defeated and went back to Aḥmadābād. He endeavoured to seize Ḥajī Khān. The latter, becoming aware of it, fled and joined the Fūlādīs. They then sent a message to I'tmād Khān to the following effect: "As a half of *pargana* Karī was the *jāgīr* of Ḥajī Khān, and he has come and joined us, you should relinquish possession of it". I'tmād Khān did not agree to this, and replied, "He was my servant. Although he has fled and gone away, why should I give up his *jāgīr*?" Mūsā Khān and Shēr Khān then collected a force and came to the *jāgīr* of Ḥajī Khān; and posted themselves in the town of [1] Jūthānah. I'tmād Khān again collected a force and came and met them. They stood opposing one another for a period of four months; and at last engaged in battle. I'tmād Khān was defeated; and went to Chengīz Khān at Bahrōj; and brought him to help and reinforce himself. The parties again met in the neighbourhood of Jūthānah. After a great deal of talk, there was an amicable settlement. I'tmād Khān gave up possession of Ḥajī Khān's *jāgīr*; and went back and took up his quarters at Aḥmadābād.

Chengīz Khān went back to his own country; and began to aspire to independence. It became bruited about among men, that he had no wish to continue to be in allegiance, and no intention to act as a subject. He sent a message to I'tmād Khān to the following effect: "I am a *khānazād* or slave of this threshold (*i.e.*, of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt); and have knowledge of every incident that takes place in the harem. It was known as a matter of certainty till today, that the martyred Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh had no son; and in spite of that you have produced a boy before the people, describing him as the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. And what is the meaning of this that he himself sits in the *majlis*, and his men guard that boy? And as long as he does not come no one can go to offer homage. If in fact the boy

[1] The name is written as چوتهانه in the MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is جهونانه in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The Cambridge History of India, page 345, has Jotāna.

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is the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, then he (I'tmād Khān) should like all the other *amīrs* and the special tribesmen render homage; and when the other *amīrs* sit down in the *majlis* he should also sit down after obtaining permission". I'tmād Khān wrote in reply: "I solemnly swore on the day of the accession in the presence of the great men of the city and the *amīrs*, that this boy was the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and they relying on my words placed the imperial crown on his head, and rendered homage to him. And as to what you have said about my sitting in the *majlis*, it is known to everyone, [1] what my rank and condition in the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was. You were only a boy at that time. If your father 'Imād-ul-mulk Sulṭānī had been alive, he would have testified to the truth of what I am saying. This lord and master of ours, the son of our martyr lord and master, by whose accession the imperial throne has now acquired a new beauty and glory, is your sovereign and the son of your sovereign. Your well being consists in this that you do not turn your head from service and allegiance to serve him, so that you may gather the fruit of your desire from the tree of hope".

And Shēr Khān Fūlādī having become aware of this correspondence wrote a letter to Chengīz Khān to the following effect: "You should for a few days draw your feet beneath the skirt of patience, and should not abandon the path of gentleness, and should not unnecessarily begin a show of hostility towards *Masnad-i-'Ālī* (I'tmād Khān)". [2] After some days Chengīz Khān, having struck the teeth of greed into the town of Barōda, sent the following message: "Many men have collected round me and this contemptible country, which is in my possession, is not sufficient for them. As the reins of all affairs and the loosening and tying of all matters are entrusted to the wisdom and insight of *Masnad-i-'Ālī*, he should think about it". I'tmād Khān wanted to entangle him in a dispute with the rulers of Burhānpūr, so that being engaged with them, he might not make any attempt

[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have در چه مرتبه. I think the correct reading should be در چه مرتبه, and I have adopted it.

[2] Firishtah copies the Ṭabaqāt almost word for word, but with reference to Chengīz Khān's demand for additional territory, he says in so many words, what indeed is implied in the Ṭabaqāt, that he did not agree to Shēr Khān's suggestion.

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against these parts. He accordingly sent the following reply, "The town of Nadarbār was always in the possession of the *amīrs* of Gujrāt. At the time when the martyr Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh was in the fort of Sāwal, in the company of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, he made a promise to the latter that if the great and holy God should ever place the reins of the government of the country of Gujrāt in his grasp of power, he would make Nadarbār over to him as a reward. After that the martyr Sulṭān sat on the throne of the empire; and in order to fulfil his promise, which is the absolute duty of and is entirely encumbent on all great men, he gave the town of Nadarbār to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh. Now that the Sulṭān has attained the rank of a martyr and Mīrān Mubārak Shāh has also departed (from the world), it is advisable that you should march with your troops to the town of Nadarbār, and should with great quickness, in order to increase your revenue take possession of it, till in the course of time some better plan can be devised".

Chengīz Khān was duped, and commenced to collect troops. After a few days, he advanced to Bahrōj with a well-equipped army ready for action; and marching by successive stages, took possession of Nadarbār. Owing to his vanity, conceit and pride he advanced still further, till he reached the neighbourhood of the fort of [1] Tālnīr. It so happened that at this time news came that [2] Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh son of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh was coming to give him battle, in concert with Tufāl Khān and the Rāja of Māhūr. Chengīz Khān posted his army in a place which was broken and cut up by ravines; and on the side on which the ground was even, he strengthened his position by a line of carts fastened by chains. Muḥammad Shāh and Tufāl Khan arrayed their troops in a line in front of Chengīz Khān's army and waited till sunset. As Chengīz Khān did not come

[1] The lith. ed. of Firishtah has by mistake Thānēsar; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 159) has Talnere, and the Cambridge History of India, page 346, has Thālner.

[2] Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India agree, but the former calls Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Muḥammad Mīrān Shāh; and the latter rather inadequately describes him as Muhammad II. Tufāl Khan is called ruler of Berār by Firishtah; and is described as of Berar in the Cambridge History of India (p. 346). The Rāja of Māhūr is not mentioned by either.

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out, they encamped where they were. Chengīz Khān [1] owing to the bad luck due to his pride and malice, was so overwhelmed with fear and alarm that leaving all his troops and followers behind, he fled to Bahrōj. Muḥammad Shāh seized much booty and pursued Chengīz Khān as far as Nadarbār, and again took possession of that *pargana*.

When Chengīz Khān arrived in the fort of Bahrōj after his defeat, he began to repair the damage which his army had sustained; and having acquired new strength and vigour, from [2] the coming of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, descendants of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, his own determination to punish I'tmād Khān was revived [3] in his mind. In order to carry out this design, he collected troops, and advanced towards Aḥmadābād. He occupied the town of Barōda without any fighting. When he arrived at Maḥmūdābād he sent the following message to I'tmād Khān, namely that "It is patent and evident to the world and to all its inhabitants that my defeat at Tālnīr was really due to your malice; for if [4] you had either come yourself to reinforce me or had sent a body of troops, the dust of flight would not at all have settled on the skirts of my honour. Now I am coming to Aḥmadābād in order to offer my congratulations and felicitations to the Sulṭān in person; and I know that if you are present in the city, some dispute or hostility is sure to occur. It is, therefore, desirable that you should go out of the city, and like all the other *amīrs*, take up your abode in your *jāgīr*, and make the arms of the Sulṭān strong in the government, so that he may exercise every act of dominion in his ancestral territory in any way that he may like".

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[1] Firishtah copies this almost literally, except that he says that Chengīz Khān fled با تمامی حشم خود. The Cambridge History of India (p. 346) says that he was attacked, defeated and fled, instead of fleeing ignominiously without being attacked at all.

[2] Firishtah explains that the Mīrzās fled from Sambal, and came to Mālwa, and when Akbar's army advanced against them in 975 A.H., they having no other alternative came and joined Chengīz Khān.

[3] Both MSS. have از خاطرش; but the lith. ed. has در خاطرش.

[4] One MS. inserts و between اگر and بکومک; but the other MS. and the lith. ed. do not.

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I'tmād Khān had commenced to equip his army even before the arrival of this message; and when it came, he knew what Chengīz Khān's real object was. He raised the royal umbrella over the head of Muẓaffar, and in concert with the Saiyids of Bukhāra and Ikhtīyār-ul-mulk and Malik Sharq and Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and Saif-ul-mulk left the city, and encamped in the neighbourhood of the town of Batūh. The next day they marched from there and halted at *mauḍa'* [1] Kāvrī, which is situated on the bank of the Khārī nadī, and is six *kārōhs* from Aḥmadābād. On the morning of the next day Chengīz Khān arrayed his troops, and came out of Maḥmūdābād, and advanced towards the battlefield. When he arrived at *mauḍa'* Kāvrī, at the time of the morning meal, I'tmād Khān placed Sulṭān Muẓaffar on a horse, and placing the royal umbrella over his head, advanced towards the battlefield, and the Saiyids and the Gujratī *amīrs* and the Ḥabshī group took up their positions. When the two armies faced each other, and the frightened eyes of I'tmād Khān fell on Chengīz Khān's army, as he had [2] formerly repeatedly heard of the courage and prowess of the Mīrzās, he imagined each one of those [3] brave men and bold warriors to be the captor of his sword, and took the way of flight before even a sword was drawn out of its scabbard, and fled towards Dūngarpūr without even going to Aḥmadābād. The other *amīrs* also fled, after heaping a hundred [4] plaudits on I'tmād Khān. The Saiyids went to Dūlqa, and Ikhtīyār-ul-mulk to Maḥmūdabad. Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and the others went towards Aḥmadābād, taking Muẓaffar with them.

Chengīz Khān was pleased and delighted at gaining this victory, which was one of the favours of God; and halted at Batūh. Early on the following morning, Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and the other *Ḥabshīs* left Aḥmadābād by the Kālūpūr gate, taking Sulṭān Muẓaffar with them; and went towards Bīrpūr and Ma'mūrābād. When

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[1] M. Hidayat Ḥosain also has كاوري as the name of the *mauḍa'* in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. has سابق while the other and the lith. ed. have سابقاً.

[3] One MS. has دلاواران instead of دليران.

[4] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have آفرين. One would have thought that نفرين would be the right word.

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Muẓaffar was leaving Aḥmadābād, Chengīz Khān entered the place, and took up his abode at the mansion of I'tmād Khān. Shēr Khān Fūlādī on hearing this news in the neighbourhood in the town of Karī sent a message to Chengīz Khan to the effect that all this country had been in the possession of I'tmād Khān to defray the expense of the Sulṭān; and now that he alone had come to be in possession of it, it [1] was contrary to the custom of generosity and the rules of kindness; and he advanced with a large army towards Aḥmadābād. Chengīz Khān saw that it was not expedient, that he should at such a time be engaged in a dispute with Shēr Khān. He, therefore, settled with the latter that whatever should be situated on the other side of the river Sābarmatī should belong to him. Owing to this some portions of Aḥmadābād, such as [2] 'Usmānpūr, Khānpūr and Kālūpūr fell into Shēr Khān's share. Chengīz Khān held the Mīrzās in great honour and regard owing to the excellent services, which they have rendered him.

As Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh had been emboldened by his first victory, and found the kingdom of Gujrāt without a head, he considering the disputes and hostility among the *amīrs* to be a very great mercy, advanced with the object of conquering the country, and did not draw his reins till he came opposite to Aḥmadābād. Chengīz Khān in concert with the Mīrzās, came out of the city with the object of giving battle. The Mīrān was defeated in the battle which took place and fled and went back to Asīr in great confusion, losing everything that he had with him.

As this victory was gained by the great exertions of the Mīrzās, Chengīz Khan in order to please them, allotted some fertile and well

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[1] The sentence is rather clumsily worded, although its purport is clear enough. Shēr Khān did not think it right that Chengīz Khān should get hold of the whole of the territory, and he should have no part of it, but it is not quite clear what was remote from آئین مروت و رسم فتوت. Probably he wanted to appeal to Chengīz Khan's better nature; but in that case one would expect that he would wait for the result of that appeal, instead of marching at once at the head of a large army.

[2] One MS. has I'tmādpūr, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have 'Usmānpūr. The first MS. and the lith. ed. have Kalūpūr after Khānpūr, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah omit Khānpūr.

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populated *parganas* in *sarkār* Bahrōj as their *jāgīrs*; and gave them permission to go there; so that they might entertain retainers and equip them. When they arrived in the estates appertaining to their *jāgīrs*, and low class people, and the people who were always in search of adventure collected round them, and as the revenues of their *jāgīrs* did not suffice for their entertainment, they found it necessary to occupy other estates without the permission of Chengīz Khān. [1] When this news reached the latter, he sent an army to attack them. They defeated that army and slew a number of the men; and advanced towards the territory of Burhānpūr, and after interfering in the affairs of that country they went to Mālwa. The details of the affairs of the Mīrzās have already been narrated in the history of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Īlāhi.

In short, when Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān went to the country of [2] Kānthā, which is the name given to the broken country along the bank of the river Mahindrī, taking Muẓaffar with them, and waited for a long time in the expectation, that perhaps I'tmād Khān would come himself, or send his son Shēr Khān to take Muẓaffar away; but as there was no hint of any kind from him, they themselves took Sulṭān Muẓaffar to Dūngarpūr, and made him over to I'tmād Khān. After some days they asked for some money from him to defray the expenses of their soldiers. I'tmād Khān told them in reply that the yield or revenue of his *jāgīr*, such as it was, known to all; and also the amount of his expenditure; and besides the place where they were was not

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[1] Firishtah goes into greater detail about the force sent by Chengīz Khān against the Mīrzās, and about the proceeding of the latter, after their victory, and also gives a reason for their retiring to Burhānpūr. According to him Chengīz Khān's army consisted of three or four thousand Ḥabshīs, and five or six thousand Gujrātīs. The Mīrzās after defeating the army put a number of them to death, and pursuing the others captured a number of men, both Ḥabshīs and Gujrātīs. The young and beardless among them they kept as personal attendants, and released the others who had beards, after treating them with great barbarity, putting arrows through their noses, and binding their arms behind them, and placing circular pieces of wood round their necks. As they did all this, and knew that Chengīz Khān would come in person to attack them, they went away towards Burhānpūr.

[2] The name is Kānthā in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and Kānhā in the other MS. It is Kānth in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

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a city, that he should be able to pay them after taking a loan from someone. Owing to this, [1] Ulugh Khān and the other *amīrs* were annoyed with I'tmād Khān.

Chengīz Khān [2] becoming aware of this, sent conciliatory letters to each one of them, and asked them to come to him. Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and Saif-ul-mulk and other *Ḥabshīs* advanced towards Ma'mūrābād without obtaining leave from I'tmād Khān; and having met Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk Gujrātī there, they all went forward towards Aḥmadābād. When they arrived at the Kākrīa tank or reservoir, which is close to the city, they halted at the garden of Sulṭān Maḥmūd to change their dresses. At that time Chengīz Khān came there in haste to welcome them; and met Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, Ulugh Khān, Jhuhjār Khān and other *Ḥabshīs* there. After they had finished making courteous enquiries about one another, Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān said, "It is clear to the world and to all men that we are all slaves born and bred in the house of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. If one of us has been favoured by fortune more than the other, yet as regards that primary fact there is no difference amongst us; and it is right that it should be borne in mind and observed in all our interviews. The reason for this remark is that among the Sulṭān's slaves, some have been distinguished by advancement in the service, and they are now present in this assembly. Hereafter whenever any of us has to salute or see any other, it is to be hoped that he will not be prevented by chamberlains and ushers". Chengīz Khān with great show of politeness, accepted this statement; and taking the other *amīrs* with him went to the city; and having caused some houses to be vacated, placed them at their disposal.

After some time, one day, a spy came to Ulugh Khān, and informed him that Chengīz Khān wanted to put him and Jhuhjār Khān to death;

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[1] Firishtah agrees, but the Cambridge History of India, page 346, says that Ulugh Khān, whom it calls (Muhammad) Ulugh Khān and (Marjān) Jhūjhār Khān, awaited help from I'timād Khan or from Sher Khān Fūlādī, but being disappointed joined Ikhtīyār-ul-Mulk and marched with him to Ahmadābād, thus omitting all mention of their visit to Dūngarpūr, and their making over of the Sulṭān to I'tmād Khān there.

[2] Both MSS. have وقوف حاصل کرده but the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have وقوف یافته.

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and he has settled, that on the following morning when you are careless, he will have you assassinated in the *chaugān* field. The test of the truth of this information is this, that if he goes tomorrow to the *chaugān* field near the Kākrīa tank [1] there will be no danger, for it is an extensive plain; and one can escape from it in all directions. But if they go to the field of Bahdar, which is inside the citadel, you may note with certainty that he will effect his purpose there. The spy had not yet finished speaking, when a messenger came from Chengīz Khān; [2] and after prayers (for the interlocutor's well-being) said, "We (speaking apparently for his master) will go to the *chaugān* ground; will you also come early?" Ulugh Khān hearing this became anxious, and mounting his horse, went to the house of Saif-ul-mulk *Ḥabshī* Sulṭānī (*i.e.*, Saif-ul-mulk the Abyssinian slave of the Sulṭān). There [3] Jhuhjār Khān and Saiyidī Badr Sulṭānī and Maḥaldār Khān and Khurshīd Khān were sent for; and the matter was brought up for discussion. After much interchange of words, they all agreed, that they should forestall and kill Chengīz Khān.

Early the next morning, Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān mounted with their companions, and went to the *darbār* (palace) of Chengīz Khān. The [4] latter came out mounted; and they all turned towards

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[1] The readings in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. differ slightly, and they are all difficult to understand. One MS. has قصه اینست the other has قصه نیست while the lith ed. has قصه هست. The corresponding passage in Firishtah is خطری نیست. This is good sense and I have adopted it. But M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained قصهٔ نیست in the text-edition.

[2] There is difference in the readings here also. The MSS. have آمد و بعد از دعا گفت, while the lith. ed. has آمدهٔ دعا رسانید که. This latter reading is manifestly incorrect as the word که should be changed to و; but otherwise it is somewhat better than the reading in the MSS.; but I have adopted the former, as it is found in both the MSS., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[3] These names are correctly given in the MSS., and in the lith. ed.; but Firishtah lith. ed. has جهاز خان, Jahāz Khān which is clearly a misprint for Jhuhjār Khān and سیدی بدر شاهی instead of Saiyid Badar Sulṭānī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 162) has further changed Jahāz Khān to Hijaz Khan, but he does not mention the other man.

[4] Firishtah gives some more details, from which it appears, that when Ulugh Khān and Jahāz Khān arrived Chengīz Khān's soldiers and followers had not yet come, so a man had to be sent to him with their prayers and with the

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the Bahdar *chaugān* field. After they had gone a part of the way, Ulugh Khān who was to the right of Chengīz Khān, made a sign to Jhuhjār Khān who was on his left side, that it was an opportunity that should not be lost. Jhuhjār Khān immediately struck Chengīz Khān with his sword in such a way [1] that it appeared as if his head had not at all been accompanying him. They then all gallopped back to their houses and prepared to fight. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk also joined with them and made ready. [2] Rustam Khān threw the body of Chengīz Khān on the back of an elephant and started towards Bahrōj, instead of taking it to his house in the city. The mob of the city then stretched their hands to plunder Chengīz Khān's followers.

When it was known for certain that Rustam Khān had gone away towards Bahrōj, Ulugh Khān and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk and Jhuhjār Khān and the other leaders went to the citadel which was known by the name Bahdar. They wrote a letter to I'tmād Khān, and informed him of what had happened and invited him to Aḥmadābād. On the same day Badr Khān and Muḥammad Khān, sons of Shēr Khān Fūlādī, came into the city in order to offer their congratulations; and brought presents of horses for every one (of the *amīrs*). They (?) confirmed anew the distribution of the *jagīrs* among the *amīrs*, as Chengīz Khān had settled it.

The next day Shēr Khān Fūlādī sent his spies, and ascertained, [3] that none of the retainers of the *amīrs* remained in the fort in Bahdar

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request that it would be better if he came quickly. Chengīz Khān had apparently been drinking, but he came out mounted, after putting on some light clothing.

[1] The words که سرش یا یکدست گویا باد همراه نبود are somewhat fanciful and difficult to understand. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has introduced باو between گویا and همراه. Firishtah's language که سرش بیکدست از تن جدا شد is clear. As regards the complaint of Changīz Khān's mother to Akbar about Jhuhjār Khān having killed her son, and Akbar's punishment of Jhuhjār Khān by ordering him to be trampled under the feet of an elephant, see page 389 of vol. II of the translation. Jhuhjār Khān apparently did not plead right of self-defence, as he might well have done.

[2] According to Firishtah, he was a nephew, sister's son of Chengīz Khān, who was following the latter with his troops. The Cambridge History of India, page 347, calls him Chingīz Khān's brother-in-law.

[3] Somewhat contrary to this, the Cambridge History of India, page 347, says that Ulugh Khān and his partisans took possession of the citadel.

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to guard it. Acting on this information on the 3rd night after the murder of Chengīz Khān, he sent Sādāt Khān, who had been one of the nobles of Shēr Khān, with three hundred men. They broke down the walls of the fort in the direction of Khānpur, and took possession of Bahdar. After some days I'tmād Khān arrived at Aḥmadābād, bringing Muẓaffar with him. As the fort of Bahdar was in the possession of Sādāt Khān, he took Muẓaffar to his own house; but he wrote a letter to Shēr Khān on the subject of the evacuation of Bahdar. He told him that Bahdar had always been the residence of the Sulṭāns. Even if the Sulṭān did not happen to be in Aḥmadābād, it was the duty of his servants and well-wishers, that they should guard the palace of their master; and should not occupy it themselves, or take possession of it. Now that the Sulṭān had come to the city, he should direct Sādāt Khān to vacate it. Shēr Khān acted according to his request, either because it was the only right thing to do, or because he was under certain obligations to I'tmād Khān; and vacated Bahdar. Sulṭān Muẓaffar then went and took up his abode in his own palace.

While these things were happening, scouts brought the news, that the Mīrzās had fled from Mālwa and were coming to Gujrāt; and that when they heard, while they were still on the way, that Chengīz Khān had been murdered, they became pleased and delighted; and turned towards Bahrōj and Sōrath, so that they might seize that *ṣūba* also. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk and Ulugh Khān went to the palace, and said that Bahrōj was at present without any master, and people were saying that the Mīrzās were advancing in that direction. It was right that all the *amīrs* should collect their forces and march to Bahrōj, and take possession of that territory; and [1] in the carrying out of this intention should not give way to any hesitation or delay; for if Bahrōj went once into the possession of the Mīrzās, they would all have to pour out much of their heart's blood, before they would be able to recover it from them.

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[1] The MSS. appeared to be imperfect here. One has جمیعت نمودہ عازم و تاخیر بخود راہ ندہند. The other is better; it has جمیعت نمودہ عازم بہروج گردند - و انجا را بتصرف آوردند - و در انفاذ این نیست تعویق و تاخیر بخود راہ ندہند - The lith. ed. appears to have the best reading; it agrees with the second MS., but has انقیاد instead of انفاذ, and تعویق instead of تسویف. I have adopted this reading, but انفاذ has been retained in the text-edition.

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I'tmād Khān sent a messenger to Shēr Khān; and asked his opinion. Shēr Khān also agreed to undertake the expedition. It was then agreed, that the entire army should be divided into three detachments. The first detachment headed by Ulugh Khān and the other *Ḥabshīs* should go one stage in advance. When they would advance beyond their first station, I'tmād Khān and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk and the other *amīrs*, who would command the second detachment, should encamp there. When the second detachment should advance from that station, the third detachment, which would be commanded by Shēr Khān Fūlādī and other *amīrs*, should take up its position there. Sādāt Bukhārī should remain in the position where he was. When, according to this agreement, Ulugh Khān and Jhuhjār Khān and Saif-ul-mulk and the other *Ḥabshīs* arrived at Maḥmūdābād, I'tmād Khan [1] did not go out of the city, and cancelled the previous agreement.

Ulugh Khān and his friends suspecting treachery on his part, from this conduct, said to each other, "We slew a (powerful) enemy of his, like Chengīz Khān, and he is now acting traitorously towards us. It is advisable that we should take possession of this territory (fief), and divide it among ourselves". They confirmed this determination, and took possession of *pargana* Kanbāyet and Patlād and some other *parganas*. Men who had no *jāgīrs* came from the city, and joined the service of Ulugh Khān. The latter said to Jhuhjār Khān, "Soldiers

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[1] There are variations in the readings, and they are all more or less incorrect. One MS. has اعتماد خان بیرون نرفت و فتح آن عزیمت نمود; the other has اعتماد خان از شهر برو نرفت و فتح ان عزیمت نمود; the lith. ed. agrees with the latter reading but substitutes صبح for فتح. It is needless to say that both صبح and فتح are utterly incorrect, and the correct word is فسخ. Firishtah lith. ed. has it. His version is different, and I am quoting it, as it gives some reason for I'tmād Khān's conduct. He says: - اعتماد خان متوهم شد و از شهر بیرون رفته فسخ ان عزیمت نمود, which means I'tmād Khān became suspicious, and going out of the city cancelled the previous agreement. Col. Briggs's (vol. IV, p. 164) version is that "Etimad Khan, with his accustomed cowardice, threw obstacles in the progress of the second corps, which he commanded, and refused to move". The Cambridge History of India, page 347, also says: "I'timad Khan refused to leave the capital".

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have come to me from the capital, it is [1] advisable that one of the *parganas* of I'tmād Khān should be allotted for the payment of their wages". Jhuhjār Khān replied, "Give all the land that you wish to give to these men to me; and whatever you expect from them, you will get from me". In the end there was contention and hostility between them, on the score of the division of this territory.

I'tmād Khān receiving information of this [2] deceived Jhuhjār Khān by his artifice and trickery, and summoned him to join him. As he went to I'tmād Khān, there was great infirmity and weakness in the grandeur of the *Ḥabshī* party. Ulugh Khān then went to Shēr Khān Fūlādī; and Sādāt Bukhārī also joined the latter. As Shēr Khān's side became stronger, Sulṭān Muẓaffar also, availing himself of an opportunity, came out one day through a window and with a few of his immediate attendants went to Ulugh Khān at Ghiyāspūr, which is near the town of Sarkhēj. Ulugh Khān went to wait on Shēr Khān, without seeing him. He told Shēr Khān, "Sulṭān Muẓaffar has, without giving me previous intimation, come to my house; but I have not yet seen him". Shēr Khān said, "As a beloved guest has come, you should go and carry out the rites of service".

Early the next morning, a letter came from I'tmād Khān to Shēr Khān, to the following effect: "As Nanū was not the son of the Sulṭān, [3] I have repudiated him. And I have summoned the Mīrzās, so that I may make over the capital of Gujrāt to them". After reading

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[1] There are some differences in the readings. The word باید before که یکی از پرگنات is omitted in one MS., but occurs in the other and in the *lith.* ed.; and the same word before نمود occurs in both MSS., but not in the lith ed. I have inserted it.

[2] Both the MSS. have بفریفته and I have adopted it, though فریفته which is in the lith ed. and in the corresponding passage in the lith. ed. of Firishtah is just as good.

[3] The reading in the MSS., as well as in the lith. ed. is او را براوردم. This may have the meaning I have given it in the text, or it may mean, when I brought him forward. The context shows that the first is the correct meaning. Firishtah lith. ed. is more explicit. It is که چون مظفر فرزند شاه محمود شاه ثالث نبود - لهذا او را بیرون نموده میرزایانرا طلبیده‌ام, *i.e.*, as Muẓaffar was not the son of Shāh Maḥmūd Shāh III, I have driven him out, and have summoned the Mīrzās.

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this letter, Shēr Khān went to the house of Saiyid Ḥāmid [1] Bukhāri, and enquired of him, as to what had been ascertained at the time of the accession. Saiyid Ḥāmid and the other Saiyids said, "I'tmād Khān swore on the *Qurān*, that the boy was a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and he has now written these words on account of his enmity". Shēr Khān rode back from the house of Saiyid Ḥāmid, to that of Ulugh Khān; and with his bow in his hands rendered homage to Sulṭān Muẓaffar, in the way in which a servant does homage to his master; and mounting him on a horse, brought him to his own house, in order to render homage to him there.

I'tmād Khān summoned the Mīrzās from the country of Bahrōj. He sent detachments from their followers, and those of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk every day [2] to fight. Gradually the contention and hostility was much prolonged; and as I'tmād-Khān saw that nothing was affected, he sent a petition to His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Īlāhī; and begged him to come and conquer the country of Gujrāt. As it happened, at that time which was the year 988 (1572 A.D.), His Majesty had come to Nāgōr; and had sent Mīr Muḥammad Ātka, who was celebrated as Khān Kalān, with a large army of renowned *amīrs* to conquer Sirōhī. As [3] the Khān Kalān was wounded by the ambassador of the Raja of Sirōhī, the emperor himself, with good fortune and prosperity, advanced towards the Khān Kalān's army; and (from there) without any delay marched towards Gujrāt. The particulars of this brief statement have been narrated in the history of the events of the reign of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Īlāhī.

In short, when the world-conquering standards arrived at Pattan Gujrāt, Shēr Khān, who was at this time besieging Aḥmadābād, lost the use of his hands and feet (*i.e.*, became utterly bewildered), and fled; and Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and his brothers went towards Barōda and Bahrōj. I'tmād Khan and [4] Mīr Abū Turāb and Ulugh Khān

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[1] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has سید حامد in the text-edition instead of Saiyid Ḥamīd Būkhārī as in the translation above.

[2] Firishtah adds: and the Ḥabshīs.

[3] He was actually wounded by one of the followers of the mission. See page 371 of vol. II of the translation.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Mīrzā Abū Turāb Shīrāzī. He is the author of the Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt, which has been edited by Sir Denison Ross. His full

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Ḥabshī and Jhuhjār Khān and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, having determined on serving at the threshold, which was the abode of the angels, became enlisted in the band of the loyal servants. The kingdom of Gujrāt [1] ended here, and became a part of the imperial dominions of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Īlāhī. Other incidents connected with Sulṭān Muẓaffar Khān and the Gujrātīs have been narrated in the auspicious history of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Īlāhī.

The period of the rule of Sulṭān Muẓaffar extended to thirteen years and some months.

SECTION VI. [2] THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULṬĀNS OF BANGĀLA.

It will not remain concealed from the minds of men of understanding, that the beginning of the appearance of Islām in the country of Bangāla was from (the time of) [3] Muḥammad Bakhtiyār who had been one of the great *amīrs* of [4] Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak. After him the *amīrs* of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī ruled one after another. Their histories have been narrated in the course of the history of the [5] Sulṭāns of Dehlī. When Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn who was the *silāḥdār*, trooper or armour-bearer, of Qadr Khān, the ruler of Bangāla as Viceroy of

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name appears to be Mīr Abu Tīrāb Wālī who belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shīrāz.

[1] The correct date is given as the 14th Rajab, 980 A.H., in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. The corresponding date according to Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 165) is November 20th, 1572. The same date is also given in the Cambridge History of India, page 348.

[2] This section which follows that about Mālwa in the MSS. is printed between those about Gujrāt and Sharqīa in the lith. ed. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has followed the sequence in the lith. ed. for the text, and the same has been adopted for the translation.

The heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text. In the lith. ed. it is طبقه از حکومت سلاطین بنگاله .

[3] One MS. has Maḥmūd instead of Muḥammad.

[4] The same MS. has by mistake سلطان قطب بیگ Sulṭān Quṭb Bōg.

[5] Both MSS. have سلاطین طبقه دهلي . This is incorrect. If the word طبقه is at all inserted, it should be before سلاطین .

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[1] Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh, slew him, he gave himself [2] the name of Sulṭān. After him the kingdom of Bangāla became separated from the empire of Dehlī, and the hand of the dominion of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī did not reach the kings (of Bangāla); and they appropriated [3] the name of Sulṭān for themselves.

The beginning of the section about Bangāla has been made from Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn. [4] (The names of the various Sulṭāns are):—

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[1] One MS. has محمود, Maḥmūd.

[2] One MS. has by mistake امرسو; but the other and the lith. ed. have اسم.

[3] One MS. has اسم the other has مراسم; while the lith. ed. has مراسم اسم.

[4] For the list of the kings of Bengal as given in the Cambridge History of India, see vol. III, page 695. According to it there were two kings in east Bengal with their capital at Sōnārgāon in the Meghnā in the present district of Dacca; namely, Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, 739 A.H., 1338 A.D. to 750 A.H., 1349 A.D.; and Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, 750 A.H., 1349 A.D. to 753 A.H., 1352 A.D.; after which this kingdom was conquered by Hājī Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās *Bhangara*, and incorporated with western Bengal. The kings of western Bengal begin with No. 2 of the lists given in the Ṭabaqāt. As regards the names and period Firishtah agrees about No. 1; but about No. 2 he has one year and five months. As regards No. 5 there is great divergence. One MS. and the lith. ed. have ten years, the other MS. has two years. Firishtah has nine years and some months. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 335) has ten years; and the Cambridge History of India, page 266, also gives him ten years from 1396 A.H., when he is said to have peaceably succeeded his father to 1406 A.H., when he died. In the list of the kings of Bengal, on page 695, however, he is only given two years from 1410 to 1412 A.H. No. 7 is said to have reigned for three years according to a MS. and the lith. ed. and Firishtah and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 336). The Cambridge History of India, page 266, says he was allowed to ascend the throne, but was a mere puppet and exercised no power; he died after a reign of little more than three years. His name is not, however, given in the lists on page 695, though another puppet, Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd, who succeeded him, has his name in that list. No. 8 is called Rāja Kāns in one MS., and Rāja Kānsī in the other. The lith. eds. both of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah have Rāja Kāns. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 336) has Raja Kans Poorby. The Cambridge History of India, page 266, calls him Raja Ganēsh of Dinājpur, but says that he is called Raja Kāns by most Muslim historians; in the list on page 695 he is called Ganesh of Bhaduriā (Kāns Narāyan). About No. 9 there is no difference in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., except that one MS. calls the father Kānsī and not Kāns. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Jīvmal the son of Kāns, who had the title of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn, and says that he ruled for seventeen years and some

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months. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 337) calls him Jeetmul entitled Julal-ood-deen and says he reigned for seventeen years. The Cambridge History of India, page 266, calls him Jatmall, who was raised to the throne under the title of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad and says he ruled for seventeen years. In the list on page 695, he is, however, called Jadu *alias* Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh. About No. 10 there is no difference in the MS. and the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah the word Sulṭān is prefixed to the name of the father and the period of his reign is said to have been sixteen years. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 338) calls him Ahmud Poorby and says he reigned for eighteen years. The Cambridge History of India, page 267 and also page 695, calls him Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, and says he reigned for eleven years only from 1431 to 1442 A.D.

About No. 11 there is no difference in the MS., but the lith. ed. omits the word *bin*, son of, before Aḥmad. Firishtah lith. ed. says Nāṣir-ud-dīn, a slave, who usurped the throne, reigned for seven days and according to another account for half a day. Col. Briggs agrees. The Cambridge History of India, page 267, calls him Nāsir Khān, originally a slave, and later one of the principal officers of the State, who assumed the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd and is said on page 267 to have reigned peacefully for seventeen years. In the list on page 695, he is said to have reigned from 1442 to 1460. About No. 12 there is no difference between the MSS. and the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn Shāh Bhangara and says he ruled for thirty-two years. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 339) calls him Nasir Poorby, and says he reigned for two years. In the Cambridge History of India the Nāṣir-ud-dīn and the Nāṣir Shāh of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah are, apparently, made into one man. He is said on page 268 to have died in 1459, though in the list on page 695 he is said to have reigned from 1442 to 1460. As regards No. 13, one MS. calls him Bin Bārbak Shāh, but otherwise the MSS. and the lith. ed. agree. Firishtah lith. ed. and Col. Briggs (who, however, calls him Barbik Poorby) agree. The Cambridge History of India, page 268, calls him Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak and says he succeeded his father in 1459 and died in 1474, and thus reigned for about fifteen years. On page 695 he is called Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh and is said to have reigned from 1460 to 1474, or for about fourteen years. About No. 14 the MSS. and the lith. ed. agree; but the lith. ed. of Firishtah gives him seven years and six months, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 339) gives him between seven and eight years. The Cambridge History of India, page 268, calls him Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf, who reigned for seven years from 1474 to 1481. There is much difference in the periods of No. 15's reign; one MS. and the lith. ed. have half a day, while the other MS. has two half years and two half days. The meaning of which is difficult to find out. Firishtah lith. ed. gives him two months. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 340) says he was deposed on the day he was raised to the throne. The Cambridge History of India, page 268, also says that he was immediately deposed, as his intellect was deranged.

The name of No. 16 is omitted from one MS. I have given in the text what is written about him in the other MS. The lith. ed. calls him Fatḥ, without any

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prefix or suffix; and gives him seven years and five months. Firishtah lith. ed. agrees with the lith. ed. of Ṭabaqāt in giving him a reign of seven years and five months. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 340) calls him Futteh Poorby, and says he was murdered after a reign of seven years. The Cambridge History of India, page 268, says he reigned from 1481 to 1486 (*i.e.*, for five years), when he was assassinated. As to No. 17 both the MSS. and the lith. ed. have the reading I have in the text. Firishtah lith. ed. says Bārbak Shāh reigned according to one statement for eight months, and according to another for two and a half months. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 341) calls him the Eunuch Shahzada, and says he reigned for two months. The Cambridge History of India calls him Bārbak the Eunuch, Sulṭān Shāhzāda in the list on page 696, and gives a rather long account of how he was killed on page 269, but does not mention the exact period of his reign. The MSS. and the lith. ed. agree as to No. 18, and say what I have translated in the text. Firishtah calls him Malik Indīl Ḥabshī who had the title of Fīrūz Shāh and says he ruled for three years. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 344) calls him Mullik Andeel Feroze Poorby, and says he ruled for thirteen years, apparently from 886 A.H. to 899 A.H. The corresponding A.D. period 1401 to 1493 is apparently incorrect. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the year of his accession on page 269, but says he reigned for two years and died in 1489. In the list of the kings on pp. 695, 696, the years of his accession and death are 1486 and 1489 respectively.

As to No. 19, the MSS. and the lith. ed. agree but there are slight mistakes. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Shāh Maḥmūd Shāh, and says he ruled for one year, but it also mentions a statement in the History of Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandahārī, according to which he ruled merely in name under the guardianship of Ḥabīb Ḵẖān, a slave of Shāh Bārbak Shāh, at the end of which Ḥabīb Ḵẖān wanted to rule himself, but he was slain by Sidī Badr Dīwana, who also slew the infant king, and proclaimed himself as Sulṭān Muzaffar Shāh. Col. Briggs and the Cambridge History of India agree generally. The MSS. and the lith. ed. agree in saying what I have in the text in respect of No. 20. Firishtah calls him Sidī Badr Ḥabshī who had the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, and says he reigned for three years and five months. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 348) says he reigned for three years. The Cambridge History of India, page 270, also says he reigned for three years, and in the list of kings he is said to have reigned from 1490 to 1493 A.D. The MSS. and the lith. ed. also agree about No. 21. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Sharīf Makkī, celebrated as Sulṭān ʻĀlā-ud-dīn, and says he reigned for twenty-seven years. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 348) agrees as to the period of his reign, but calls him Ala-ood-deen Poorby, II. The Cambridge History of India, page 696, calls him Saiyid ʻAlā-ud-din Sharīf-i-Makkī, and says he reigned from 1493 to 1518, *i.e.*, for twenty-five years. His full title, as can be gathered from his coins, is given on page 270 and the period of his reign is mentioned there also as twenty-five years. Neither of the MSS. gives the period of Naṣīb Shāh's reign. The lith. ed. calls him Nāṣir Shāh and gives him eleven days. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Shāh Nāṣir Shāh, and says he ascended the throne in 927 and died in 943, which would give him about sixteen years. Col. Briggs

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Sulṭān Fakẖr-ud-dīn, [1] two years and some months;
Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, one year and some months;
Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, sixteen years and some months;
Sulṭān Sikandar, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, nine years and some months;
Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn, son of Sikandar, seven years;
Sulṭān Sulṭān-us-Salāṭīn, ten (?) years;
Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān-us-Salāṭīn, three years;
Rāja Kāns, [2] three years;
Sulṭan Jalāl-ud-dīn, son of Kāns, seventeen years;
Sulṭān Aḥmad, son of Jalāl-ud-dīn, sixteen years;
Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of Aḥmad, seven days;
Sulṭān Nāṣir Shāh, two years;
Bārbak Shāh, seventeen years;
Yūsuf Shāh, seven years;
Sikandar Shāh, half a day;
Fatḥ-Shāh, seven years and some months;
Bārbak Shāh, eunuch, two and a half months;
Fīrūz Shāh, three years;
Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Fīrūz, one year;
Muẓaffar Ḥabshī, three years and five months;
'Alā-ud-dīn, twenty-seven years;
Naṣīb Shāh, son of 'Alā-ud-din, eleven years.

(vol. IV, p. 351) calls him Nuseeb Poorby, and says he reigned from 1523 to 1538 A.D. or for a period of fifteen years. The Cambridge History of India calls him Nāsir-ud-dīn Nūsrat Shāh and gives him a reign of fifteen years from 1518 to 1533. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has eleven years as the period of his reign in the text-edition, and this has been followed in the translation.

The list in the Ṭabaqāt ends here, but Firishtah mentions four more Sulṭāns, and the Cambridge History of India thirteen more, ending with Dāud Khān Karāranī.

[1] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted ۱۱ سال as the period of the reign in the text-edition.

[2] In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has هفت سال.

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN FAKHR-UD-DĪN.

Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn was the *silāḥdār* (armour bearer) of Qadr Khān. [2] He treacherously slew his master, and attributed the name of the *salṭanat* to himself. He [3] sent one of his slaves by the name of Mukhliṣ, with a well equipped army, to the frontier district of Bangāla (اقصای بنگالہ). [4] But Malik 'Alī Mubārak, the pay master of Qadr

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[1] One MS. inserts Shāh after Fakhr-ud-dīn.

[2] Firishtah describes in some detail the way in which Qadr Khān was murdered by his own soldiers at the instigation of Fakhr-ud-dīn; and Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 1813, page 81, follows him. According to Stewart, Fakher Addeen proclaimed his independence at Sunergong about the end of 740 or the beginning of 741, and this is confirmed by his coins which also show that he continued to reign in Sōnārgāon till 750 A.H. This agrees generally with the list of Bengal Kings on page 695 of the Cambridge History of India, according to which he reigned from 739 A.H. to 750 A.H. The Cambridge History of India, page 262, differs from the Ṭabaqāt and from Firishtah and Stewart. According to it, Qadr Khān was not slain by or at the instigation of Fakhr-ud-dīn, as he died in 1339, and was succeeded by Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Alī as the Cambridge History of India calls him or Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Alī Shāh. It is doubtful whether Bahrām Khān, who had been associated with Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur in the government of Eastern Bengal and since the latter's rebellion and death in 1330 was the sole governor of East Bengal, was or was not slain by Fakhr-ud-dīn; but it was after his death in 1336 that Fakhr-ud-dīn or Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh assumed the royal title at Sōnārgāon; but Qādr Khān did not die till 1339, *i.e.*, three years later, at Lakhnautī.

[3] According to Firishtah and Stewart he was sent to conquer Lakhnautī and the neighbouring districts.

[4] Firishtah agrees as to Malik 'Alī having defeated Mukhliṣ, but he says nothing about his defeating Fakhr-ud-dīn and putting him to death. Stewart (pp. 82, 83) agrees with the Ṭabaqāt, and says that Aly Mubarick defeated Fakher Addeen, and put him to death in 743 A.H., 1342-43 A.D. This cannot, however, be correct, as there are coins struck by him up to 749 A.H. in existence.

According to Firishtah, he was taken prisoner in 741 A.H. by Malik Iliyās, who assumed the title of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, and was brought to Lakhnautī where he was hanged by the neck. This also cannot be correct. The Cambridge History of India, page 262, says that hostilities continued between Eastern and Western Bengal till 1349 A.D., when Fakhr-ud-dīn disappeared from the scene; but he was succeeded by his son Ikhtīyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh at Sōnārgāon. This latter Sulṭān is not mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn or Firishtah or Stewart; but his coins show that he reigned at Sōnārgāon from 750 to 763 A.H., 1349–1352 A.D. (See Bhattasali's *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent*

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Khan's army, met him in battle, and slew him; and all his horses and other equipages which were with him fell into the victor's hands. As Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn had only newly acquired his power, and had no faith in his followers, he could not attack 'Alī Mubārak. In the end Malik 'Alī Mubārak assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn; and went and attacked Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn; and in the year 941 A.H. having taken him prisoner alive, sentenced him to death. He then left a *thāna* (military post) at Lakhnautī, and returned to the country of Bangāla (probably Sōnārgāon).

The period of Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn's rule was two years and some months.

An account of the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn.

As he had put Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn to death, he with great strength left a *thāna* at Lakhnautī and [1] advanced towards Bangāla. [2] After

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Sultans of Bengal, 1922, pages 18, 19, and the Cambridge History of India, pp. 262, 695.) He is also mentioned by Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli*, 1871, pages 265, 266, and is included in Lane-Poole's list in *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 1925, page 307.

[1] The meaning is not clear. Firishtah and Stewart are of no help. The former merely copies the words of the Ṭabaqāt, and the latter says nothing whatever about 'Alā-ud-dīn. It appears, however, from Bhattasali, page 15, and the Cambridge History of India, page 262, that 'Alā-ud-dīn at this time removed his capital to Pandūah for strategic reasons. The *diyār* Bangāla would therefore mean Pandūah.

[2] There is a good deal of difference in the readings in the MSS. and the lith. ed.; and they are all more or less incorrect. One MS. has حاجي الياس علائ كه در لشكر لكهنوتي نامزد بوده ، لشكر را بخود يار و موافق ساخته سلطان علاء الدين را كشت و خود را سلطان شمس الدين لقب گذاشته و چون سلطان علاء الدين ديار لكهنوتي و بنگاله مصرف گرديد the other MS. has حاجي الياس علاء الدين instead of حاجي الياس علائ, and instead of ساخته, ساخت; and omits the words from و خود را to گذاشته; and then has و خود ديار لكهنوتي و بنگاله بتصرف گرديد . The lith. ed. omits لشكر before لكهنوتي, and has فرموده instead of برده after نامزد; and گذاشت instead of گذاشته after لقب in the reading in the first MS.; and inserts the words كشته شد after سلطان علاء الدين, and بازبر instead of ديار before لكهنوتي. The reading in the lith. ed. of Firishtah is somewhat different.

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a few days, Malik [1] Ḥājī Iliyās 'Alaī, who had been nominated (for the office of Sulṭān) in the army of Lakhnautī, made that army friendly and united with him; and slew Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, and giving himself the title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn *Bhangara*, took possession of the country of Lakhnautī and Bangāla. The period of the government of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn was one year and some months.

[2] An account of Ḥājī Iliyās, who had the title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn *Bhangara*.

When 'Alā-ud-dīn was slain and the whole country of Lakhnautī and Bangāla came into the possession of Iliyās, he in concert with the *amīrs* gave himself the title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn; and had public prayers read in his name. He made very great efforts in obtaining the good wishes of the people and in attracting the hearts of the soldiers.

After some time he equipped an army, and marched to [3] Jājnagar; and having obtained many large elephants from that country, returned

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I have adopted the reading in the first MS. changing گذاشته to گذاشت, and inserting the words کشته شد after سلطان علاء الدین. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has generally followed the second MS. in the text-edition.

[1] The relationship of Malik Ḥājī Iliyās with Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn, and their antecedent as detailed in the Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn are given on pages 19, 20 of Bhattasali's book. I do not think that Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah are correct in saying that Malik Ḥājī Iliyās gave himself the title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn Bhangara. The last word was a nick-name popularly given to him on account of his addiction to the preparation of hemp known as *Bhang*. According to Firishtah Ḥajīpūr opposite to Pāṭna got its name from Ḥājī Iliyās.

[2] The heading given in the text is that in the MSS. with the slight difference that the last word is داشته in one MS. and داشت in the other. The latter is correct. The heading in the lith. ed. is ذکر سلطان شمس الدین بهنگر.

[3] Neither the Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn nor the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah attempts to identify this place. Bhattasali (pp. 24, 25) says, Sultan Shamsuddin "seems to have levied tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa and Tirhut", from which it appears that he identifies Jājnagar with Orissa. The Cambridge History of India, page 263, says "Iliyās is said to have invaded Jājnagar, as the Muslim historians styled the kingdom of Jājpur in Orissa". There is no connected account of this kingdom anywhere in the Cambridge History of India, and it is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and in connection

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to his own capital. [1] For a period of thirteen [2] years and some months, the Sulṭāns of Dehlī did not interfere with him in any way; and he with full and absolute authority, performed the duties of the *salṭanat*. But on the 10th of Shawwāl, in the year 754 A.H., [3]Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, son of Rajab advanced from Dehlī towards Lakhnautī. Sulṭān

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with Sultān Hūshang's journey to acquire elephants on page 350 and the following pages, and in connection with Sultān Muhammad of the Deccan's invasion of Orissa in 1478 on page 417. In all these places the Musalmān historians call the place Jājnagar; and the Cambridge History of India persists, so far as I can see, without any authority whatever in calling it Jājpur. Apart, however, from this question I think that the Jājnagar mentioned here does not mean Orissa at all, but Tipperah. Stewart, on page 83, has Tippera in brackets after Jagenagur (Jājnagar). He gives no authority but Shums Addeen, with his capitals at Pandūah and Sōnārgāon, is more likely to have invaded Tipperah, less than one hundred miles from Sōnārgāon than Orissa which was quite five hundred or six hundred miles off. It will be seen moreover that Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban pursued the rebel Tughral in the direction of Jājnagar through Lakhnautī and Sonargāon, see pages 109 and 110 of the first volume of the translation. The Jājnagar mentioned there cannot be identified with Orissa, but must be some place east of Sōnārgāon, and most probably Tipperah. In this connection see also note 1, page 104 of the English translation of the Riāẓu-s-Salātīn, where the translator says, that he was inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann, that there were two Jajnagars, one in Orissa and another towards Tipperah.

[1] The Riāẓu-s-Salātīn (text-edition, p. 96) says بتدریج تا حدود و بنارس تا سیزده سال سلاطین دهلي متعرض حال بنگاله نشدند and earlier on متصرف گردید and hence Fīrūz Shāh's attention was directed to Bangāla and he attempted to reconquer it.

[2] One MS. omits by mistake the word سال years.

[3] One MS. has سلطان فیروز شاه while the other MS., and the lith. ed. leave out the word بن. The first MS. is correct. Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh was the son of *Sipāh-sālār* Rajab, brother of Sulṭān Ghīyās-ud-dīn Tūghluq.

Bhattasali (p. 25) cannot understand how the Tabakat gives a detailed diary (as he calls it) of the expedition, when neither Shams-i-Siraj Afīf nor Zia-Barni the two contemporary historians go into details of dates. The account of the expedition as given in the Ṭabaqāt is translated on pages 244, 245 of the first volume of this work. Zia 'Barnī's Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī is not before me; but it appears from note 3, pages 100, 101, of Maulavī Abdus-Salām's translation of the Riāẓu-s-Salātīn, that Zia 'Barnī gives a full account of the expedition, and all facts mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt are to be found in it.

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Shams-ud-dīn took shelter in the fort of [1] Ekdāla, and [2] left the whole country of Bangāla unoccupied (*i.e.*, unguarded).

When Sulṭān Fīrūz heard, that Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn had fortified himself in Ekdāla, he advanced from the road towards that place. When he arrived in its neighbourhood, Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn sallied out of the fort, and engaged in a regular battle, and many were slain on both sides. Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn fled, and again took shelter in Ekdāla. The large elephants, which he had brought from Jājnagar, fell into the hands of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's men.

As the rains had commenced, and there was heavy rain, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh returned on the 1st of Rabī'-ul-āwwal to Dehlī. After that in the year 755 A.H. Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn sent a large quantity of tribute, such as might be fit for the [3] Sulṭān with his ambassadors, as homage to Fīrūz Shāh, and prayed for pardon. Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh also, behaving with kindness conferred robes of honour on the ambassadors; and granted them permission to [4] depart.

Again about the end of the [5] year 759 A.H., Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn sent Malik Tāj-ud-dīn to Dehlī with much tribute; and Sulṭān Fīrūz

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[1] As to the position of Ekdāla, see the excellent note 2 on page 100 of the English translation of the Riāẓu-s-Salātīn. Zia 'Barnī says: "It is the name of a *mouza* close to Panduah; on one side of it is a river and on another a jungle". Shams-i-Siraj calls it "The isles of Ekdalah". I may note here that the name is transliterated in the Cambridge History of India, page 263, as Ikdāla. No Indian will, however, pronounce the name with an initial I.

[2] The Riāẓu-s-Salātīn (p. 100), however, says that Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn left his son with an army in the fort of Pandūah. The son, however, was soon taken prisoner. According to the Riāẓ also there was a great battle on the day Fīrūz Shāh arrived near Ekdāla, after which the siege was continued for twenty-two days.

[3] One MS. inserts مجلس before سلاطین. Firishtah lith. ed. also has لایق مجلس بادشاهان.

[4] One MS. has انطرف by mistake for انصراف.

[5] The Rīyāẓu-s-Salātīn has 758 A.H. 759 A.H. appears to be incorrect. Bhattasali (pp. 41–45) enters into a long disquisition on the subject, and comes to the conclusion that Sultan Shamsuddin died about the end of Zul-hijjah 758. The Cambridge History of India, page 263, discusses the question as to whether or not Fīrūz acknowledged the independence of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn. It comes to the conclusion that Fīrūz Shāh had to return without obtaining a formal declaration of Shams-ud-dīn's homage. It also says that the tributes

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Shāh treated the ambassador with greater kindness than before; and after some days, sent 'Arab and Turkī horses with other fine presents for Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, with Malik Sāif-ud-dīn, the superintendent of the elephants. Malik Sāif-ud-dīn and Malik Tāj-ud-dīn had not yet passed through Behār, when Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn died. Malik Sāif-ud-dīn [1] gave the horses to the *amīrs* of Behār, in accordance with the emperor's order; and [2] Malik Sāif-ud-dīn himself went back to Dehlī.

The period of the rule of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn was sixteen years and some months.

[3] An account of the rule of Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn.

When Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn [4] departed (this life), the *amīrs* and the chiefs of the different groups, on the third day after his death,

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sent by Shams-ud-dīn in 755 A.H., 1354 A.D. and 758 A.H., 1358 A.D. were merely the customary exchanges of presents; but it should be noted in both instances that the presents or tributes were sent from Bengāl. It appears to me that the relations between the two rulers remained undefiant; and I cannot find any evidence in support of the statement made in the Cambridge History of India (p. 263) that "In December, 1356, Fīrūz formally recognised the independence of Bengal".

[1] The Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn (text-edition, p. 99) says: در عوض مواجب سپاهیان متعینهٔ بهار *i.e.*, in lieu of the pay due to the imperial soldiers stationed in Behār.

[2] Both MSS. have Malik Tāj-ud-dīn instead of Malik Sāif-ud-dīn. This is incorrect.

[3] There are slight differences in the heading. It is as I have it in the text in one MS. In the other MS. it is simply ذکر سکندر شاه. The lith. ed. has the same heading as the first MS., with the exception that it omits the word سلطان after سکندر شاه.

[4] One MS. has زحلت نمود instead of رحلت نمود. The relations between the rulers of Dehlī and Bengal at this time are extremely obscure. The Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn, the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah all begin abruptly by saying that Sulṭān Sikandar considered it extremely important to conciliate Fīrūz Shāh, without saying anything about the relations between Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn and Fīrūz Shāh, after the latter's first expedition to Bengāl. According to the Tarīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī by Shams-Sirāj Afīf, the object of the second expedition was to reinstate Ẓafar Khān on the throne of Sōnārgāon, but that work is also silent about the relation between Fīrūz Shāh and Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, just before the latter's death. According to Bhattasali (p. 44) after the experi-

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placed his eldest son on the throne of empire, giving him the title of Sikandar Shāh. He proclaimed the gospel of justice and beneficence,

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ences of his first expedition to Lakhnaūtī, Fīroz Shah was in no mood again to interfere in the internal affairs of Bengal; but he had to take cognisance of the complaint of Zafar Khan, who arrived in Dehlī in 758 A.H., as he was the latter's liege lord; but he was, at least according to Bhattasali, apparently afraid of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn; and it was not till the news of the latter's death had come to Dehlī, that he finally made up his mind, and began to prepare for marching against the unsuspecting Sikandar. Bhattasali (p. 48) goes on to say that, according to the Riyaz and Firishtah, Sikandar was ignorant of the motive of Firoz Shah in thus hurrying towards Bengal, even when Firoz reached Zafarabad (near Jaunpur). I do not consider this latter statement correct. Even immediately after his accession Sikandar knew that it was extremely important for him to conciliate Fīrūz Shāh. This is expressly mentioned in the Riyāẓ and the Ṭabaqāt and by Firishtah. As to Sikandar's not knowing the motive of Fīrūz Shāh's march towards Bengal (Fīrūz was certainly not hurrying, for taking the dates given by Bhattasali himself, he commenced his preparations in 759 A.H., started in Muḥarram 760 A.H., and arrived in Jaunpūr about Jamādī-ul-āwwal 760 A.H., and halted there for six months, and the siege of Ekdāla did not commence till Zi qa'da 760, and did not end till Jamādī-ul-āwwal 761 A.H. This snail-like march contrasts very unfavourably with the first expedition, in the course of which Fīrūz Shāh reached Ekdāla in three days less than five months after leaving Dehlī) he must have been both very ignorant and very dense. It is not quite correct to say that the Riyāẓ and Firishtah say that Sikandar was ignorant of Fīrūz Shāh's motive, even when the latter arrived at Ẓafarābād. The former says that he was متردد or anxious, but that does not mean that he was ignorant. Firishtah does not even say this.

The Cambridge History of India, page 263, gives a different view of the matter. According to it, in December 1356 A.D., as already noted, Fīrūz formally recognised the independence of Bengal, but apparently he intended to treat this recognition as so much waste paper. He accordingly as soon as the news of the death of Shams-ud-dīn reached him, ordered the gifts to the latter to be distributed among the nobles of Bihar, and recalled Saif-ud-dīn to assist in the preparation for an invasion of Bengal. I do not know what the authority for this statement is. None of the chroniclers or historians say so. But though Fīrūz Shāh wanted to brush aside his declaration of December 1356 A.D., he was apparently unable to do so, without a pretext; and this was furnished by the arrival of Zafar Khān.

It is unnecessary to labour this point further. I consider that Fīrūz Shāh thought that he was entitled to reannex Bengal to the empire of Dehlī, and he made a second attempt to do so.

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and occupied himself with the duties of the *salṭanat*. Knowing that seeking the pleasure of the heart of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh was of the greatest importance, he sent fifty elephants and various stuffs in the way of tribute to Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh. In the meanwhile, the latter had advanced towards Lakhnautī in the year 760 A.H. with the object of conquering Bangāla. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pāndūa, Sulṭān Sikandar following the example of his father, fortified himself in his citadel of Ekdāla. [1] As he had not the strength to oppose him (*i.e.*, Fīrūz Shāh), he agreed to pay an annual tribute and turned the Sulṭān back. The latter was yet in the neighbourhood of Pandūa, when Sikandar sent thirty-seven elephants and many valuable things and various kinds of stuff to the Sulṭān, and prayed for the pardon of his offences. Then following the example of his father, he passed the whole of his life in pleasure and [2] enjoyment. The period of his rule

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[1] The Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn and Firishtah agree. Stewart (p. 85) also agrees, but he says that Emperor Ferose found out that there was no probability of his being able to capture Akdala. Bhattasali (pp. 50, 51) says Sultan Firoz returned discomfited and says, that he and not Sultan Sikandar sought for peace. It appears, however, that proposals for peace were sent by Sikandar's ministers, who took their master's silence to imply his consent to their being sent; and Firoz's ministers received them with great joy, and had no difficulty in persuading their masters to listen to them. Firoz, however, stipulated for the restoration of Sonargaon to Zafar Khan, but the latter did not dare to resume sovereignty in the dangerous proximity of Sikandar.

The Cambridge History of India, page 264, practically agrees with the above.

[2] The Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah are silent about some very important incidents of the life of Sikandar. The Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn (p. 105) mentions them. One of these is the erection of the Adīna Mosque in Panduah, which is perhaps the finest and most remarkable religious edifice in Bengal. Unfortunately it remained unfinished at the time of his death.

The second is the rebellion of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn, who afterwards succeeded him. It is said that Sikandar had two wives, one of whom had seventeen sons, while Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn was the only son of the other. The latter, in the words of the Riyāẓu-s-Salātīn (text-edition, pp. 101–104) was در حسن اخلاق و جميع اوصاف بر همه برادران فايق و در امور سلطنت و جهانداري انسب و لايق which may be translated as superior to all his brothers in the beauty of his morals and in all (good) qualities, and the fittest and most meritorious in the arts of sovereignty. His step-mother, however, complained to the Sulṭān against him, and suggested that he should either be put into prison, or deprived of his

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was [1] nine years and some months.

[2] An account of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn.[3]

[4] When Sulṭān Sikandar died, the *amīrs* and the chiefs of the different groups of the people gave the title of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn

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sight. The Sulṭān reproved her, and put the government in Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn's hands. The latter was, however, afraid of his step-mother's machinations; and one day on the pretext of hunting escaped to Sunārgāon. He collected an army there, and the Sulṭān marched to meet him. A battle took place at Goālpāra, which appears to be near Jafarganj in the Dacca district, and nearly opposite to the junction of the Ganges and Jabunā or Jamunā. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn is said to have given strict orders that Sulṭān Sikandar should be taken alive, but as it was decreed otherwise he was mortally wounded. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn hastened to the place, and took his father's head in his lap, and tears trickled down his cheeks. Sikandar then opened his eyes and said "My life's work is over, the kingdom is welcome to thee".

[1] This is not correct. He actually reigned from 758 A.H., 1357 A.D., to 795 A.H., 1393 A.D., or for thirty-six or thirty-seven years. Bhattasali (p. 72) is inclined to place his death in October 1393 A.D.

[2] The heading is as I have in the text in the MSS. The lith. ed. adds بن سلطان سکندر after Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

[3] Unlike the Muhammadan historians the Cambridge History of India, page 264, calls this Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam, and later A'zam, It appears to follow Bhattasali, who, on page 78, calls him Ghiasuddin A'zam Shah, and a few lines further down A'zam Shah. It is true that the full name of the Sulṭān on his coins was Ghīyās-ud-dīn Abul Muẓaffar A'zam Shāh, but I see no reason for calling him by any name other than Ghīyās-ud-dīn.

[4] The account of this reign is even briefer in Firishtah, and what there is, is copied almost *verbatim* from the Ṭabaqāt. Notwithstanding the praise of the author of the Riyāẓ, Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn's first act was to get the eyes of his seventeen brothers dug out, and by a refinement of cruelty to send them to their mother.

He is more pleasantly remembered as the correspondent of the illustrious poet Hāfiẓ of Shīrāz. The correspondence is said to have commenced in the following way. He had a very serious illness and when he had no hope of recovery, he directed that three of his concubines who were named respectively, the *sarv* (the cypress), the *gūl* (the rose), and the *lāla* (the tulip), should perform the last bathing ceremony. The other inmates of the harem used to taunt the *sarv* and her companions by the name of غسالہ (*ghassāla* or corpse washer).

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to his son and seated him on the throne in the place of his father. He also following the rule of his father and the custom of his grandfather passed the whole of his life in pleasure and enjoyment; and [1] in the year 775 A.H. passed away from the narrow place of the body to the wide spaces of the spirit.

The period of his rule was seven [2] years and some months.

After his recovery, when he was in a jovial mood the Sulṭān recited the line: ساقي حديث سرو و گل و لاله ميرود. None of the court poets could make another line to match it; so the Sulṭān sent it to Hāfiẓ by a special messenger. The latter quickly sent the second line. ابن بحث با ثلاثهٔ غساله ميرود. He also sent a whole *ghazl* (ode) beginning with these lines. The Sulṭān sent him many valuable presents, and invited him to his court; but Hāfiẓ could not come. The word *ghassāla* also means a morning draught, so the double *entendre* is extremely witty (*vide* Cambridge History of India, pp. 264, 265, and Riyāẓ, p. 109).

Another anecdote also shows the Sulṭān in a pleasing light. He is said to have wounded the only son of a widow while practising with his bow and arrow. The widow went and complained to *Qāḍī* Sīrāj-ud-dīn. The latter summoned the Sulṭān to appear before him. The officer sent to serve the summons could not get admission into the palace; but he used the device of calling the *aḏẖān*. The Sulṭān ordered the man who had made this untimely call to be brought before him. When the man was brought to him, he produced the summons. The Sulṭān at once went with him, taking a short sword under his arm. When he appeared before the *Qāḍī*, the latter told him to satisfy the widow. The Sulṭān did so, and when on the *Qāḍī's* asking the widow, she stated that she was quite satisfied, the *Qāḍī* rose from his seat, and seated the Sulṭān on the *masnad*. The Sulṭān then eulogized the *Qāḍī*, but producing the sword, said that if he had found the *Qāḍī* afraid to administer justice he would have cut off his head with it. The *Qāḍī* then produced a scourge which he had kept concealed under his *masnad*; and said that if he had found the Sulṭān unwilling to satisfy the widow, he would have sacrificed his back with it. As the Cambridge History of India (p. 265) says, "Bengal can boast of a prince more law abiding than Henry of Monmouth, and of a judge at least as firm as Gascoigne".

[1] This also is incorrect. He actually reigned from 795 A.H., 1393 A.D., to 813 A.H., 1410 A.D., or for seventeen or eighteen years. The Riyāẓ (p. 111) gives seven years and some months as the period of his reign, but adds that according to another account it lasted for sixteen years, five months and three days.

[2] According to the Riyāẓ, page 111, he was slain by deceit and treachery by Rāja Kāns who was a zemindar of the neighbourhood.

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN-US-SALĀṬĪN.

[2] When Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn departed (from the world), the *amīrs* raised his son on the throne of the empire, giving him the title of Sulṭān-us-salāṭīn. He was a merciful and patient and brave ruler; and went away in the year 795 from the waste place of this world to the populous country of the next life.

He reigned for ten years.

[3] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN.

As Sulṭān-us-salāṭīn went from the house of this world to the house of the after life, the *amīrs* and the chief men of the State gave the

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[1] That is the heading in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the Riyāẓ, p. 111, he is called Saif-ud-dīn, who had the title of Sulṭānu-s-salātīn.

[2] The account of this reign in the Riyāẓ, pages 111, 112, agrees generally with the text, but it says that, according to one account, his reign lasted for three years, seven months and five days and not ten days. Firishtah also agrees, but says the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* were amazed (در حساب بودند, where حساب is probably a mistake for حیرت), and he never strayed towards خلاف (? opposition to the *Shara'*); and the Rāys of the country around never drew their heads from the circle of his obedience, and never made any delay or objection in paying the proper revenue. Firishtah also says in one place that he carried on the government for ten years, but in another place he says the period of his rule was seven years and some months. Col. Briggs's account (vol. IV, p. 335) agrees with that in the text, and not with that in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. According to Bhattasali (page 90) Saifuddin was king only in name. The real power seems to have passed to Raja Ganesh. He also comes to the conclusion after considering his coins and the synchronisms of the Chinese Annals, that his reign lasted only for one year and some months in 813 A.H., and the whole of 814 A.H. (p. 98). According to the Cambridge History of India, page 266, he is said to have peacefully succeeded his father, to have had an obscure reign, to have been defeated in 1404 by Ganesh but to have continued to reign till his death in 1406.

[3] The heading is as I have it in the text in the MSS. In the lith ed. it is ذکر بر سلطان السلاطین یعنی سلطان شمش الدین. Firishtah also calls the son and successor of Saif-ud-din, Ḥamzā Shāh or Sulṭān-us-salātīn, Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn II. In the heading in the Riyāẓ, p. 112, he is also called Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn, son of Sulṭānu-s-salāṭīn; but it is stated a few lines further down that Shamsu-d-dīn was not the son but the adopted son of Sulṭānu-s-salāṭīn; and his name was Shahābu-d-dīn and not Shamsu-d-dīn. It goes on to say that Rajah Kāns attacked and slew him and assumed the name of Sulṭān. It appears to be uncertain, as far as our present information goes, as to what the actual political

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title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn to his son ; and placed him on the [1] throne of the empire. He also following the custom of his ancestors passed his whole life in pleasure; and in the year 790 A.H., he passed away.

The period of his reign was three years and some months.

[2] An account of Rāja Kāns.

When Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn died, a *zamīndār* of the name of Kāns acquired power and dominion over the country of Bangāla. As the just and holy God [3] was kind to his son, the latter became a Musalmān and sat on the throne.

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situation in Bengal was at the time, *i.e.*, between 813 and 810 A.H.; but it appears that Shamsu-d-dīn or Shahābu-d-dīn was only a king in name and the entire authority was vested on Raja Ganesh or Kāns of Bhaduria. He appears, according to Bhattasali (p. 99), to have been supported on the throne by the Raja as harmless, and not likely to interfere with his own authority, and also to keep down the legitimate Iliyas Shahis. The Cambridge History of India, page 366, says that Saif-ud-dīn Hamza Shāh was succeeded by Shams-ud-dīn, who was permitted to ascend the throne but exercised no power; and died after a reign of little more than three years. He was succeeded by another puppet Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd. In the list of the kings of Bengal on page 695 the name of Shams-ud-dīn does not appear at all; but Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd succeeded him in 815, and appears to have reigned for two years. The two accounts contradict each other. The account on page 266 appears to be incorrect. Shamsu-d-dīn and Shahābu-d-dīn, which are two names given in the Riyāẓ, page 112, to the same man, have been given to two men, one of whom did not exist at all. It may be mentioned, however, that Lane-Poole has both Shams-al-dīn and Shihāb-al-dīn in his list on page 307.

[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have اورنگ, but the other MS. has ارانک.

[2] The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS. In the other MS. it is simply راجه کانس . In the lith. ed. it is ذکر حکومت کانس .

[3] The readings are slightly different. The reading in the MS. is not very clear, but appears to be شر او را کفایت کرد ; the meaning of which is not at all clear. The lith. ed. has very distinctly پسر او را کفایت کرد the meaning of which is also obscure. کفایت کردن means to suffice, to serve, to do, also to spare. The meaning of the reading in the MSS. may be "undid his wickedness"; and that of the reading in the lith. ed., "was kind to his son"; but I am not sure of either of these.

The Ṭabaqāt gives no information of as to the events of the reign of the Kāns or Ganēsh; and of his attitude towards the Musalmāns. The Riyāẓ, p. 113, says he persecuted them, and murdered many of them, including many

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The period of the power of Kāns was seven years.

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learned and holy men, such as Shaikh Badrul Islām, son of Shaikh M'uīnu-d-dīn 'Abbas. Then the saintly Nūr Qutbu-l-'Alam wrote to Sulṭān Ibrahīm Sharqī to come and invade Bengāl, and save the Musalmans of the country from the persecution of this cruel and inhuman *kafir*. Ibrahīm Sharqī accordingly invaded Bengal, and encamped at Firuzpur (*i.e.*, Panduah). Kāns then went to the saint, and begged him to intercede in his favour so that Sulṭān Ibrahīm might go back. The saint refused to do so, unless he consented to accept Islām; but his wife refused to allow him to do so. Upon this he brought his son, Jadū, who was then twelve years of age, and said, I have now become too old and have little to do with this world; but I have brought my son, and offer him as a proselyte to Islam. Then the saint took some *pān* which he was chewing out of his mouth and put it into the boy's mouth; and made him recite the creed of Musalman faith. After that he persuaded Sultān Ibrahīm, much against his will, to go back to Jaunpur; where he died shortly after this. After his death Kāns again commenced his persecution of the Musalmans. He also tried to make Jadū a Hindu again, by passing him through a golden image of a cow, portions of which were afterwards given to Brahmans. He commenced to persecute and kill the servants and relations of Nūr Quṭbu-l-'Alam himself. He even put the son of the saint, who was named Shaikh Anwar, to death; but he himself died at the very time when Shaikh Anwar became a martyr (pp. 113–116).

The account given by Firishtah is entirely different. According to it although Rāja Kāns never became a Musalmān, he mixed much with, and had great love for the followers of the faith, so much so, that many believed him to have become a Musalmān, and wanted to bury his dead body.

The account in the Riyāẓ has been accepted by historians in preference to that of Firishtah. It appears from Bhattasali's account (pp. 117–122) that it is substantially correct; the only serious mistake in it, being the statement that Ganesh or Kans resumed sovereign power after the death of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. As a matter of fact Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi died long after the death of Raja Ganesh, which took place in 821 A.H., 1418 A.D., which is the last coin of Danujamarddana Deva (title assumed by Ganesh after his second accession); and also of Mahendra Deva's coins from Pandua and Chittagong. Mahendra Deva was the title assumed by Jadu or Jalaluddin, after his second accession, after the death of his father, and before his second conversion to Islam. Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi died in 840 A.H., 1436 A.D. It would appear that Ganesh resumed his power after the death of Nur-Kutab 'Alam, when he began his second persecution of the Musalmāns, and banished and afterwards put to death Nur-Kutab 'Alam's son Shaikh Anwar. After this he assumed the title of Danujamarddana Deva; and coins were struck by him in 820 A.H., in Chittagong, Sonargaon and Pandua, and in 821 A.H., in Pandua have been

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, SON OF KĀNS.

As Kāns went to his original abode (*i.e.*, I suppose hell), his [2] son, owing to his love of rule became a Musalmān, and assumed the name of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn. The people were contented and happy during his time; and at the end of the year 812 [3] A.H. he passed away.

The period of his reign was seventeen years.

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found. Coins of Mahendra Deva bearing the date 821 A.H., and struck at Pandua and Chittagong have also been found.

The Cambridge History of India (pp. 266, 267) agrees generally with Bhattasali; but it does not mention Danujamarddana Dēva or Mahendra Deva; and according to it Ganesh died in 817 A.H., 1414 A.D.; and Jadū or Jalāl-ud-dīn succeeded him in that year.

[1] There are slight differences in the heading. The heading in the text is that in the lith. ed. One MS. has the same heading up to بن *bin*, but has left out the word Kāns by mistake. The other MS. has simply *an account of* Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn.

[2] Both MSS. omit the word او after پسر.

[3] The year in both MSS. is اثنی عشر و ثمانمائه. The lith. ed. has اثنی ثمانمائه. Both are incorrect. He died in 834 or 835 A.H. Some account of him has been given in note 2, page 859 of the type-script. The Ṭabaqāt says: the people were contented and happy in his reign. The Rīyāẓ, p. 118, gives a different account. According to it he converted many infidels to Islām, and forced the *Brahmans* who had partaken of portions of the golden image of the cow to eat beef. He became a disciple of Shaikh Zāhid, grandson of Nūr Quṭbu-l-'Alam, and nephew of Shaikh Anwar. It is also said, of course, that people were happy and contented; and the population of Panduah became very large; and he erected a mosque, etc., in Gaur; and the re-population of Gaur commenced in his time.

Firishtah's account is different. He gives him the name of Jaimal and says that he offered to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, if the chief men of the country objected to him, on the ground of his being a Musalmān; but they in an extremely tolerate way said, that religion did not in any way affect worldly affairs. According to Firishtah also he became the Nūshīrwān of the age, *i.e.*, the ideally just ruler.

Bhattasali (p. 112) says he became zealous Muhammadan, converted many to the Musalman Faith, recalled Shaikh Zahid from Sonargaon and showed him every respect. He also quotes Firishtah's account; and it appears that the copy of Firishta from which he quoted gives Jeetmal as his Hindu name.

The Cambridge History of India, page 267, says: "He persecuted the Hindus, as his father had persecuted the Muslims..... and hosts of

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN AḤMAD, SON OF SULṬĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN.

As the inevitable happened to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn, the *amīrs*

Hindus are said to have been forcibly converted to Islam". It also considers it probable that the present "numerical superiority of Muslims in Eastern Bengal is due to an immense wave of proselytisation, (which) must have swept over the country, and it is most probable that the period was the reign of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad".

It appears to me, however, that the numerical superiority of the Musalmāns in Eastern Bengal exists chiefly among Musalmāns of the lower classes; and low caste Hindūs (many of whom were untouchables) did not require much persuasion or persecution to accept a religion, according to which they might claim equality with the best.

[1] The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. Aḥmad Shāh is substituted for Sulṭān Aḥmad. As to the events of this reign Firishtah copies the Ṭabaqāt word for word, but unfortunately adds a few words of his own, which are totally opposed to the facts as given by the Riyāẓ. These words are: او نیز پیروی پدر بزرگوار نموده بداد و دهش کوشیده خلایق بسیار را غریق انعام و احسان گردانید. Stewart (p. 96) agrees with Firishtah as to the impartial administration of justice by Ahmed Shah; and adds that both "the followers of Mohammed and the worshippers of idols vied in their attachment to his person". He also says that during his reign Sultan Ibrahim of Joanpore invaded Bengal, and plundered several districts, and carried away many of the inhabitants as slaves. Ahmed Shah unable to contend with him sent an ambassador to Shah Rookh, the son of Timour at Herat. The latter wrote a letter to Sultan Ibrahim, threatening exemplary vengeance, if he did not immediately release the captives, and again molested the King of Bengal. After that Sultan Ibrahim never again invaded Bengal. An extract from Shah Rookh's letter is given by Stewart, who says the letter is taken from Firishtah and adds that the circumstances of the embassy are also confirmed in the "*Mutlia Assaedine*", a very eloquent Persian history of Shah Rookh.

There is no mention of the letter in Firishtah lith. ed.; or in Col. Briggs's history; and no mention of this invasion of Bengal by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, in any other history.

The Riyāẓ, pages 118, 119, gives a very different account of Ahmad Shāh. He was very harsh tempered, tyrannical and blood-thirsty, and shed unrighteous blood; and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant women. When his barbarities reached an extreme point, two of his slaves Shādi Khān and Nāṣir Khān, who had attained to the rank of nobility, conspired together, and brought about his death.

Bhattasali's account terminates with the history of Jalaluddin.

The Cambridge History of India says little is known of his reign, and then mentions the aggressions of Ibrāhīm Sharqī, and the remonstrance of Shāh-

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bestowed the [1] title of Sulṭān Aḥmad on his son and made him the successor of his father. [2] In the end of the year 830 A.H., he sought [3] release from bodily restraints and joined the spiritual existence.

The period of his reign was sixteen years.

[4] An account of Nāṣir the slave.

[5] When the throne of sovereignty remained unoccupied after the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad, son of Jalāl-ud-dīn, a slave of his named Nāṣir placed his foot with great audacity on the throne of the empire, and commenced to issue all orders. The *amīrs* and *Maliks* of Sulṭān Aḥmad put him to death; and raised one of the grandsons of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn *Bhangara* to be the ruler.

The period of his rule was seven days, and, according to another account, half a day.

[6] An account of Nāṣir Shah.

When Nāṣir *Ghulām* (the slave) was put to death, they found out one of the descendants of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn *Bhangara*, and placing him on the throne of the empire [7] gave him the title of Nāṣir

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rukh; and goes on to say that towards the end of his reign his tyranny, became unbearable; and he was put to death by Shādī Khān and Nāsir Khān. Nāsir Khān forestalled his fellow conspirator, and put him to death and assumed the sovereignty of Bengal (p. 267).

[1] One MS. has قرار, by mistake, for خطاب.

[2] Both MSS. have و اخر در سنه; while the lith. ed. has در آخر سنه. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed.

[3] One MS. has خلاص, the other omits the word by mistake; while the lith. ed. has خلاصی. I have accepted خلاص.

[4] The reading in one MS. is as I have it in the text. In the other MS. Nāṣir-ud-dīn is substituted for Nāsir. The lith. ed. has ذکر حکومت ناصر الدین an account of the rule of Nāṣir-ud-dīn.

[5] The Riyāẓ, Firishtah, Col. Briggs and Stewart all agree generally. The Cambridge History of India, page 267, contrary to all the other authorities, makes Nāsir the slave and Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd one and the same person. Lane-Poole (p. 308) also has Nāṣir-al-dīn Mahmūd Shāh II, who was apparently the slave, and also the first Sultān of the house of *Iliyās* (restored) apparently as one and the same person.

[6] The heading in the text is the heading in both MSS. The lith. ed. inserts the word حکومت, rule, before Nāṣir Shāh.

[7] One MS. and the lith. ed. have دادند, but the other MS. has داده.

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Shāh. All classes of men, common and noble, and great and small were happy and contented in the cradle of peace and safety. And in the end, in the year 862 A.H., he passed away.

The period of his reign was [1] two years.

[2] An account of Bārbak Shāh.

When Nāsīr Shāh died, the *amīrs* and the great men of the country seated Bārbak Shāh on the throne of sovereignty. In his time the residents of the city and the soldiery were in a state of contentment. He also passed his time in pleasure and enjoyment. When the period of his life and the days of his existence came to an end, in the year 879 A.H., he [3] passed away.

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[1] Both the MSS. and the lith. ed. have two years. This is manifestly incorrect. The period from 830 A.H., the year of the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad to 862 A.H., the year of Nāṣir Shāh's death is thirty-two years. The دو in the text is a mistake for سی و دو or 32. The accounts of this reign, as given in the Riyāẓ and by Firishtah, Col. Briggs and Stewart generally agree with the text. The Riyāẓ, page 120, adds that he erected some of the buildings, and the fort of Gaur. As to the length of his reign, he says that it was thirty-two years, but according to others did not exceed twenty-seven years. Stewart (p. 100) also says that he constructed the fortification round the city of Gour.

As to the Cambridge History of India, see note on page 416. According to it the period of his reign was seventeen years from 846 to 864 A.H., 1442 to 1460 A.D.

[2] The heading in both MSS. is as I have in the text. The lith. ed. inserts the word *salṭanat* before Bārbak Shāh. The Riyāẓ (text-edition, p. 118) agrees generally as to the account of this reign, but adds مرد دانشمند و متشرع بود. It appears from a note on page 120 of Salam's translation of the Riyāẓ that his full name was Ruknu-d-dīn Abul Mujahid Barbak Shāh, that he reigned from 864 A.H., and that before that he was governor of south-west Bengal in 860 A.H. Firishtah copies the Ṭabaqāt as regards the early part of the account, but adds that he was the first sovereign of India who employed Abyssinians and raised them to high rank. Neither the Cambridge History of India nor Stewart has anything new about him; but both mention his employment of the Abyssinians. The Cambridge History of India (p. 268) says he reigned from 1459 to 1474 A.D., or for fifteen years.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have رحلت نمود; but the other MS. has شروع در مرحله پیمای عالم نیستی کرد. This MS. is very imperfect here. The words quoted are taken from the latter part of the accounts of the reign of Yūsuf Shāh, the next Sulṭān, the earlier part of the account of whose reign is altogether omitted in it.

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The period of his reign was [1] seventeen years.

[2] An account of Yūsuf Shāh.

After the death of Bārbak Shāh, the *amīrs* and the well-known men of the kingdom placed Yūsuf Shāh on the throne of government. He was a patient *bādshāh* and a well-wisher of his subjects, and of a virtuous disposition. He began to measure the stages to the world of non-existence (*i.e.*, died) in the year 887 A.H.

The period of his sovereignty was seven years and six months.

[3] An account of Sikandar Shāh.

[4] After the death of Yūsuf Shāh, [5] the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* placed

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[1] One MS. has ten years. The other has هفت سال و شش (omitting the word ماه) which was the period of the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. The lith. ed. has seventeen years which is correct and which I have adopted.

[2] One MS. omits the heading and the first part of the account of this reign, and joins the latter part on to the account of the reign of Bārbak Shāh. See note on page 416. The other MSS. have the heading which I have in the text. The lith. ed. inserts the word حکومت before Yūsuf Shāh.

The account of this reign in the Ṭabaqāt appears to be copied from the Riyāẓ (text-edition, p. 119) which adds the virtues of being صاحب علم و ریاضت, *i.e.*, learned and abstemious, to those mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt, and explains خیر خواه by adding the word خلق. His full name appears to have been Shams-ud-dīn Abul Muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh; and he appears to have reigned from 879 A.H. According to Firishtah he was very strict in the observance of the law of the Prophet. Stewart (p. 101) says he was very strict about the administration of justice, and enjoined on all judges to act with the strictest impartiality. The Cambridge History of India (p. 268) calls him "a precisian".

[3] The heading in the MS. is as I have in the text. The lith. ed. inserts the word *salṭanat* before the name of Sikandar Shāh. The Riyāẓ (p. 121) calls Sikandar the son of Yūsuf Shāh but the other historians, except the Cambridge History of India (p. 268) which also says that he was Yūsuf's son, do not say so. Stewart (p. 101) says that Yusuf Shah died without children, so the nobles raised a youth of the royal family to the throne. The Riyāẓ (p. 121) says that he was deposed on the very day on which he was placed on the throne. The Aīni-Akbarī gives him half a day. Firishtah mentions no period; and Stewart (p. 101) gives him two months.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بعد از فوت. The other MS. omits the word از.

[5] There are differences in the readings. One MS. has امرا و وزرا بی تعمق نظر This I have adopted. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has the same

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Sikandar Shāh on the throne of the empire without careful enquiries. [1] As he did not possess the qualifications or the right of being invested with this high office, they removed him from it, and [2] raised Fatḥ Shāh to the chieftainship.

The period of Sikandar Shāh's reign was two [3] and a half days.

[4] An account of Fatḥ Shāh.

After the deposition of Sikandar Shāh, the *amīrs* and the great men raised Fatḥ Shāh to the chieftainship and placed him on the throne of the empire. He was intelligent and wise; and placing the usages of ancient rulers and Sulṭāns in the forefront of his spirit, distributed

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word. The other MS. has امرا و وزرای بعد از امتحان و تعمق نظر. The lith. ed. has امرا و وزرایان تعمق نظر.

[1] Here again the readings are different. One MS. has چون استحقاق تقلد این عمر خطیر نداست. I have adopted this but have changed عمر, which is manifestly incorrect, for امر. The other MS. omits the word استحقاق and substitutes امر for عمر. The lith. ed. omits the word تقلد. and has استحقاق این امر.

[2] One MS. has by mistake بسرداری برداشتند.

[3] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has نیم روز, half a day, in the text-edition.

[4] Here again the heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text; but the lith. ed. inserts the word *salṭanat* before the name of Fatḥ Shāh.

The Riyāẓ (p. 119) says he was another son of Yūsuf Shāh. Otherwise the Ṭabaqāt agrees with it. His full name was Jalāl-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar Fatḥ Shāh. He is said to have reigned from 887 to 896 A.H., but his coins and inscriptions show that he was already reigning in 886 A.H. Some of the coins of 886 were struck at Fathabad (now Farīdpūr town) which was named after him.

Firishtah says that Fatḥ Shāh punished with the scourge of justice the eunuchs and Ḥabshī slaves, who had become powerful and violent. So they went to the chief eunuch called the Sulṭān Shāhzāda Bangālī, who was in charge of all the men who attended by turns (مردم نوبتی) ; and also had the keys of all the palaces. It so happened that the eunuch Khān Jahān, the *vazīr* and Malik Andīl Ḥabshī, the *Amīr-ul-umarā*, were engaged in punishing the Rāys of the frontier, with a picked body of the army; so Sulṭān Shāhzāda could carry out his nefarious purpose with impunity.

The Cambridge History of India, page 268, contrary to the Riyāẓ, says that Fath Shāh was a great uncle of Sikandar, and a son of Mahmūd which I suppose means Naṣīr-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh.

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favours to everyone in accordance with his condition and rank. In his time the doors of pleasure and enjoyment remained open in the faces of the people.

As there was a custom in the country of Bangālah, that five thousand *paīks* attended every night for watch and ward, and early in the morning, the *bādshāh* came out, and sat on the throne for a moment, and took their salute, and gave them permission to go away, when another body of *pāiks* came into attendance.

On one occasion, the chief eunuch of Fatḥ Shāh tempted the *pāiks* with money and they slew the Sulṭān. Early the next morning the eunuch himself sat on the throne, and took the salute of the *pāiks*. This event occurred in the year 896 A.H.

The period of the rule of Fatḥ Shāh was seven years and five months.

They say that during some years, there was such a custom in Bangālah, that whoever slew a ruler, and sat on the throne, everyone became submissive and obedient to him.

[1] An account of Bārbak Shāh.

As the wretched Khwājah Sarāī after murdering his master took the title of *bādshāh*, all the eunuchs, wherever they were, collected

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[1] The heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text. The lith. ed. inserts the word حکومت before Bārbak Shāh.

The Riyāẓ (p. 121) agrees generally, but says the eunuch styled himself Sulṭān Shāhzāda. It goes on to say that he tried to destroy the powerful nobles. The most powerful of them, the Abyssinian Malik Andīl, who was at the frontier wanted to come to the capital. Barbag also wanted to bring him there so that he might, by fraud and deceit, put him into prison. He therefore summoned him; and on Malik Andil's coming made him swear on the *Qorān* that he would not injure him in any way. Malik Andīl took the oath, with the reservation that he would not do so as long as Bārbak was on the throne. He then schemed to avenge the murder of his benefactor. He got into the palace, and found the eunuch asleep on the throne. On account of his oath he was unable to kill him; but the eunuch who was drunk rolled down. Malik Andīl drew his sword, but was unable to kill the eunuch. After this there was a Homeric struggle between the two in the dark. In the end Malik Andīl got others to join in the attack and the eunuch was killed.

Malik Andīl then summoned the *vazīrs* and a council was held to select a suitable person to succeed to the throne. Fath Shāh had left a son who was

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together round him; and he allured mean and low spirited men with wealth, and, [1] strengthening their allegiance with false promises, assembled them round him. His pomp and strength increased day by day; but in the end the great *amīrs* who had many retainers [2] joined together; and on one occasion having united the *pāiks* with themselves, slew him.

The period of his reign was two and a [3] half months.

[4] An account of Fīrūz Shāh.

When the eunuch who had the title of Bārbak Shāh was killed, the *amīrs* and the well-known men raised Fīrūz Shāh to the chieftain-

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only two years of age; and it was doubtful whether he should be placed on the throne. All the nobles then went to the widow of Fath Shāh. She said she had made a vow that the throne should belong to the person who should slay her husband's murderer. Malik Andīl at first declined to accept the crown, but was finally persuaded to do so (pp. 122-124).

Firishtah and Stewart and the Cambridge History of India follow the Riyāẓ generally; but the Cambridge History of India (p. 269), contrary to all the others, calls Malik Andīl Indil Khān; I do not know the authority for doing so. He was certainly not a Khān but was a Malik. As to Andil or Indil, I know no Persian or Arabic word like either. There is a colloquial Bengālī word *Andīl*, which means much; but I do not know whether it has any connection with the name. In any case I prefer to follow the older historians, instead of accepting the new spelling.

[1] One MS. has منظر instead of مستظر by mistake.

[2] There are differences in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have اتفاق نموده نوبتی گروه پایکانرا. The lith. ed. however has by mistake the word کرده after گروه, which I have struck out. The other MS. has اتفاق نموده و موافقت کرده پایکانرا. The latter reading appears to be somewhat better, but as the other MS. and the lith. ed. both give the other, I have adopted it, with the slight correction I have mentioned. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has followed the second MS. in the text-edition.

[3] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has دو ماه و نیم روز or two months and half a day as the period of his reign in the text-edition.

[4] The heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text. The lith. ed. inserts the word *salṭanat* before the name Fīrūz Shāh.

The Ṭabaqāt does not say that it was Malik Andīl who assumed the title of Fīrūz Shāh.

It appears from the Riyāẓ (p. 125) that he took up his residence in Gaur, where he erected a mosque, a tower and a reservoir. He had done great deeds

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ship. He was a merciful and benevolent king. When the number of the days of his life were folded up (*i.e.*, finished), he passed away by natural death in the year 899 A.H. But another statement is that the *pāik* watchmen killed him.

The period of his rule was three years.

[1] An account of Maḥmūd Shāh.

When Fīrūz Shāh passed away, the *amīrs* and the great men placed his son on the throne of the empire, giving him the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh. He was a *bādshāh* endowed with the moral qualities of the great.

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as a general and an administrator; and he was respected and feared when he ascended the throne. He was a just and efficient ruler, but his great fault was his prodigality, and he lavished the treasures accumulated by the former Sulṭāns on beggars and mendicants. As to his death, the Riyāẓ (p. 125) says that the statement that he was killed by the *pāiks* appears to be more correct than that he died a natural death. His full name appears from his coins to have been Saifu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Fīruz Shāh. His coins show that he reigned from 893 A.H., to 895 A.H., and not during the three years ending in 897 A.H., as stated in the histories (p. 124).

Firishtah and Stewart mention no new facts about him. According to the Cambridge History of India, page 696, he reigned from 891 to 894 A.H.

[1] The heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text. In the lith. ed. it is ذکر محمود شاہ بن فیروز شاہ.

The full name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd appears to have been Nāṣir-ud-dīn Abul Muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh. According to the Riyāẓ (p. 126) he was only a Sultān in name. During the early months of his brief reign, an Abyssinian of the name of Habsh Khān usurped all the authority. The Sīdī Badr Dīwāna, another Abyssinian, slew Habsh Khān, and became the *de facto* ruler. After some time, he got the *sardārs* of the *paiks* to join him; and one night slew Maḥmūd Shāh; and with the concurrence of the *amīrs* and the officers of the court, proclaimed himself Sulṭān under the title of Muzaffar Shāh.

The Riyāẓ (p. 126) also says, that according to the history of Haji Muhammad Qandahari, Maḥmūd Shāh was the son of Fath Shāh, and not of Malik Andīl or Fīrūz Shāh. He had been brought up by Jashn Khān, a slave of Bārbag Shāh, under the orders of Fīruz Shāh; and after the latter's death was placed on the throne. The name Jashn Khān appears to be a copyist's mistake for Habsh Khān.

Firishtah agrees generally with the Riyāẓ. He gives the name of the slave who brought Sulṭān Maḥmūd up as Ḥabsh Khān and not Jashn Khān.

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A slave of the name of Saiyidī Muẓaffar Ḥabshī having got the *sardārs* and the *paīks* to combine with him, made Maḥmūd Shāh a martyr one night; and early the next morning ascended the throne of the empire, giving himself the title of Muẓaffar Shāh.

The period of the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh was one year.

[1] An account of Muẓaffar Shāh Ḥabshī.

When Muẓaffar Shāh Ḥabshī took the place of the great by force and violence, darkness spread over the world. He was an audacious

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[1] I have adopted the reading in the lith. ed. Those in the MSS. are very imperfect. One has only Muẓaffar Shāh, and the other has ذکر مظفر حبشی. His name according to his inscriptions and coins was Alau-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Shāh (Salam's translation of Riāẓ, p. 128, note 2). From his coins it appears that he reigned from 896 to 899 A.H., *i.e.*, from 1491 to 1494 A.H.

According to the Riyāẓ (p. 127) Muzaffar ascended the throne at Gaur. He was extremely audacious and blood-thirsty; and put many learned and pious men and nobles and the Rajahs to death. He appointed Syed Husain a Sharif of Mecca (who is called one of Muẓaffar's *sipāhis* in the Ṭabaqāt) to be his minister, and made over to him all powers. Afterwards he added avarice to his other iniquities; and according to the advice of Syed Husain, he reduced the wages of his cavalry and infantry men; and also collected the revenue with great harshness. Then the great *amīrs* rebelled against him; and he shut himself up in the fort of Gaur. The siege lasted for four months; and Muzaffar is said to have slain four thousand men, who had been seized and brought to him from time to time with his own hand. Then he came out of the fort, and a drawn battle took place between his men and the *amīrs* now headed by Syed Husain. The latter were victorious and Muzaffar was slain. It is also stated, that according to Hajī Muhammad Qandaharī, one hundred and twenty thousand men, Musalmān and Hindus were slain during this civil war. The Riyāz (p. 128) then quotes from Ṭabaqāt, what is stated in the latter about the manner in which Muzaffar was slain.

Firishtah and Stewart give no further information. The Cambridge History of India, page 270, calls the minister, who according to the Riyāẓ was called Syed Husain, Sharif Makī, Saiyid 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain, who belonged to a family which came from Tarmūz on the Oxus; and it also states that this man probably restrained Muzaffar's violence, while according to the Riyāẓ and Firishtah the reduction in the pay of the soldiers, which was one of the causes of the rebellion, took place at his instance. It appears from what is stated in the account of the reign of Sultān 'Alau-d-din, in the Riyāẓ that the name of Sultān 'Alau-d-din before his accession was Syed Husain Sharīf Makkī, that his father Syed Ashrafal-Ḥusainī was probably Sherif of Mecca, but the family

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and blood-thirsty man. He raised many learned and pious men to the rank of martyrdom. In the end one of his soldiers, of the name of 'Alā-ud-dīn, having made the *sardārs* and the *paīks* friendly and in league with him, entered the seraglio one night with thirteen *paīks*, and slew him. Early the next morning, he sat on the throne and gave himself the title of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn.

The period of the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh Ḥabshī was three years and five months.

[1] An account of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn.

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn [2] was an intelligent and able man and was a soldier. He showed favour to the *amīrs* of old lineage; and he also

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came from Tarmūz or Tarmāj in Tukestān. Sayyid Ḥusain and his brother Sayyid Yūsuf came with their father to Bengal; and settled in Chandpur *in* Raḍha, of western Bengal. According to Blochmann, however, this Chāndpūr was really situated near 'Alāipūr in the present district of Khūlna. It appears also that although Sayyid Husain adopted the title of 'Alāuddīn Abul Muzaffar Husain Shāh, he was universally known as Husain Shāh; and that name is found on various inscriptions on the edifices in Gaūr; and according to Blochmann (*J.A.S.B.* for 1873, page 291) "the name of 'Husain Shāh the good' is still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra". The statement in the Cambridge History of India (p. 270) about the original name of 'Alā-ud-din Ḥusain Shāh being Sayyid 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain appears to be incorrect.

[1] The heading in one MS. and the lith. ed. is ذکر سلطان علا الدین ; in the other it is only سلطان علا الدین ; I have retained the former.

[2] The lith. ed. has the word چون before Sulṭan 'Alā-ud-dīn; but as both MSS. omit it, I have also omitted it. The account of his reign in the Ṭabaqāt is very imperfect. According to the Riyāẓ (pp. 129–136), although he became a good and great Sulṭān, his conduct does not appear to have been quite straightforward before his accession. Although he was in the service of Sulṭān Muzaffar he always spoke to everyone of the latter's meanness and avarice. In this way his own virtues and the vices of his master became known to everybody; so when Muẓaffar was killed, the chiefs and the people readily consented to his becoming his successor. Then the way in which he rewarded the people, who raised him to the throne, was extremely objectionable. He allowed them to plunder and ravage the city of Gaur. Some days after his accession, he ordered the men to cease plundering, and when they did not do so, he had twelve thousand of them put to death. As a result of searching the houses of the wealthy he collected much wealth including thirteen hundred golden dishes.

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raised his own special servants to high ranks and eminent positions. He removed the *paīks* from the duty of watch and ward, so that no injury might be caused to him by them. He summoned learned, great and pious men from different parts of the kingdom, and showed kindness to them. He made very great efforts and exertions for enriching and improving the condition of the country; and he allotted many villages for defraying the expenses of the alms houses, attached to the tomb of that leader of the wayfarers (in the path of the law), Shaikh Nūr Qūṭb 'Ālam, may his soul be sanctified! He came every year from Ekdāla, which was the seat of his government to Pandūah, with the object of circumambulating the tomb, which was the recipient of illumination, of Shaikh Nūr.

Owing to the auspiciousness of his laudable morals, and pleasing virtues he performed the duties of sovereignty for long years; and all his life was passed in pleasure and enjoyment. And in the end in the year 929 A.H., he passed away by death from natural causes. The period of his reign was twenty-seven years and some months.

His evil deeds ceased after this. He removed the *paiks* from the work of watch and ward; and banished all the Habshīs; and he employed Syeds, Mughals and Afghans in position of trust. He subjugated the Rajas of the country, and having conquered as far as Orissa levied tribute from the rulers of that country. He then invaded Assam; and conquered that country as far as Kāmrup and Kāmtah (Kāmaksha (?)). He left his son there with a large army, and returned to Bengal. Afterwards when the rains commenced, the Rajas, who had fled to the mountains, returned; and his army was defeated, and his son was slain.

The Riyāẓ then mentions his charities and his religious endowments.

In the year 900 A.H., Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī on being defeated by Sikandar Lodi took refuge in Kahlgaon (Colgong), where he was received with honour and where he passed his remaining years.

Sulṭān 'Alau-d-din died of natural causes in 927 A.H. The period of his reign was, according to different authorities, twenty-seven years, twenty-four years and twenty-nine years and five months. He had fourteen sons and one of them, Naṣrat Shāh, succeeded him.

Firishtah does not mention any fresh fact. Stewart (p. 110) says that Ala Addeen Hussein Shah came from the sandy deserts of Arabia to the fertile region of Bengal.

The Cambridge History of India also adds nothing to what is stated in the Riyāẓ. According to it his reign lasted for twenty-five years (p. 272). The words و سپاهی and a soldier, are omitted in the text-edition.

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[1] An account of Naṣīb Shāh.

When Sulṭān ʻAlā-ud-dīn passed away, the *amīrs* and the great men of the time raised [2] Naṣīb Shāh from amongst his eighteen sons to the chieftainship (*i.e.*, to be the Sulṭān). [3] He, trusting his brothers, conferred on each one of them, double of what their father had bestowed on them.

And when, in the year 932 A.H., His Majesty Firdūs Makānī Ẓahīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Bābar *Bādshāh*, having slain Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lūdī, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūḍī, took possession of the country of Dehlī, the *amīrs* and the heads of [4] the various groups of Afghāns fled and came as suppliants to [5] Naṣīb Shāh. After some days, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also came to him, [6] as a suppliant. Naṣīb Shāh bestowed on all of them *jāgīrs*, as far as possible and depending on the exigencies of the time. [7] He also prayed for the hand of the daughter of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm for himself.

In [8] the year 939 A.H. he sent by the hand of the eunuch Malik Marjān to Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrātī, fine and beautiful presents, in

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[1] The heading is as I have it in the text in both the MSS. The lith. ed. has ذکر سلطنت نصیب شاہ, an account of the reign of Naṣīb Shāh. Both headings are incorrect. It appears that the correct name of the eldest son of ʻAlā-ud-dīn Ḥusain Shah was Naṣīb Khān; and he assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Abul Muẓaffar Naṣrat Shāh. The Riyāẓ, however, says that his name or title was Naṣrat Shāh; and he was commonly known as Naṣīb Shāh.

[2] The name is Nāṣir Shāh in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and Naṣīb Shāh in the other MS. I have adopted Naṣīb Shāh.

[3] This was quite unusual for the age. The Riyāẓ (text, p. 136) says پسندیدہ ترین کاری کہ ازو بظہور آمدہ این بود کہ برادران را بحبس و قید ندادہ - مناسب ہر یکی را - از انچہ پدر عنایت فرمودہ بود - دو چند ساخت. Other historians have also mentioned this generous action.

[4] The readings in the MSS. are و سران گروہ افغان and و سران گرو - و افغان. The lith. ed. has و سران گروہ افغانان, which appears to me to be better than the other readings, and I have retained it.

[5] Here both the MSS. have نصیب شاہ Naṣīb Shāh.

[6] One MS. and the lith. ed. have باو ملتجی شد, but the other MS. has باو ملحق.

[7] As was usual under the circumstances he married her.

[8] The reason of this embassay to Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt which was sent in 939 A.H., is said in the Riyāẓ (pp. 137, 138) to have been a report that Humāyūn after his accession intended to conquer Bengal.

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order to secure relation, attachment and friendship. Malik Marjān waited on Sulṭān Bahādur in the fort of Mandū and was honoured by the gift of a special robe of [1] honour. No account of the Bengālīs has after this come under my eyes. Naṣīb Shāh ruled for a period of eleven years. After him, Bangālah came within a short time into the possession of Shēr Khān. When His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī came into Bangālah, in pursuit of Shēr Khān, Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg ruled (the country) on behalf of him. Afterwards Shēr Khān slew Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg, and took possession of the country, as has been mentioned in its place. Then Muḥammad Khān, one of the *amīrs* of Salīm Khān, son of Shēr Khān, governed the country for a time. After him, his son gave himself the title of Sulṭān Bahādur, and raised the standard of rule. The government of Bangālah and Behār was then held by Sulaimān Kararānī, one of the *amīrs* of Salīm Khān. He ruled independently for a period of [2] nine years, and also took possession of the

[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn gives no account of the death of Naṣīb Shāh. It appears from the Riyāẓ and other histories, that contrary to the mildness which he had shown in the beginning of his reign, he now indulged in evil deeds, and committed acts of oppression; so the eunuchs, one of whom he had threatened with punishment, combined together and killed him in the year 943 A.H. The period of his reign is variously given. The Riyāẓ (p. 138) says that he reigned for sixteen years, but according to some thirteen years, or less than that. Firishtah gives him sixteen years from 927 to 943 A.H. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 350–352) says he reigned from 930 A.H., 1523 A.D., to 945 A.H., 1538 A.D. *i.e.*, for about fifteen years; but he says also that he had a reign of eighteen years. According to Stewart (pp. 114–117) he reigned for thirteen years 1521 A.D. to 1533-34 A.D. Lane-Poole (p. 308) gives him fourteen years from 925 A.H., 1518 A.D., to 939 A.H., 1532 A.D., and the Cambridge History of India (p. 696) fifteen years from 1518 to 1533 A.D.

[2] There are differences as to the period of Sulaimān Kararānī's rule. One MS. has seven years; the other has the word *sāl*, year without any number. The lith. ed. has one year. There is much diversity also in the other histories as to the period of his rule. The Riyāẓ (p. 153) says he ruled independently for sixteen years, and died in 981 A.H. Firishtah says he had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name, but called himself *Ḥaḍrat Ā'alā*, and sent presents to Akbar from time to time; and after reigning for about twenty-five years died in 981 A.H. Stewart (pp. 149, 150) says he reigned from 972 when he came from Behar to Bengal till his death in 981 A.H., affecting to hold his kingdom under Akbar. In the Cambridge History of India, the name of Sulaimān does not appear in the Index at all but in the list of the Kings of Bengal on page 696, he is shown as having reigned in 980 A.H. for some months only.

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country of Orissa. Although he had not had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name, still he assumed the title of *Ḥaḍrat Āʿlā*. When he died, his son [1] succeeded him; but his rule did not extend beyond thirteen days. He was killed by the efforts (machinations) of his own relations. The government was then allotted to his brother Dāūd. He made dying struggles for a period of two years, till he was defeated in the year 982 A.H. by Khān Khānān, who was the commander-in-chief of the army of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī; and the country of Bangālah was conquered. Afterwards in the year 984 A.H., he was slain by Khān Jahān, who after Khān Khānān had been honoured with the government of Bangālah, as has been narrated in its own place. And up to this day, which is the year 1002 *Hijrī*, the country of Bangālah and Ekdāla are in the possession of the servants of the powerful empire.

SECTION VII. THE SECTION ABOUT THE SHARQĪ SULṬĀNS.

The Sharqī Sulṭāns [2] ruled in the country of Jaunpūr and the neighbouring tracts from [3] the beginning of the year 784 A.H. to

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[1] His name is Bāyazīd.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have كردند, but the other MS. has كردة اند.

[3] The lith. ed. is very incorrect. The MSS. agree; but whereas the total period is said to be 97 years, the total of the different reigns come to over one hundred and twelve years. I have compared the list with those given by Lane-Poole, page 309, and by the Cambridge History of India, page 701. It was somewhat difficult to find the latter list, for in the Index page 701, it is not mentioned either against Jaunpur or against the Sharqī dynasty. Comparing these lists with that in the text, I find that the names agree, except that the fifth name is Mahmūd Shāh in the list in the text while it is Muhammad Shāh in the other list; but the periods differ. No. 1, has sixteen years in the Ṭabaqāt, but only 6 in the other lists. The difference in the case of No. 2 is negligible. Ibrāhīm, No. 3, who has forty years in the Ṭabaqāt has forty-one years according to the A.H. chronology and forty years according to the A.D. chronology in Lane-Poole, while the Cambridge History of India gives him only 36 A.H. or 34 A.D. years. No. 4 who has twenty-one years in the Ṭabaqāt, has 17 A.H. years or 16 A.D. years according to Lane-Poole, and 22 years both A.H. and A.D. according to the Cambridge History of India. No. 5, who has 5 years according to the Ṭabaqāt has 2 years according to the Lane-Poole and less than

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the year 881 A.H., which was a period of ninety-seven years. (The rulers were):—

Sulṭān-ush-sharq, Ḵẖwājah Jahān, sixteen years;
Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, one year and some months;
Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, forty years and some months;
Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, twenty-one years and some months;
Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, five years;
Sulṭān Ḥusain, son of Maḥmūd, nineteen years;

[1] An account of Sulṭān-ush-sharq.

It is traditionally recorded that when the turn of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān [2] Muḥammad, son of Fīrūz Shāh came, he sent the eunuch, Malik Sarwar, on whom Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh had conferred the title of Ḵẖwājah Jahān to the country of Jaunpūr, after bestowing on him the title of Sulṭān-ush-sharq; and conferred the government of that country on him. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd lost his (power and) grandeur, Sulṭān-ush-sharq became completely independent; and having punished the insurgents of *parganas* Kōl and Itāwah, [3] Kampīlah and Bahrāīch, brought all the territory from the

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1 year according to the Cambridge History of India. No. 6 has 19 years according to the Ṭabaqāt, but 18 years according to Lane-Poole from 863 to 881 A.H., when he fled to Bengal, and 22 A.H. years or 21 A.D. years according to the Cambridge History of India. It appears to me that it is impossible to have a correct list of the periods of the different reigns.

[1] The heading in the MS. is as I have it in the text. In the lith. ed. the word سلطنت is inserted before سلطان الشرق.

Firishtah says that the Sulṭān-ush-sharq was sent to Jaunpūr and Behār and Tirhūt in Jamadī-ul-āwwal 726 A.H., and he died in 802 A.H.; and the period of his rule was six years. According to Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 359) he was sent in 796 A.H., which reconciles the discrepancy. The dates in Col. Briggs's history agree with those given by Lane-Poole and the Cambridge History of India.

[2] One MS. has Muḥammad which is correct. The other omits the words, "son of Sulṭān Muḥammad", while the lith. ed. has Maḥmūd instead of Muḥammad.

[3] Written as كنيله, and كنديله in the MSS., and كپيله in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Kōl, Itāwah Bharāich and Kanpīlah, (كنبيله) all in the *Doāb*.

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direction of Dehlī, as far as *parganas* Kōl and Rāprī, and in the other direction as far as Behār and Tirhūt under his government. The country again attained a new grandeur. He again obtained elephants and other tributes which used to come every year from the country of Lakhnautī, but which had not come for some years owing to the weakness of the rulers (of Dehlī). His greatness and grandeur made such an impression on the minds of the *zamīndārs* (Hindu chieftains), that they without any demand used every year to send the tribute that had been fixed.

In the year 802 A.H., the marauding [1] Turk of death robbed the capital of the life of the Sulṭān-ush-sharq.

The period of his rule was sixteen years.

[2] An account of Mubārak Shāh Sharqī.

When Sulṭān-ush-sharq died, and about the time when the affairs of the government of Dehlī became more and more disordered; and the administration became disorganised, Malik Mubārak Qarnful, who was the adopted son of Sulṭān-ush-sharq, in concert with the *amīrs* and *sardārs* gave himself the title of Mubārak Shāh, and raised the standard of government. The *Khūṭba* was read in his name in the country of Jaunpūr and in the other countries, which had been in the possession of Sulṭān-ush-sharq.

When the news that Sulṭān-ush-sharq had died, and Malik Mubārak Qarnful had assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, reached Mallū Iqbāl Khān, he in the year [3] 803 A.H., collected a large army; and advanced towards Jaunpūr. On the way, he chastised the insur-

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[1] One MS. omits the word ترک.

[2] The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. The lith. ed. inserts the word سلطنت before مبارک شاہ شرقی.

[3] The year is ثلاث و ثمانمائہ, 803 A.H. in one MS. In the other it is اربع و ثلث و ثمانمائہ 803-4, which is absurd in meaning. The lith. ed. has اربع و ثمانمائہ 804 A.H. The reading in the first MS. is correct. Firishtah has that year; further, the year 804 A.H. was crowded with too many events. An account of these events has been given on pages 283, 284 of vol. I of the translation of this work. Neither Firishtah nor the Cambridge History of India gives any additional facts.

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gents of Itāwah and arrived at Kanauj. Mubārak Shāh also [1] collected an army, and came forward to oppose him. As the river Ganges flowed between the two armies, they remained camped opposite each other for two months, and neither had the courage and boldness to place their foot on the field of bravery, and to cross the river. They retired each to their own country without risking a battle. After Mubārak Shāh had arrived at Jaunpūr, news reached him that Sulṭān Maḥmūd had returned to Dehlī from Gujrāt; and Mallū Iqbāl Khān was again advancing towards Kanauj, taking Sulṭān Maḥmūd with him. Immediately on hearing this news, he began to collect his army; but death did not give him time; and in the year 804 A.H., he accepted the summons of the just God.

The period of his rule was one year and some months.

An account of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.

After the death of Mubārak Shāh, the *amīrs* of the Sharqī dominions placed his younger brother, to whom they gave the title of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, on the [2] seat of the government, and the throne of the empire. All classes of men had rest in his time in the cradle of peace and safety. The [3] learned and the great, who were in distress of mind from the disturbances in the world, turned their faces to Jaunpūr which became at that time the seat of peace; and that metropolis (that is, Jaunpūr) became, from the splendour of their advent, the city of learning. Some books and treatises, such as the [4] "Ḥāshīah'-

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[1] The words are جمعیت نمودہ in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; and incorrectly حمیت نمودہ in the other MS.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have اورنگ حکومت; the other MS. has ارابک حکومت; I have followed the reading in the first manuscript.

[3] Firishtah amplifies and explains this by saying فضلای ممالک هندوستان و دانشمندان ایران و توران *i.e.*, the learned men of the country of India, and the wise men of Persia and Turkistan.

[4] Firishtah gives some account of these books. They appear to have been all written by Qāḍī Shihāb-ud-dīn Jaunpūrī, whose native place was Ghaznīn, and who had received his education in Daulatābād in the Deccan. Firishtah says that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī held him with such honour that once when he was seriously ill, the Sulṭān went to make enquiries, and after making them fill a cup with water, and passing it round the head of the sick man, drank

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i-Hindī", "the[1] Baḥr-ul-Mawāj", the "Fatāwī-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī", the "Irshād" and others (were written in his name). As divine help was always attendant on that world-protecting *bādshāh*, he had necessarily in the beginning of his reign carried off the prize in the [2] field of spirituality from all the sovereigns of *Hindūstān*, in the matter of experience and knowledge of affairs.

In the beginning of his reign he collected an army, and advanced to destroy Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Mallū Iqbāl Khān, who had the thought of conquering Jaunpūr in their heads. When the two armies encamped in front of each other, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on the ground that Mallū Iqbāl Khān did not permit him to interfere at all in the affairs of the empire, and did not place before him, for his decision, the facts and circumstances of any administrative problems, went out from his own camp on the pretext of going out to hunt, and joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. [3] The latter owing to haughtiness and pride did not perform the duty which he owed to his salt, and delayed and procrastinated in making enquiries (about his health, etc.). Sulṭān Māḥmūd feeling aggrieved betook himself to Kanauj; and removing the *thānadār* of the place, who had been there from before the time of Mubārak Shāh, and who was called [4] Amīrzādah'-i-Harwī (*Amīrzāda* of Harāt) took possession

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it off, praying to God, that every danger that might happen to him may ward off him, and should fall on himself. This was like Bābar's offering himself for the recovery of Humāyūn, but it was more beautiful, being quite disinterested. The Qāḍī also loved the Sulṭān so dearly that he died the same year as the Sulṭān, though according to another account, he died two years later.

[1] One of the MSS. omits 15 or 16 lines from after the word بحر المواج to the words امرا را رخصت جاگیر نمود. They are, however, written further on.

[2] The words actually used are مضمار معالي. I cannot find any meaning of مضمار which would suit the context.

[3] Firishtah explains, that Sulṭān Maḥmūd had expected that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm keeping before his eyes the rights and dues of heriditary salt and service, will either raise him to sovereignty, or giving him help, crush Iqbāl Khān; but as Ibrāhīm Sharqī had tasted the joys of sovereignty, and his rule had not yet become quite firm, neither of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's hopes were realised. For another version of these incidents, see page 284 of vol. I of the translation.

[4] The word appears to be هروی میرزادہ in the MSS. The lith ed. has امین زادہ هروی. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has امیرزادہ هروی. I have adopted this.

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of the place. On hearing this news, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and Mallū, Iqbāl Khān went respectively to Jaunpūr and Dehlī, leaving Kanauj to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. It has, however, come to my notice in some histories, that Sulṭān Maḥmūd actually went to Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; at this time the latter died, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm succeeded him. God only knows the truth!

In the year 807 A.H., Mallū Iqbāl Khān again came to besiege Kanauj. Sulṭān Maḥmūd with a small number of his special retainers fortified himself, and behaved with bravery. Mallū returned to Dehlī disappointed and unsuccessful. And when in the following year he was slain by Khiḍr Khān in the neighbourhood of Ajōdahan, as has been already mentioned, Sulṭān Maḥmūd came to Dehlī, leaving [1] Malik Maḥmūd at Kanauj, and sat on the throne of his great ancestors. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm availing himself of this great opportunity, determined to conquer Kanauj in the year 809 A.H. Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched with the army of Dehlī, in order to engage him. The two armies encamped facing each other on the banks of the Ganges; and after a few days went back without fighting to their own territories. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd arrived in Dehlī, and gave permission to the *amīrs* to go back to their own *jāgīrs*, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm came back again, and laid siege to Kanauj. After the period of the siege had been protracted to four months, and no help or reinforcements arrived from Dehlī, Malik Maḥmūd prayed for quarter, and surrendered Kanauj. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm made over Kanauj to Iḵhtiyār Khān, and advanced to conquer Dehlī. On the way Tātār Khān, son of Sārang Khān, and Malik [2] Marjān slave of Mallū Iqbāl Khān came from Dehlī, and joined him. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm gaining greater power and strength marched towards Sanbal; and when he arrived there, Asad Khān Lūdī abandoned the place and fled. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm entrusted Sanbal

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[1] Called Malik Mahmūd Tarmati on page 287 of vol. I of the translation. He is also called ترمنی in Firishtah's account of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī. It also appears from that account that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī passed the rainy season at Kanauj; and advanced towards Dehlī in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, 810 A.H.

[2] Called Malik Marhabā on page 288 of vol. I of the translation.

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to [1] Tātār Khān, and continued his march towards Dehlī. On the way he seized the town of Baran, and made it over to Malik Marjān.

When he arrived on the bank of the [2] Jamunā, his scouts brought the news, that Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī had arrived in Mālwa, and was coming to aid and reinforce Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm surrendering the reins of bravery returned towards Jaunpūr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd made over the government of Sanbal, in accordance with the ancient custom to Asad Khān Lūdī, and returned to Dehlī.

In the [3] year 831 A.H., Sulṭān Ibrāhīm advanced to attack the fort of Bīānah. At this time Khiḍr Khān ruled in Dehlī. He advanced from there to meet and destroy Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. After the two armies had met, the battle raged from morning to evening; and much slaughter and bloodshed occurred. On the following day a [4] peace was concluded, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr and Khiḍr Khān to Dehlī.

In the year 837 A.H., Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was able to repair the damages and losses sustained by his army; and having set his mind at rest in respect of the insurgents in the various parts of his dominions, he determined to conquer Kālpī; and advanced with full force.

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[1] It would appear that the rule of Tātār Khān and Malik Marjān or Malik Marḥabā was of very brief duration. Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched to Sanbal and Baran. Tātār Khān fled to Kanauj; and the other, who offered some resistance, was slain. See page 288 of vol. I of the translation.

[2] جون in the text-edition.

[3] There is a long interval of about twenty years here. During this time, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was engaged for some time in an invasion of Bengal, at the request of the holy Shaikh Qūṭb-ul-'Ālām. He had to return from Bengal, as Rāja Ganēsh persuaded the Shaikh afterwards to ask him to do so, on his promising to become a convert to Muhammadanism. This invasion is not mentioned by either Niẓām-ud-dīn or Firishtah in their accounts of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.

Firishtah, however, mentions a projected invasion of Dehlī in 816 A.H., from which, however, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm returned after some marches; and then according to Firishtah he occupied himself for some years in the society of Shaikhs and learned men, and in rebuilding and improving Jaunpūr and in increasing the cultivation of land all over the province, so that Jaunpūr was described by people as a second Dehlī.

[4] The words are گرگ اشتی کردہ or کرک. I cannot find any meaning of گرگ or کرک which would suit the context.

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At this time news came that Sulṭān Hūsang Ghūrī had also determined upon the conquest of Kālpī. When the two *bādshāhs* arrived near each other, and a battle became a matter of today or tomorrow, the scouts brought the news, that Mubārak Shāh, son of Khiḍr Khān, had collected an immense army, and intended to march from Dehlī for the conquest of Jaunpūr. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm having lost all control of himself retired towards Jaunpūr. Sulṭān Hūshang took possession of Kālpī, without any dispute, and having had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name returned to Mandū.

In the year 840 A.H. a disease attacked Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's person. Although physicians treated him, no improvement resulted; and in the end he accepted the summons of God.

The period of his rule was [1] forty years and some months and some days.

[2] An account of Sulṭan Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm Sharqī.

When Sulṭān Ibrāhīm surrendered the deposit of life, his eldest son Sulṭān Maḥmūd sat on the throne of Jaunpūr and became the successor of his father. The gardens of the hopes of the people became refreshed and verdant with the abundance of the rain of his benefaction. The kingdom acquired a new grandeur and greatness; and the people received happiness and joy. After regulating the affairs of the army and the kingdom and the punishment of the insurgents and the turbulent people, he sent in the year 847 A.H., an eloquent ambassador with beautiful gifts and presents to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, and with the message [3] that "Naṣīr Khān Jahān, son of Qādir

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[1] The readings are slightly different. One MS. has the reading I have adopted in the text. The other has چهل سال و چند ماه بود, without any verb, while the lith. ed. has چهل سال و چند روز بود; this has been adopted by M. Hidayat Ḥosain in the text-edition.

[2] The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. In the lith. ed. the word *salṭanat* is inserted before and the word Sharqī after the word Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

[3] He is so called in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah, however, omits the word *Jahān*. The Cambridge History of India (p. 252) says that Nasīr and before him his father Qādir had taken advantage of the disputes regarding the succession to the throne of Mālwa to declare their independence,

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Khān, the ruler of Kālpī, had placed his foot outside the path of the law of the Prophet, and was following the path of heterodoxy, that he had destroyed the town of Shāhpūr, which was larger and more populous than Kālpī, had banished Musalmāns from their homes, and had made over Musalmān women to *Kāfirs*, and as from the time of Sulṭān Hūshang, of blessed memory, to the present day, the chain of attachment and the relations of affection had become strengthened between the two parties, it appeared obligatory on me under the behest of the *Qāḍī* *'Aqal* (Reason), that I should reveal it to your justice-loving mind. If you permit it, I shall chastise him, and make the tenets and rites of the Muhammadan religion current in that country".

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī wrote in reply, "These matters had come to my hearing in the shape of false rumours; but that now your honourable self, the leader of Sulṭāns, has notified them to me, they have reached the standard of definite knowledge; and under these circumstances, [1] the destruction of that wicked person is incumbent on all *bādshāhs*. If my own forces were not engaged in chastising the rebels of Mēwāt, I would myself [2] have advanced to destroy him. Now that that asylum of *salṭanats* has formed this resolution, may it be of good omen!"

The ambassador came back to Jaunpūr, and narrated what had happened. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī was pleased in his mind; and sent twenty-nine elephants to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, as a present.

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and to assume the title of Nasīr Shāh and Qādir Shāh. Nasīr Shāh appears to have adopted some heretical practices; but I think the Cambridge History of India is wrong in assuming that Sultān Mahmūd was entirely actuated by religious motives in his proceedings against him. It should be remembered that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had attempted unsuccessfully to seize Kālpī, which had, however, been taken by Sulṭān Ḥūshang of Mālwa. Indeed a few lines later on, the Cambridge History of India (page 253) expresses a doubt as to whether Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī was impelled by ambition or by a just appreciation of the offences of which Nasīr had been guilty.

[1] One MS. has by mistake دفع اول خاطر جمیع بادشاهان instead of دفع ان فاجر بر جمیع بادشاهان.

[2] There are slight variations in the readings. The MSS. have عازم میگردید and حازم میگردد; while the lith. ed. has عازم میگردند. I prefer عازم میگردد.

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He then collected his troops, and advanced towards Kālpī. Naṣir Khan, becoming acquainted with this, submitted a report to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī to the following purport: "Sulṭān Ḥūshang Shāh of blessed memory bestowed this country on me. Now Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī wishes to take possession of it with force and violence; and the defence of this *faqīr* is obligatory on the (noble) spirit of the Sulṭān."

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, on becoming acquainted with the purport of this petition, wrote a letter couched in terms of sincerity and affection, and sent 'Alī Khān with it and with suitable presents to the Sharqī Sulṭān; and mentioned in it that "Naṣīr Khān, the ruler of Kālpī having the fear of God and that Lord of grandeur before his eyes, has become repentant; and has promised, that, having redressed and corrected what had happened, he would not again place his foot outside the path of the law of the Prophet;[1] and in carrying out the behests of providence (*Aḥkām Samāwī*) would permit no hesitation or dilatoriness. As Sulṭān Ḥūshang, who has received the mercy of God, had bestowed that country on Qādir Khān, his successors are enlisted in the band of those who are faithful and obedient to me. We should, therefore, pardoning his former transgressions, forbear from further interference with his territory."

The reply to the letter and petition of 'Alī Khān (*i.e.*, I suppose the letter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī sent by the hand of 'Alī Khān) had not yet arrived, when another petition of Naṣīr Khān came, to the effect that, "This *faqīr* has borne the ring of sincere loyalty in his ear, and the burden of obedience on his shoulder (these were ancient marks of slavery) since the time of Sulṭān Ḥūshang; and now Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī has, on account of an old grudge and ancient enmity, invaded Kālpī, and seizing the country with pomp and power, has turned the *faqīr* out of his native territory and has imprisoned Musalmān women". And in spite of the fact that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī had obtained permission to chastise Naṣīr Khān, still when the latter had made humble and pitiful supplications, (Sulṭān Maḥmūd

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[1] The word is different in the MS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. has تقلد, the other has what looks like تقلذ. The lith. ed. has القاء. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has نفاذ.

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Khaljī) advanced on the 2nd Sha'bān of the year 840 A.H. towards Chandērī and Kālpī. At Chandērī Naṣīr Khān came and [1] waited on him. From Chandērī, the Sulṭān advanced towards [2] Erij. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, hearing this news, immediately started for Kālpī to meet him. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī sent a detachment to oppose the Jaunpūr army, and another detachment to plunder the rear-guard of that army. The latter went and slew the men, who had been left behind in the camp; and looted whatever they could lay their hands upon. The detachment, that had been sent to confront the Jaunpūr army, stretched its hands in conflict and battle; and brave and useful men were killed on both sides. In the end, the two armies retired to their respective camps. On the following morning, Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent 'Imād-ul-mulk to block the enemy's road. The latter becoming aware of this intention remained where they were, which was a strong and rugged and difficult position.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, becoming aware of the strength of the ground sent a detachment to plunder the environs of Kālpī, and it returned after taking much booty. When the rainy season came, a sort of peace was patched up; and the parties retraced their steps. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī came to Chandērī; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, taking advantage of the opportunity, sent troops to raid the country of Barhār, the residents of which were obedient to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī. The latter sent a detachment, to help and reinforce the headman of the country of Barhār. As the detachment, which had been sent by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, was not sufficiently strong to meet it, the latter himself came and joined it.

After a few days, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī sent a letter to the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Jāīaldah, who was one of the great and holy men of the age, and towards whom Sulṭān Maḥmud Khaljī had right relations of reverence and faith, and whose remains are now buried under the dome of the tomb of the Sulṭāns of Mālwa at Mandū, to the following purport, *viz.*, "Musalmāns on both sides have been slain,

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[1] Both MSS. have بملاقات; but the lith. ed. has بملازمت, which appears to me to be more appropriate, and I have retained it. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained بملاقات in the text-edition.

[2] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has ایرچه in the text-edition.

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[1] and it would be well if (your Holiness) would endeavour to effect concord and friendship (between the contending powers)". The emissary of Sulṭan Maḥmūd Sharqī made this statement to Shaikh Jāīaldah, that his master would at once make over the town of Rātah to Naṣīr Khān; and within four months after the return of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, he would also make over to Naṣīr Khan the [2] town of [3] Erij, and the whole of the country of Kālpī, which had come into his possession.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī's emissary submitted this proposal to Shaikh Jāīaldah, the latter sent him in the company of his own *Khādim*, (servant or disciple), to Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Khaljī); and also sent a letter containing much advice. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī decided, that no peace could take place unless Kālpī was immediately handed over. But Naṣīr Khān, who had been driven out of his territory considered that the recovery of Rātah would be a great boon; and submitted that as Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī was making the promise in the presence of noble men and before Shaikh Jāīaldah, it was certain that there would be no deviation from it. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī saw, that the man most interested in the matter was satisfied with this settlement, he sent for Sulṭan Maḥmūd Sharqī's emissary into his presence and accepted his proposals, on the condition that after that date Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī would not in any way interfere

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[1] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has اگر صلاح ذات البين توجه فرمايند - بهتر باشد. The other has اگر در صلاح ذات البين سعي, after which some words are evidently left out. The lith. ed. has اگر صلاح ذات البين سعي فرمانيد - بهتر باشد. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has اگر در صلاح ذات البين سعي رود. The meaning is not quite clear, but I think the translation conveys the intended idea.

[2] There are differences in readings here also. One MS. has قصبه ايرج و سائر بلاد كالپي. This appears to be correct and I have adopted it. The other MSS. have قصبه ايرج اسيد و كالپي. The lith. ed. has قصبه ايرج و چرمور و سايير پركنات كالپي. The corresponding line in the lith. ed. of Firishtah appears to be different and incorrect. It is بالفعل قصبه ايرچه و كالپي كه به تصرف سلطان شرقي درآمده انرا نيز به نصير خان خواهند گذاشت.

[3] The name is transliterated as Irij in the Cambridge History of India (p. 253), but later on (pp. 355 and 364), it is printed as Erij.

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with the descendants of Qādir Shāh, and more specially with Naṣīr Khān Jahān; and for the last time the footsteps of his soldiers should not reach this country; and after four months, he should make over Kālpī and the other towns to Naṣīr Khān Jahān. When the foundations of the peace became strengthened by the physical and spiritual attention of Shaikh Jāīaldah, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī granted permission to the emissary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī after bestowing rewards and favours on him to retire; and he himself cast the shadow of his favour on the residents of his capital of Mandū.

And Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī also returned to Jaunpūr; and on his arrival there, bringing out the hand of lavishness and benevolence from the sleeve of generosity and liberality made all sections of the people, according to the difference of their ranks, fortunate and happy.

[1] And when he had rested for some time at Jaunpūr, and his army had repaired the damages and losses which it had sustained he advanced towards the country of [2] Chunār, and having plundered and devastated that country, made all the refractory people of that neighbourhood, food for the sword. He took possession of some *parganas* and towns, and left *thānadārs* there, and having made the necessary arrangements returned to Jaunpūr.

After some days he advanced into the country of Orissa with the object of *Jihād* (war of religion) and the intention of becoming a Ghāzī; and having plundered and devastated that country, and pulled down and destroyed idol temples, returned with triumph and victory; and in the year 862 A.H., (1458 A.D.), he was united with the divine mercy.

The period of his reign was [3] twenty-one years and some months.

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[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not mention here that Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī had two conflicts with Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī, first attack on Dehlī in 856 A.H., 1452 A.D., and second, an advance on Itāwah in 1457 A.D., for some account of which see pages 340–342 of vol. I of the translation.

[2] It is چنپارن in the text-edition.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have twenty-one years and some months, as I have it in the text. The other MS. has twenty years and some months.

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AN ACCOUNT OF [1] SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD SHĀH, SON OF MAḤMŪD SHĀH.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī passed away from amongst (men), the *amīrs* and the pillars of the state raised Shāhzāda Bhīkan Khān, who was his eldest son, on the throne of the empire; and gave him the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh. As he was unfit for the duties of a ruler, he perpetrated deeds which were improper for him. The *amīrs* and the chief men of the country excused him from carrying on the government; and raised his brother Ḥusain Khān to the position of power.

The time of his (*i.e.*, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh's) rule [2] was about five months.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN ḤUSAIN, SON OF MAḤMŪD SHĀH.

As they excused Maḥmūd Shāh his brother from the duties of government, they raised him to the seat of power, and made a proclamation of justice and equity. All the *amīrs* and great men submitted to him and obeyed him. As the *humā* (a fabulous bird) of his noble spirit had the ambition of conquering various countries in its head, he collected three hundred thousand horsemen and fourteen hundred elephants, and [3] advanced towards the country of Orissa. In the course of the march he subjected the country of Tirhūt to various calamities; and levied tribute from the refractory people [4] of that

[1] One MS. leaves out the word Sulṭān before Maḥmūd Shāh. He is called Maḥmūd Shāh in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. His correct title was Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh according to Firishtah and according to the Cambridge History of India. The account of his five months' rule, as given here, is very vague and hazy. For a fuller and more vivid account see under Bahlūl Lūdī, pages 343–45 of vol. I of the translation.

[2] The word is است, *i.e.*, is, in the MS. and in the lith. ed. I have changed it to بود, was.

[3] The account of the invasion of Orissa, and of the devastation of Tirhūt on the way, as given by Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India (p. 255), agrees mainly with that in the text. The numbers of horsemen and elephants in Sulṭān Ḥusain's army appear to be exaggerated.

[4] There are differences in the readings. One MS. has متوجه متمردان کردند - خراج گرفت, which is incorrect and meaningless. The other has از متمردان ان ناحین خراج گرفته. This is better, but ناحین should be changed to ناحیت and گرفته to گرفت. The lith. ed. has از متمردان اندیار ناحیت خراج

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country and its environs. When he arrived in the country of Orissa, he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the various parts of the country. The Rāy of Orissa, in great distress and helplessness, made his submission, and sending an agent to wait on the Sulṭān prayed for the pardon of his faults and offences; and sent thirty elephants and one hundred horses and much stuffs and other goods in the way of tribute. Sulṭān Ḥusain returned from that country to Jaunpūr crowned with victory and triumph.

[1] In the year 870 A.H., he put the fort of Benāres, which had become dilapidated in the course of time, into repairs; and in the following year (871 A.H., 1466 A.D.) he sent some of his *amīrs* to capture the fort of Gwāliar. When the siege was much prolonged, the Rāy of Gwāliar paid tribute; and became enlisted in the band of his tributaries.

In the year 878 A.H., 1473 A.D., he, at the instigation of his wife *Malkah-i-Jahān*, who was the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Farīd Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of Khiḍr Khān, raised the standard of departure with one hundred and forty thousand horsemen for a war with Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī and for the conquest of Dehlī. [2] Sulṭān Bahlūl sent an emissary to wait on Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, and sent him a message to the effect, that if he should advance to support and aid him, the country as far as the fort of Bīānah should belong to him. A reply had not yet come from Mandū, when Sulṭān Ḥusain seized a large part of the territory appertaining

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گرفت. This is the best reading, but requires the conjunction, و between ناحیت and اندیار. I have accepted this reading, and inserted the conjunction. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has ناحیه instead of ناحیت in the text-edition.

[1] Firishtah gives 871 A.H. as the year in which the fort of Benāres was repaired and the army was sent to capture Gwāliar. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 376) does not mention the repairs to the fort of Benāres, and gives 870 A.H., 1465 A.D., as the year of the invasion of Gualiar. The Cambridge History of India also does not mention the repairs of the fort of Benāres; and places the invasion of Gwalior in the year 1466 A.D. (p. 255).

[2] The Cambridge History of India does not mention this appeal to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī for help, but Firishtah does. The Cambridge History of India (p. 256), says that Buhlūl was obliged to make this humiliating proposal, as he could not get more than eighteen thousand horsemen to meet Sultān Husain's large army. It also appears from what follows, that he came out of Dehli to meet the enemy with only that small number of horsemen.

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to Dehlī. Sulṭān Bahlūl, making humility and a piteous appeal the means of his safety, sent a message to Sulṭān Ḥusain, that the country of Dehlī would belong to the servants of the Sulṭān, if he would leave the country round Dehlī for a distance of eighteen *karōhs* in his possession; and he should be enlisted in the bands of the Sulṭān's servants, and would remain in the post of the *dārōgha* of Dehlī, on behalf of the latter. Sulṭān Ḥusain, on account of his great pride and haughtiness, did not listen to these proposals, with the intention of consent and acceptance. In the end, Sulṭān Bahlūl, relying on divine aid and assistance, came out of Dehlī with eighteen thousand horsemen, and encamped in front of Sulṭān Ḥusain's army. As the river [1] Jamunā lay between the two armies, neither advanced to give battle. It so happened, however, that one day, Sulṭān [2] Ḥusain's soldiers had gone on a marauding excursion, and except for the commanders no one was left in the camp. Sulṭān Bahlūl's soldiers taking advantage of such an opportunity plunged their horses into the river [3] at the time of midday. Although this news was taken to Sulṭān Ḥusain, he did not, owing to his haughtiness and pride, believe it, until Sulṭān Bahlūl's men stretched their hands to plunder the camp and seized its outskirts. In this way Sulṭān Ḥusain was defeated without a battle; and *Malkah-i-Jahān* and all the inmates of the harem were seized. Sulṭān Bahlūl having regard for the rights of the salt he had eaten, endeavoured to show all respect and honour to *Malkah-i-Jahān*, and having made necessary preparations, sent her to Sulṭān Ḥusain.

When *Malkah-i-Jahān* joined the Sulṭān, she again [4] got into his kernel and skin; and again commenced to incite him; and in the

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[1] اب جون in the text-edition.

[2] Firishtah's statement is just the opposite. He says سرداران بزرگ حسین شاه شرقي بتاخت ولایت رفتند. The Cambridge History of India (p. 256) says Husain Shāh was "accustomed to permit nearly the whole of his army to disperse for the purpose of plundering the rich villages of the Doāb".

[3] The words are وقت استوا. I cannot find any meaning of استوا, which quite suits the context. Firishtah says در عین موسم تابستان از جاییکه پایاب بود *i.e.*, in the very midst of the hot season at a place where there it could be forded.

[4] Firishtah uses the same words. I do not know their exact meaning, but I suppose it is either acquired great influence over him, or worried him by constant iteration.

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following year induced him again to collect and equip his army to fight with Sulṭān Bahlūl. When there was only a short distance between the two armies, Sulṭān Bahlūl sent an emissary with the following message, "Would the Sulṭān be pleased to pardon my offences; and leave me in my present condition; for I shall one day be of use to him".

As [1] the pen of fate had so decreed, that greatness should pass away from the dynasty of the Sharqī Sulṭāns, Sulṭān Ḥusain did not at all listen to his words. After the forces had been arrayed, defeat again fell on the Jaunpūr army. In the same way, on a second occasion, he came with a well-equipped army, but had to take to flight. On the [2] fourth occasion things became so difficult for Sulṭān Ḥusain, that he had to throw himself off his horse and run away. [3] These facts have been narrated with full particulars and details, in the section about the Sulṭāns of Dehlī.

On the [4] fourth occasion, Sulṭān Bahlūl took Jaunpūr into his own possession, and established his son Bārbak Shāh there. Sulṭān Ḥusain had to content himself with a section of his territory, the revenues of which amounted only to five *krors*, and to pass his time there. Sulṭān Bahlūl, acting in a spirit of generosity, did not interfere with him.

When Sulṭān Bahlūl accepted the summons of the just God, and the office of the Sulṭān was allotted to his son Sulṭān Sikandar, Sulṭān Ḥusain induced Bārbak Shāh to advance on Dehlī and seize his father's kingdom for himself. With this intention Bārbak Shāh advanced from Jaunpūr towards Dehlī. Then a battle took place, and Bārbak Shāh fled back to Jaunpūr. He again equipped an army, and advanced

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[1] There are differences in the readings. One MS. has چون قلم تقدیر برین رفته بود. This appears to be correct and I have adopted it. The other MS. has چو تعدیر که دولت, leaving out the words قلم and برین رفته بود. The lith. ed. has چون تقریر بری رفته بود, the word تقریر being used by mistake for تقدیر.

[2] The third occasion is not mentioned, or the fourth occasion in the text here is a mistake for the third.

[3] See page 348 and the following pages of vol. I of the translation.

[4] It is مرتبه چهارم in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. and in Firishtah; but a fourth occasion has already been mentioned in the previous paragraph.

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to Dehlī. When he fled a second time, Sulṭān Sikandar pursued him and took Jaunpūr out of his possession. As Sulṭān Ḥusain was the cause of all the confusion and disturbance, Sulṭān Sikandar went and attacked him; and after some fighting seized the territory which was in his possession. Sulṭān Ḥusain then fled, and found an asylum with the ruler of Bangālah. The term of his reign was 19 years. After his defeat, he was for some years [2] confined in the bounds of borrowed life, (which is a very figurative way of saying that he lived for some years). After that the Sharqī Empire came to an end. Six persons ruled for a period of 97 years and some months.

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[1] One MS. has by mistake مرهوم for مرهون; and the other has مشعاد for مستعار.

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TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(VOLUME III—*contd.*)

SECTION VIII. [1] THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULṬĀNS OF MĀLWA.

From the year 807 A.H. to the year 970 A.H., which is a period of one hundred and sixty-three years, there were eleven persons, who either themselves or through their deputies governed Mālwa.

[2] Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī, 20 years;

Sulṭān Hūshang, son of Dilāwar Khān, 30 years;

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Hūshang, one year and a few months;

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, 34 years;

Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, 20 years;

Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, 11 years and 4 months;

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Nāṣir-ud-dīn, 20 years and six months and eleven days;

Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrātī, 16 years;

Mallū Qādir Shāh, 6 years;

Shūjā' Khān, as *Nāib* of Shēr Khān Afghān, 12 years;

Bāz Bahādūr Afghān, 16 years.

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[1] The Section about Mālwa is the heading used by the late Mr. B. De in his notes, but the editor has followed the text-edition in which M. Hidayat Ḥosain has طبقهٔ سلاطین مالوہ. Regarding the sequence of various sections see note 2, page 414.

[2] There are some variations and omissions in the lists in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. I have tried to get a correct list after comparing them.

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[1] It should not remain concealed that the country of Mālwa is an extensive territory. Great rulers have always [2] been (reigned) in that country. Great Rājas and renowned Rāys like [3] Rāja Bikramājīt from the commencement of whose reign the Hindū era begins, and Rāja Bhōj and others, who were among the Rājas of Hindūstān, [4] possessed great renown, by their rule of Mālwa. Islām first [5] appeared in that country from the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī. Among the Sulṭāns of Dehlī Sulṭān Ghīyāṯh-ud-dīn Balban acquired dominion over it; and after him till the time of Sulṭān [6] Fīrūz Shāh it was in the possession of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī.

Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī attained to the rule of the country from a time before the reign of [7] Sulṭān Muḥammad, the son of Fīrūz, and

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[1] Firishtah copies the Ṭabaqāt in this place almost *verbatim*; but as regards Islām, he says بعد از زمان سلطان محمود غزنوی که اسلام در هندوستان شائع شد از سلاطین دهلی غیاث الدین بران مملکت استیلا یافت. This is different from what is stated in the text, and is more correct historically. Islām certainly did not become known in Mālwa from the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Of course if the expression در آن بلاد refers to Hindūstān and not to Mālwa, then there is nothing wrong with the text.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have می بوده اند, but the other MS. می بودند.

[3] One MS. omits the word Rāja. Bikramājīt is of course a variant of the Vikramāditya. The era which dates from his accession commences 56 years before Christ.

[4] The MSS. have داشته اند, and داشته, and the lith. ed. has داشتند.

[5] One MS. has پیدا شد, while the other has simply شد, and the lith. ed. has پیدا شده گرفت. The reading of the second manuscript has been followed by M. Hidayat Ḥosain in the text-edition.

[6] One MS. and the lith. ed. have Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, but the other MS. has Sulṭān Muḥammad Fīrūz Shāh. Firishtah lith. ed. in the corresponding passage has Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Fīrūz Shāh. This last statement is correct. The conquest of Mālwa took place in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn Balban in 710 A.H., 1316 A.D.; and it became independent in the reign of Muḥammad, the son of Fīrūz Tughlaq, 789 A.H., 1389 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says, that the date of Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī's appointment as governor is not precisely known; but he was certainly in Mālwa in 1392, and he was probably appointed by Fīrūz Shāh of Dehli who died in 1388. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has سلطان محمد فیروز شاه in the text-edition.

[7] One MS. and the lith. ed. have Sulṭān Maḥmūd, while the other has Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Fīrūz.

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declared his independence. From that time the rulers of Mālwa ceased to own allegiance to the Sulṭāns of Dehlī; and eleven persons [1] ruled one after another till the time of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. The section about Mālwa, therefore, begins from the time of Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī. They say that Sulṭān Muḥammad son of Fīrūz Shāh [2] granted favours to a body of men, who had accompanied him during his earlier expeditions; and had shown loyalty and sincerity. When he [3] became Sulṭān he conferred four countries on four of them; and each of these four attained to sovereign power. (He) sent Ẓafar Khān, the son of Wajīh-ul-mulk to Gujrāt, Khiḍr Khān to Multān and Dībālpūr, Khwājah Sarwar Khwājah Jahān, to whom he granted the title of [4] Malik-ush-sharq, to Jaunpūr, and Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī to Mālwa.

[5] AN ACCOUNT OF DILĀWAR KHĀN GHŪRĪ.

As in the year [6] 809 A.H., Dilāwar Khān came to Mālwa, he brought the country into his possession, by the strength of his brave

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have حکومت کردند, but the other MS. has حکومت کردہ اند ; the latter has been followed in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. omits the words هر یک را رعایتها کردہ - چهار کس را چهار ملک داد - و هر چهار بسلطنت رسیدند -.

[3] One MS. has رسید, another رسیدند ; while the lith. ed. has رسیدن.

[4] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has سلطان الشرق instead of ملک الشرق in the text-edition.

[5] Firishtah's account agrees; but he mentions in addition, that Dilāwar Khān's first capital was at Dhār; but as he intended to make Shādīābād Mandū his capital, he went there from time to time and endeavoured to build it. He also says that when Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Dehlī, fleeing from Tīmūr came to Gujrāt in 801 A.H., and as he was not received with due honour by Muẓaffar Shāh, he came to Mālwa and was welcomed with great honour by Dilāwar Khān. He remained in Dhār till 804 A.H. Alp Khān, Dilāwar Khān's son, was not pleased with the latter for the welcome given to Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and retired with most of the soldiers to Mandū, where he built a very strong fort in the course of three years. In 804 A.H., Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned towards Dehlī.

[6] The year is تسع و ثمانمائه 809 A.H. in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed.; and the year of his death تسع و عشرین و ثمانمائه 829 A.H., in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. These dates are incorrect according to Firishtah. According to him, his rule commenced in the year اربع و ثمانمائه 804 A.H., which is

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arms and the power of his beneficent wisdom, and collected retainers and servants and made all arrangements and shortened the hand of encroachment of rebels from the environs and surroundings of that country. When [1] Sulṭān Maḥmūd passed away, and the empire of Dehlī became enfeebled and heads of different bands appeared in different parts of India, Dilāwar Khān also turned his head away from allegiance to the lord of Dehlī, and claimed to be independent; and in the way of [2] *Bādshāhs* took upon himself the etiquette of sovereignty. He passed many years with success and pleasure; and in the year 829 A.H., surrendered the deposit of his life. It has come to my notice in some books that he was [3] poisoned at the instigation of his son Alp Khān. The period of his rule was twenty years.

An account of Sulṭān Hūshang, son of Dilāwar Khān.

Alp Khān, who was the son of Dilāwar Khān, became the successor of the latter, and had the public prayer (*Khuṭba*) read in his name and the coin struck in his name. He raised the royal umbrella over his head and gave himself the title of Sulṭān Hūshang. The *amīrs* and the great men of that country rendered homage to him.

The affairs of the kingdom, and the foundations of power had not yet been firmly fixed, when scouts brought the news, that Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī had arrived at Ujjain; and [4] information had reached

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also incorrect. The correct date is 789 A.H., 1387 A.D. The correct year of his death is 808 A.H., 1405 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 349, gives 1406 as the year of Dilāvar Khān's death.

[1] One MS. and the text-edition have Sulṭān Muḥammad, which is incorrect. See page 290 of vol. I of the translation.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says, "Dilāvar Khān never assumed the style of royalty." This is not correct according either of the Ṭabaqāt or Firishtah. The latter is even more particular than the Ṭabaqāt. He says:

دعوے استقلال کردہ بطریق سلاطین خطبۂ مالوہ بنام خود کردہ چتر و سراپردۂ سرخ ساخت -

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says definitely Alp Khān "removed his father by poison". Neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah says so positively. See note 3, page 185.

[4] The words باو خبر رسیدہ occur only in one MS. but neither in the other MS. nor in the lith. ed.

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him that Alp Khān had, [1]for the sake of worldly power, administered poison to Dilāwar Khān; and had given himself the name of Hūshang Shāh. As there had been a bond of brotherly feelings between Dilāwar Khān and Sulṭān Muẓaffar, (the latter) [2] had equipped an army, and was marching to Mālwa. In the beginning of the year 810 A.H., Sulṭān Muẓaffar encamped in the vicinity of Dhār. Sulṭān Hūshang came out of the fort, with the determination to give battle; and [3] the two armies engaged each other. In the end Hūshang fled, and took shelter in the fort. As he found that he did not possess the power to withstand (Sulṭān) Muẓaffar, he prayed for quarter; and came and waited on the Sulṭān. In the same *majlis* he and his nobles were placed under arrest, and made over to custodians. The Sulṭān then left his own brother [4] Naṣīr Khān, with a large force, in the fort of Dhār; and himself returned with victory and triumph to Gujrāt.

As Naṣīr Khān, who was without any experience, in the very first year demanded from the *ra'īyats* rents which were beyond their power to pay, and otherwise ill-treated them. The Mālwa army seizing the opportunity after the departure of Sulṭān Muẓaffar had carried him out of Dhār by [5] Khwājahdārs, and pursuing him caused injury

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[1] The words بواسطهٔ حکام دنیوی occur in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but not in the other MS.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says that the "avenging the death of his old friend" was merely a "pretext" for Muzaffar's invasion of Mālwa.

[3] Firishtah says that Muẓaffar was wounded, and Hūshang was thrown from his horse; but they went on fighting, but victory or defeat does not depend on one's exertions, and victory was allotted to Sulṭān Muẓaffar from the supernatural world.

[4] He is called نصیر خان Naṣīr Khān in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., except in one place in the latter where he is called نصیر خان و نصرت خان Naṣīr Khān and Nuṣrat Khān. Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Nuṣrat Khān, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 172) Noosrut Khan and in the Cambridge History of India, page 349, Nusrat Khān. He was called Naṣrat Khān in the History of Gujrāt (see p. 186 and also note 1 on the same page).

[5] The construction of the sentence is not very clear. The corresponding passage in the history of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī was و او را خواجه دار از دهار بر اورده راه گجرات نمودند (text-edition p. 94). There I thought that the *Khwājahdār* was some kind of a palace official, who took him out of Dhār and showed him the way to Gujrāt. Probably the word *Khwājahdār* here also has the same significance.

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to such of his followers as fell behind. They left Dhār for fear of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, erected buildings in the fort of Mandū, the strong bastions of which [1] claimed rivalry with the celestial [2] girdle or the Zodiac (and took up their residence there); and made Mūsa Khān, who was a cousin, uncle's son, of Sulṭān Hūshang, their chief. After this news had reached Gujrāt, Hūshang Shāh sent a petition to Sulṭān Muẓaffar to the effect, "That the lord and master of the people of the world was in the place of this *faqīr's* father and uncle, and the words which certain self-interested people had spoken to him were, the great God knows, contrary to the truth. At this time it was being reported that the noblemen of Mālwa had acted with disrespect to Khān-i-Ā'ẓam [3] Naṣīr Khān; had made Mūsa Khān their leader and had taken possession of the country. If this *faqīr* was lifted up from the dust, and was placed in the bonds of gratitude, it was possible that the country should again come into his possession."

[4] Sulṭān Muẓaffar having approved of this proposal, released him, after he had been in prison for one year, and began to show favours to him. He took engagements from him, and after arranging his affairs, granted permission to Shāhzāda Aḥmad Shāh, in the year 821 A.H., to proceed to help and reinforce him; so that he might recover possession of Dhār and the neighbouring country from the [5] rebellious *amīrs*, and make it over to him. Aḥmad Shāh recovered the country from the *amīrs*, and made it over to him, and then returned to the capital city of Pattan.

After Sulṭān Hūshang had been in Dhār for some days, and a body of his special guards had collected round him, he sent a man to the fort of Mandū, and giving assurances of favour to the *amīrs*, summoned

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have لاف برتری زد while the other MS. has لاف برابری زد; M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted the former in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have منطقه البروج, but the other MS. has منطقه العین.

[3] The name is نصرت خان Naṣrat Khān, here in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but in the other MS. it is نصیر خان Naṣīr Khān. I have kept Naṣīr Khān, as he has been so named in the earlier parts of this section.

[4] Firishtah agrees. The Cambridge History of India, page 349, says that Hūshang swore "on the Koran that he was guiltless of his father's death".

[5] One MS. omits the words from غدار to از تصرف امراء.

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them to his side. The *amīrs* and the soldiers were anxious to join him, and were all pleased and delighted; but as they had taken their wives and children with them to the fort of Mandū, [1] they could not join his service. Hūshang went with a small force to the town of [2] Mahēsar, and every day his men went forward to fight, but were wounded, and had to come back. As the fort of Mandū was very strong, Hūshang Shāh considered it advisable, that he should march away from that place, and take up a position in the centre of the town; and sending his men to the different towns and *parganas*, take possession of them. About this time, Malik Mughīth, who was the son of the aunt of Sulṭān Hūshang, had a consultation with Malik Khiḍr who was celebrated as [3] Miyān Aghā and said, "Although Mūsa Khān is a young man of good breeding, and is a son of one of our aunts, yet Hūshang Shāh surpasses all his evils in manliness and intelligence and wisdom and patience; and this kingdom belongs to him by inheritance as well as acquisition; and besides in his childhood, he was brought up in the loving arms of my mother. It is advisable, therefore, that the reins of this government and rule should be placed in the grasp of his power." Miyān Aghā praised the decision of Malik Mughīth; and they in concert came out one night from the fort of Mandū, and joined Sulṭān Hūshang. The latter gave Malik Mughīth a promise of being made his deputy; and this gave the latter great pleasure and delight.

Mūsa Khān on hearing this news cut the thread of hope by the scissors of despair; and became anxious about his safety. In the end, he sent a messenger to Malik Mughīth, with the request, that a place

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[1] No reason is given for this in the text or in Firishtah lith. ed.; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 173) says, they were unwilling to abandon their families; and the Cambridge History of India, page 350, says, "As their wives and families would be left exposed to Mūsā's wrath".

[2] The name is مهيسر Mahēsar in one MS., and also in the other, but is partly obliterated in it. It is بهير in the lith. ed. and مهر in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. The Cambridge History of India, page 350, says that Hūshang marched to Māndū.

[3] The nickname looks like اغا ميان in the MS. and in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is Miyān Khān and Miyān Aghā in different places. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 174) calls him Meean Agha. The name is not given in the Cambridge History of India. ميان آخا in the text-edition.

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might be allotted to him for his residence, so that he might surrender the fort of Mandū. After much discussion, a place was fixed for him; and he evacuated the fort and went away. Sulṭān Hūshang entered the fort of Mandū, and took up his abode in his capital. He conferred the title of Malik-ush-sharq on and entrusted the duties of the *vazārat* to Malik Mughīṯh, and in all matters made him his deputy and representative.

In the year 813 A.H., 1410 A.D., Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī accepted the summons of God; and the government of the empire devolved upon Sulṭān Aḥmad, the son of Muḥammad Shāh the son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar. Fīrūz Khān and Haībat Khān, sons of Sulṭān Muẓaffar raised the standard of revolt and hostility in the country of Bahrōj, and asked for help from Hūshang. The latter returning the rights acquired by Muẓaffar Shāh by the support he had given to him, and the aid given to him by Aḥmad Shāh, by enmity, turned towards the country of Gujrāt; and his ancient grudge induced him to advance into that country, and to destroy the rules of the government. Sulṭān Aḥmad advanced with a large army, and besieged Bahrōj immediately, on hearing the news. Fīrūz Khān and Haībat Khān, frightened by the [1] grandeur and power and awed by the immense number of Aḥmad Shāh's troops, prayed for protection, and joined the latter. Hūshang turned back from the way, and returned to Dhār. The narrative of these transactions has been written in detail in the section about Gujrāt.

The sweats of shame and repentance had not yet dried up on the forehead of Hūshang, when he again attempted the same kind of nefarious deeds. For when in the year 816 A.H., 1413 A.D., he heard that Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī had advanced to attack the [2] Rāja of Jhālāwār, and was compelled to remain there, he at once collected his troops, and turned towards the country of Gujrāt. Sulṭān Aḥmad,

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[1] The readings in the MSS. are از خوف سطوت و استیلاء و هیبت و کثرت سپاۀ احمد شاهی. The lith. ed. omits the two و before هیبت and کثرت. I have adopted the readings in the MSS., though I think that it would be better to omit the و before کثرت.

[2] Firishtah agrees with the Ṭabaqāt about Hūshang's first and second inroads into Gujrāt. As to the second, he calls the Rāja the Rāja of Jālwāra instead of that of Jhālāwār.

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immediately on receiving this news, advanced to attack and destroy him. When they approached each other, and Hūshang got no help from the Rāja of Jhālāwār, he had no alternative left, and returned to his own country.

After his return petitions from the *zamīndars* of Gujrāt, and specially from the Rājas of Chāmpānīr, Nādōt and Īdar came one after another to him, to the effect, that on the first occasion there had been neglect and dilatoriness in their service to him, but this time there will be no minutia left in their loyal devotion in his service. If the Sulṭān would turn towards Gujrāt, they [1] would send some guides to attend on him; and they would guide his army along a road in such a way, that Sulṭān Aḥmad would not know anything about his advance, up to the time of his arrival in the country of Gujrāt. The indignity (of his repeated failures) being added to his former enmity induced [2] Sulṭān Hūshang again to collect his troops and advance into Gujrāt. In order to carry out this intention, he advanced in the year 821 A.H., 1418 A.D., with great pomp by way of Mahrāsa. It so happened, that at that time, Sulṭān Aḥmād was in the neighbourhood of Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār, attending to some matters connected with the government. When the news of Hūshang's advance reached him, he considered that the extinguishing of the flame of the disturbance created by Hūshang should have precedence over all other matters; and he advanced to Mahrāsa with speed; and in spite of heavy rains he arrived there in a short time. When the spies of Sulṭān Hūshang gave him information of the arrival of Sulṭān Aḥmad, he was in great anxiety; and sent for the *zamīndārs*, who by sending their petitions had raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion, into his presence; and reproached

[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have فرستیم but the other MS. has فرستم.

[2] As to the third expedition, Firishtah says that the petitions were sent by the Rājas of Jālwāra, of Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr, of Nādōt and Idar, and not by the last two only as mentioned in the text. Firishtah also says that Sulṭān Aḥmad had gone to punish Naṣīr Khān Fārūqī, who with the help of fifteen thousand horsemen sent under Ghaznīn Khān by Sulṭān Hūshang, was attempting to take away the fort of Thālnīr from his younger brother Malik Iftikhār, but on Sulṭān Aḥmad's arrival at Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbār, Ghaznīn Khān fled towards Mālwa, and Naṣīr Khān Fārūqī went away towards Asīr. After this when he was at Sulṭānpūr, Sulṭān Aḥmad heard of Sulṭān Hūshang's invasion.

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them, and spoke unseemly words to them. In the end he returned scratching the back of his head by the same road by which he had come.

Sulṭān Aḥmad halted at Mahrāsa for some days, so that his army might join him. After the troops [1] had collected he advanced, in the month of Ṣafar, into the country of Mālwa; and by repeated marches arrived at and encamped in the neighbourhood of Kāliādah. Sulṭān Hūshang also advanced a few stages with the intention of engaging him. After the battle he fled and took shelter in the fort of Mandū. Sulṭān Aḥmad's army [2] pursued him up to the gate of Mandū; and seized some of his elephants and soldiers. Sulṭān Aḥmad himself went as far as [3] Na'lcha; and, halting there some days, sent detachments in different directions in the country. As the fort of Mandū was very strong, he was obliged to turn his reins towards Dhār. From that place he wanted to go to Ujjain, but as the rains had commenced the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* represented to him, that the welfare of the state demanded that he should return that year to the capital of Gujrāt; and should punish the turbulent men, who had been the cause of the disturbance and rebellion, and teach them a lesson; and in the next year he should, with a mind freed from all anxieties, set about the conquest of Mālwa. Sulṭān Aḥmad agreeing to this proposal returned from Dhār, and cast to the shadow of his favour on the people of Gujrāt.

In the year 822 A.H., 1417 A.D., Sulṭān Hūshang conferred the title of Maḥmūd Khān on Malik Maḥmūd, the son of Malik Mughīth, on whose clear forehead the signs of nobility and knowledge of affairs were patent and bright; and made him [4] the partner of his father in [5] the administration of the government. Whenever he went anywhere, he left Malik Mughīth in the fort of Mandū, and took Maḥmūd Khān with him, so that he might attend to the affairs of state.

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[1] One MS. has by mistake استماع instead of اجتماع.

[2] One MS. has by mistake توقف instead of تعاقب.

[3] Firishtah in his account of this expedition has instead of Na'lcha Ẓafarābād only Na'lcha. Otherwise his account agrees with that in the text.

[4] The words با پدر are omitted in one MS.

[5] The MSS. have بر مهمات, and بهممات, and the lith. ed. has در مهمات. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has followed the lith. ed. in the text-edition.

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[1] In the year 825 A.H., 1421 A.D., Sulṭān Hūshang selected one thousand horsemen out of his army; and in the garb of merchants advanced towards Jājnagar. He took some [2] silver gray and iron

[1] Before describing Sulṭān Hūshang's expedition to Jājnagar, Firishtah says, that Sulṭān Aḥmad intended to invade and plunder Mālwa, but Sulṭān Hūshang becoming aware of this, sent eloquent ambassadors with many valuable presents, and Sulṭān Aḥmad took the presents, and returned to Aḥmadābād. He also says that in 823 A.H., 1420 A.D., Sulṭān Hūshang attacked the fort of Kehrla which was on the boundary of Berār. Rāy Narsingh, the ruler of Kehrla, met him with fifty thousand horsemen and foot soldiers, and fought a fierce battle, but was defeated and slain. Sulṭān Hūshang then besieged and took the fort of Sārangadha which belonged to Rāy Narsingh, and took the treasure and 84 great elephants which were in it, and reduced the son of Rāy Narsingh to be a suzerain and tributary to himself.

The following account of Sulṭān Hūshang's expedition to Jājnagar, compared with the disjointed accounts of it previously given in the history of Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt (see pp. 204, 205, and note 2, p. 204), is more connected and consistent; but the expedition itself was curious in various ways. It is clear that merchants used to go from Mālwa and the neighbouring country to Jājnagar or Orissa with horses and other merchandise to barter them for elephants, for the account shows, that it was well known that the Rāy of Jājnagar was fond of horses of particular colour and that his subjects were likely to buy certain merchandise. It is difficult to say whether Hūshang intended to barter his horses and other merchandise for elephants like an honest merchant, or whether he intended from the beginning to plunder the Rāy of Jājnagar of some of his elephants, which at that time were considered to be a valuable instrument of war. Probably he had an undercurrent in his mind for looting the elephants from the beginning.

The account given by Firishtah agrees mainly with that in the text. The account in the Cambridge History of India, pages 350, 351, also agrees, although it calls the Orissa chief, the Rāja of "Jājpur, the capital of Orissa". It will be seen that both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah call the place Jājnagar. In the previous incidental reference to this expedition on page 298, the Cambridge History of India, the expedition is designated Sulṭān Hūshang's "famous raid into Orissa", and no mention is made of either Jājnagar or Jājpur. It will be remembered that Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh had hunted elephants in Jājnagar. There is a Jājpūr in Orissa also, which is the headquarters of a civil division in the district of Cuttack, but as far as I know it is not mentioned anywhere in history.

[2] There is some difference in the readings in the description of the horses. The MSS. have اسپان نقرہ و بر خنگ, and اسپان نقرہ سر ننگ, and the lith. ed. has اسپان نقرہ سر خنگ. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has اسپان نقرہ رنگ.

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gray horses which the Rāy of Jājnagar was very fond of, and some other kinds of merchandise, which the people of that country took with pleasure. His object in taking this journey was this, that in exchange for the horses, and the other merchandise, he would select some elephants, and take (or buy) them. So that by means of their strength, he should be able to have his revenge against Aḥmad Shāh. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Jājnagar, he sent a man to the Rāy, and gave him notice that a great merchant had come with the object of buying elephants and had brought with him many [1] silver gray and gray and white horses, and various linen and silk stuffs and [2] *narmīna*. The Rāy enquired, "Why he has encamped at a distance from the city." The man whom Sulṭān Hūshang had sent replied, "He has many merchants with him and has encamped at a place where he found water and an open plain." The Rāy said, "I shall come to the caravan on such and such a date, let the horses be kept ready for my inspection on that day; and let the linen and silk goods be spread out on the ground, so that after inspecting them, I shall give in exchange for what I buy, elephants, if they want elephants, or money in cash if they want that." When the man who had been sent came back, Sulṭān Hūshang summoned the trusted men (among his followers) and took new engagements from them, that they should not act contrary to whatever he might order; and waited for the day (named by the Rāy).

When that day came the Rāy sent forty elephants to the caravan, in advance of himself, so that the merchants might please themselves (by inspecting them). He gave them notice that he was coming, and sent a message that they should expose their goods, and keep their horses ready. Sulṭān Hūshang sent back all the elephants, and spread out a part of the goods on the ground. At this time the Rāy

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[1] Here the horses are described in one MS. as نقرهٔ و سر خنک, and in the other as نقرهٔ و سر حدک, and in the lith. ed. as نقرهٔ و سر خنک. Firishtah has نقرهٔ رنگ و سبز رنگ و کبود. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 178) has "horses of different colours; viz. bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey". M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted نقرهٔ و سر خنگ in the text-edition.

[2] The MSS. have نرمینه and the lith. ed. has زمینه. I cannot find the meaning of these words. Firishtah has no corresponding word. He has قماش و متاع دیگر. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has only پارهٔ متاع دیگر in the text-edition.

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came to the caravan with five hundred men and inspected the various goods. As it was the rainy season, [1] a dark cloud appeared, and drops of rain began to fall. The elephants hearing the sound of the thunder and frightened by the lightning began to run away. The goods which was spread out on the ground were spoiled under their feet. At this time a great noise rose from the caravan; and Sulṭān Hūshang in the manner of a merchant tore handfuls of hair from his head and beard, and said, "My merchandise has been damaged, I do not wish to live." Then with his soldiers he mounted the horses which had been already made ready and attacked the Rāja's troops. At the first onset the latter lost their firm foothold and the rule of their firmness and power was shattered. Some of the men were made food for the sword, and some fled. The Rāy himself was taken prisoner alive.

At this time Sulṭān Hūshang revealed his identity; and said, "I am Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī. I have come to this country for (obtaining) elephants." The *vazīrs* and *amīrs* of Jājnagar sent an emissary to wait upon the Sulṭān with the message, that they were willing to agree to anything which the Sulṭān might wish. The Sulṭān sent the reply, "There was no idea of deceit or fraud in the purpose of my coming. I came to buy elephants. My merchandise has been damaged. I have seized the Rāja as a hostage, in exchange of whom I would take elephants." The *vazīrs* of Jājnagar sent 75 splendid elephants to him, and also made their excuses. Sulṭān Hūshang returned towards his own country taking the Rāy with him. When he passed the boundary of the Rāy's territory he comforted him and tried to please his heart, and gave him permission to go back. When the Rāy arrived at his own capital he sent some more elephants to the Sulṭān.

On the way, information reached the Sulṭān, that Sulṭān Aḥmad had again invaded Mālwa and had besieged the fort of Mandū. When he arrived near [2] the fort of Kehrla, he summoned the Rāy of Kehrla,

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[1] One MS. has by mistake سیاہ برای, instead of سیاہ ابری.

[2] See note 1, page 475, from which it will appear that, according to Firishtah, Sulṭān Hūshang attacked the Rāy of Kehrla before going on expedition to Jājnagar.

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placed him in confinement, and took possession of the fort. He then advanced towards Mandū. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, Sulṭān Aḥmad summoned his *amīrs* and soldiers from the batteries, collected them together and prepared for battle. Sulṭān Hūshang entered the fort by the Tārāpūr gate and did not prepare for battle. But when Sulṭān Aḥmad saw that the capture of the fort was difficult, and in fact impossible, he rose from the foot of the fort, and prepared to plunder and devastate the country. He passed by Ujjain, and determined to seize Sārangpūr. Sulṭān Hūshang on becoming aware of this determination, managed to betake himself to the citadel of Sārangpūr by another route. He then sent a message to Sulṭān Aḥmad to the following effect; "As the rights of Musalmāns are mixed up in this, and you know [1] yourself that the shedding of the blood of Musalmāns without any reason is fraught with great calamity; and in this case immense herds of them would perish, it is fitting that you should turn the bridle of your determination towards your own capital. [2] The necessary tribute shall be sent soon after".

Sulṭān Aḥmad's mind becoming composed owing to the (promise of) peace, he evinced negligence and carelessness in the guarding of his troops, and in taking necessary precautions and care. Sulṭān Hūshang taking advantage of this opportunity made a [3] night attack on the night of the 12th Muḥarram-ul-ḥarām in the year 826 A.H.

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[1] The word خود is omitted in one MS.

[2] It is not clear whether this last clause is part of the message. The verb خواهد فرستاد is in the third person, which would indicate that it is not.

[3] For the account of this night attack, as given in the history of the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad of Gujrāt, see pages 206, 207, and note 4 on page 206 and notes 1–3 on page 207. The account of the night attack as given here agrees mainly with that given by Firishtah, with the exception that in the text Rāy Sāmat is called the Rāja of Dundāh and the vulgar name of the place is given as Garī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 181, 182) gives the 14th (and not the 12th) Mohurrum, 826 A.H. (29th December, 1422) as the date of the night attack. Sāmat Rāy is designated Savant Ray, Raja of Dundooka, who was "afterwards known by the name of Kurry Raja". He also says that Ahmud Shah captured "twenty elephants belonging to Sooltan Hooshung besides seven of those he had recently brought from Jajnuggur". The Cambridge History of India passes over the night attack and the subsequent engagement.

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Many people perished that night; among them Rāy Sāmat, the Rāy of the country of Dundāh, which now on the tongues and in the mouths of the (people) is called Karī, was slain with five hundred Rājpūts, in the vicinity of the Sulṭān's pavilion. Sulṭān Aḥmad came out of the camp with only one attendant, and stood on the open plain. Towards the morning men gathered round him, and about the time of the true dawn, which indeed was the dawn of the morning of good fortune, the Sulṭān fell upon Sulṭān Hūshang's troops, and the battle of bloodshed and slaughter became so severe, that both the *Bādshāhs* received wounds, and in the end Sulṭān Hūshang fled and took shelter in the citadel of Sārangpūr. Seven of the Jājnagar elephants were seized by Sulṭān Aḥmad; and on the 4th of Rabī'-ul-ākhir of that year, Sulṭān Aḥmad turned towards Gujrāt with victory and triumph.

When Hūshang became aware of this he came out of the citadel of Sārangpūr with great pride and audacity and started in pursuit. Sulṭān Aḥmad turned round and confronted him. The flame of battle blazed up between the two armies, and at the first onset Sulṭān Hūshang put the army of Gujrāt into confusion. Sulṭān Aḥmad seeing this himself advanced into the battle-field, and fought so well that the breeze of victory and triumph began to blow upon the plumes of his standards. Hūshang again fled, and took shelter in the fort of Sārangpūr. Then Sulṭān Aḥmad returned to Gujrāt. It may be said that on the whole Sulṭān Hūshang was distinguished by bravery and high spirit, but he was not victorious in war; and in most of his battles, after much striving and struggle, he had to flee, and to soil the skirts of his courage with the dust of flight. When authentic information arrived that Sulṭān Aḥmad had passed over the boundary of Gujrāt, Hūshang went from Sārangpūr to the fort of Mandū. The same year after some days, he repaired the damage sustained by his army, and advanced to conquer the fort of Kākrūn; and seized it in the course of a short time. In the same year he again advanced to conquer Gwāliar, and by successive marches, took possession of the neighbouring territory. After a month and some days had passed, Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh, son of Khiẓr Khān, marched with an army by way of Biyāna to aid the Rāy of Gwāliar. When this news reached Sulṭān Hūshang, he raised the siege, and advanced to meet the army

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up to the [1] river of Dhōlpūr. After some days a peace was ratified; and it was agreed that Hūshang should give up the idea of conquering Gwāliar. The two parties then sent presents to each other and returned to their respective capitals.

[2] In the year 832 A.H., 1428 A.D., messengers swift-footed like the wind and desert-traversing scouts brought the news that Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī, the ruler of the Deccan, had come with his troops, and was besieging the fort of Kehrla. When this news reached Hūshang Shāh, the humours of his spirit came to motion, and collecting a large army, he advanced to aid and succour the Rāy of Kehrla. Sulṭān Aḥmad becoming aware of this abandoned the idea of the conquest of Kehrla; and retired towards his own country. Hūshang, at the instigation of the Rāy of Kehrla, pursued him for three stages. Sulṭān Aḥmad then incited by his high spirit and shame turned round and engaged him. Although in the first assault defeat had fallen on the army of Sulṭān Aḥmad, yet the latter coming out of ambush attacked the centre of Hūshang's army, and dispersed it. He fled towards Mandū; and the veiled one (his wife) with all the inmates of the harem fell into Sulṭan Aḥmad's hands. The latter followed the path of generosity, and after making necessary [3] preparations, sent them to Mandū, and sent five hundred horsemen with them to escort them. This incident has been described in detail in the section about the Sulṭān's of the Deccan.

In the year [4] 835 A.H., 1431 A.D., Sulṭān Hūshang marched out of Mandū, with the determination to conquer Kālpī. When he arrived

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[1] The words are تا باب دهولپور in one MS. and تا آب دهولپور in the lith. ed. and in the other MS. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has تا تالاب دهولپور as far as the tank or reservoir of Dhōlpūr. I have adopted تا آب دهولپور as the correct reading.

[2] Firishtah's account contains greater details. The ruler of Kehrla is called the son of Narsingh Rāy and it is added that Sulṭān Hūshang came to his succour at his invitation. The way in which the battle was fought, and the way in which Sulṭān Aḥmad captured the baggage of Hūshang's army, and the latter's wives and daughters, and treated them with great respect and hospitality, and sent them back are described in greater detail. The Cambridge History of India's account, page 351, also agrees, but Kehrla is written as Kherla.

[3] One MS. inserts حرم between سامان and نموده.

[4] The account of Sulṭān Hūshang's expedition to Kālpī, as given by Firishtah, agrees generally with that in the text, but he calls the former governor

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near that place, news was brought to him that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī was coming with an innumerable host from his capital also to conquer Kālpī. He considered the destruction of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm should be taken up in preference to the conquest of Kālpī, and advanced to give him battle. When the two armies approached each other, and a battle became a matter of today or tomorrow, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's scouts brought the news that Mubārak Shāh, Sulṭān of Delhī, availing himself of the opportunity was advancing on Jaunpūr. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, giving up the rein of control, started towards Jaunpūr. Hūshang obtained possession of Kālpī without a contest, and had the public prayer read in his name. He remained there for some days, and placing the chain of gratitude on the shoulders of Qādir Khān, who was a former ruler of Kālpī, returned to Mālwa.

On the way he received petitions from the *thānadārs*, that turbulent tribes from the direction of the [1]Jātba hills had come into his kingdom and had ravaged some villages and towns, and taken shelter in the reservoir of Bhīm. The description of this reservoir is as follows. In ancient times Bhīm had erected an embankment across the valley situated between (two) hills with chiselled stones. Its length and breadth were such that one bank was not visible from the other and its depth was unfathomable. Some days after this, even when they were on the way, 'Uthmān Khān, Shāhzāda, sent horsemen near the pavilion of [2] Ghaznīn Khān Shāhzāda, who was his elder brother;

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of Kālpī, 'Abd-ul-Qādir, a servant of Mubārak Shāh of Dehlī. Hūshang's invasion of Kālpī is narrated in the Cambridge History of India, on page 252, in the history of the kingdom of Jaunpūr, and on page 352, in the history of Mālwa. In the former place the governor of Kālpī is called Sādir Khān, but in the latter he is called by his correct name Qādir Khān.

[1] The name is جاتبه in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has جابيه, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 185) has Jam hills. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has جاتيه Jātia in the text-edition.

[2] The name is غزني خان Ghaznī Khān here in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., though he was always غزنين خان, when it occurred in the section about the history of Gujrāt. Firishtah has غزنين خان here also. Firishtah gives a detailed account of the seven sons of Sulṭān Hūshang. Of these three, *viz.*, 'Uthmān Khān, Fatḥ Khān, and Haibat Khān were united together, while Aḥmad Khān, 'Umar Khān and Abū Isḥāq sided with Ghaznīn Khān. As to the disputes Firishtah's account agrees generally with that in the text, but the

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and the man seated on his horse abused Ghaznīn Khān, and spoke harsh and unbecoming words about him. Although the ushers and eunuchs forbade him, he would not desist. Then the eunuchs pelted him with stones, and drove him away from the vicinity of the pavilion. 'Uthmān Khān Shāhzāda then came to protect his servants and bastinaded the eunuchs. Becoming conscious of the impropriety of his conduct, however, he separated himself from the camp. He tempted the *amīrs* of evil destiny with false promises, and commenced to act traitorously. When all this reached the ears of the Sulṭān Hūshang, the fire of wrath flamed up in the oven of his heart. He consulted Malik Mughīth Khān Jahān. The latter told him, acts like this have been repeatedly perpetrated by the Shāhzāda, and have been pardoned. On the present occasion also the Sulṭān might overlook it, so that he might again join the camp. Sulṭān Hūshang overlooked the act as if by negligence; and Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān came back and joined the camp. When Sulṭān Hūshang spread the shadow of his clemency over the inhabitants of the town of Ujjain, one day he arranged a *majlis* of public audience, and summoned 'Uthmān Khān Shāhzāda with his two brothers, who were Fatḥ Khān and Haībat Khān into his presence, and stood them in the place of punishment; and after reprimanding them made the three of them over to custodians. Then after some days he ordered Malik Mughīth, that he should place them in confinement, take them with him to the fort of Mandū, and guard them there.

[1] He then advanced to chastise and punish the turbulent men of Jātba, and advancing by successive marches, broke down the embankment of the Bhīm reservoir and traversing a distance on wings of speed totally destroyed the refractory people. The Rāja of the country

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three refractory princes are there said to have been put in chains, and made over to Malik Mughīth. There are indications also of Sulṭān Hūshang's intentions of making Maḥmūd Khān his heir; but Malik Mughīth always pretended that he had no desire to have the sovereignty for his son.

[1] Firishtah's account of the expedition against these men agrees with that in the text almost word for word; but he calls the Rāja, the Rāja of كوه جابيه or the Jābia hill. He also says that among the prisoners there were many daughters and sons (of the Rāja?). The references to these proceedings in Col. Briggs and in the Cambridge History of India are very brief.

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at the foot of the Jātba hill fled on foot, and concealed himself in jungle; and his family and all his treasure and wealth fell into the Sulṭān's hands; and the towns and cities were devastated. So many prisoners were taken, that they were beyond all count. The Sulṭān returned with victory and triumph and went to the fort of [1] Hūshangābād and passed the rainy season there.

One day he went out with the intention of hunting. While he was out, a *Badakẖshānī* ruby fell out of his [2] head-dress. On the 3rd day after that a man who was going on foot brought it back to him. The Sulṭān gave him a reward of five hundred gold *tankas*; and in connection with this, he told the following anecdote: "One day a ruby fell out of the crown of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh; and a man who was passing brought it to him. Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh gave him a reward of five hundred gold *tankas*; and said, 'This is a sign of the setting of the sun of my grandeur'; and after some days he departed from this ephemeral world. I also know that the thread of my life has been twisted, and there are not more than a few breaths left." The men who were in the *majlis*, having offered prayers (for his health etc.), submitted that "On the day, on which Sulṭān Fīrūz said these words, his age had reached 90 years, while His Majesty the Sulṭān was yet in the prime of his life and success." Hūshang said that "The number of one's breaths can neither be increased nor diminished." After some days he had an attack of [3] diabetes, while he was still at Hūshangābād. When the Sulṭān saw the signs of his departure and marks of his demise, he started from Hūshangābād towards Mandū. On the way, he held a *majlis* of public audience, and he gave the seal ring of the kingdom to his true-born son Ghaznīn Khān in the presence of the *amīrs* and his personal attendants and the commanders of the army; and declared him to be his heir. He held the latter's hand

[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 352, says that "at this time he founded the city of Hoshangābād on the Narbada;" but neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah says so.

[2] The word is تاج and the Cambridge History of India, page 352, calls it his "jewelled crown", but the Sulṭān would hardly have gone out hunting, with a jewelled crown on his head. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 185) calls it his tiara.

[3] The name is سلسل بول. The dictionary meaning is a morbid excess of urine, diabetes. Col. Briggs calls it an attack of stone (vol. IV, p. 186).

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and placed him in charge of Maḥmūd Khān. The latter after carrying out the rites of homage, submitted, "As long as there would be remnant of life left in me, I shall not hold myself excused from loyal and devoted service." The Sulṭān then directed the *amīrs* generally, that they should not soil the field of the kingdom by the dust of malice and hostility.

As the Sulṭān had, by the clarity of his perception, come to know, that Maḥmūd Khān intended that the office of the sovereign should be transferred to himself, he filled his ears with counsel and advice; and bringing the rights of the support and nurture, which he had received, to his recollection, said, "Sulṭān Aḥmād Gujrātī is a monarch of great grandeur, and is a lord of the sword. He has always had the determination to conquer Mālwa, and is [1] waiting for an opportune moment. If there is any neglect or dilatoriness in the organisation of the affairs of state, or in the supervision of the troops and subjects, or if there is any negligence in the carrying out of your duties towards Shāhzāda Ghaznīn Khān, his determination to conquer this kingdom will be strengthened; and your union will be changed to dissention."

At the next stage Shāhzāda Ghaznīn Khān sent Malik Maḥmūd Nāmī, who had the title of 'Umdat-ul-mulk to wait on Maḥmūd Khān, and sent him the following message, "If you, the asylum of the *vazārat*, should strengthen the knot of allegiance by oaths, it would be the cause of my mind being greatly assured." Maḥmūd Khān accepted the request of the Shāhzāda, and confirmed his promise and engagements by oaths.

Some *amīrs*, who wanted that Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān should succeed (to the throne), represented to the Sulṭān, through Khwājah Naṣr-ul-lah Dabīr, that as Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān was also a young man of good manners and a true son, it would be right and proper that he should be released from prison, and a part of the country of Mālwa should be allotted to him as his *jāgīr*. Sulṭān Hūshang said, "This has also appeared to be desirable in my mind, but if [2] I release

[1] The MSS. have منتهض, منتهز. The lith. ed., has منتظر. I have retained this. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted منتهز in the text.

[2] The MS. as well as the lith. ed. have only بگذاریم which does not make the meaning quite clear. Firishtah makes it clearer by adding the words

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'Uthmān Khān, the affairs of the kingdom would be in danger, and disorders and disturbances would take place." When Ghaznīn Khān heard that some *amīrs* had tried to procure the release of 'Uthmān Khān, he again sent Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk to wait on Maḥmūd Khān, and represented to him, [1] that they should, in their presence, strengthen the lofty edifice of their agreement by oaths. Maḥmūd Khān joined the Shāhzāda while he was riding on the march, and again swore, that as long as the last remnant of life would be left to him, he would not abandon the side of the Shāhzāda.

When the *amīrs* became acquainted with all these affairs, Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl, who was one of the great *amīrs*, sent two reliable *sardārs* with Malik Mubārak Ghāzī to wait on Maḥmūd Khān. It so happened that Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk was yet in attendance on Maḥmūd Khān, when the prayers of Malik Mubārak Ghāzī and those two *amīrs* were brought to him. Maḥmūd Khān left Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk in the pavilion, and himself came out and sat at the door, so that Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk [2] might hear

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که از حبس برآید. Contrary to what is stated in the text and in Firishtah Col. Briggs says that "The King at his (*i.e.*, Mahmood Khan's) instance consented to release the young Prince, Oothman Khan, from confinement, and to give him an estate on which he might reside, and have no plea for disturbing the reign of Ghizny Khan" (vol. IV, pp. 186, 187).

[1] The readings are different, and not quite intelligible. One MS. has که در حضور یکدگر قصر شامخ عهد را بقسم استحکام دهند. The other has حضور یکدگر قصر سامخ عهد را بقسم محکم سازد; while the lith. ed. has که در حضور یکدکر مصر شامخ عهد را بقسم استحکام دهند. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has که اگر حضور قصر شامخ عهد را بقسمي استحکام دهند. None of the readings is quite satisfactory. I have adopted the reading of the first MS., which agrees with that in the lith. ed., except that in the latter قصر has been changed my mistake to مصر. Even in this reading, however, the metaphor of calling the agreement a lofty edifice appears to be fantastic. In the reading in Firishtah there is no noun for the adjective شامخ to qualify; and it does not appear quite right that Ghaznīn Khān should call himself *faqīr*, in speaking to Maḥmūd Khān. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has که در حضور یکدیگر قصر شامخ عهد را بقسم استحکام دهند in the text-edition.

[2] نشنود instead of بشنود has been adopted in the text-edition.

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whatever would be said. When Malik Mubārak Ghāzi came with his two companions, and [1] conveyed the prayers of Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl and Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān, Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl represented that, "The questions of the *salṭanat* and the *vazārat* were under consideration; and when a *vazīr* like him was seated on the *masnad*, it was strange that in spite of the fact that 'Uthman Khān was adorned with liberality and courage and the qualities of administering impartial justice, and of protecting and helping the *ra'īyats*, it should be decided, that Ghaznīn Khān should be declared as the heir to the throne. Moreover 'Uthmān Khān has the relationship of a son-in-law to the Malik-ush-sharq (*i.e.*, Malik Mughīth, father of Maḥmūd Khān); and therefore his sons are also your (*i.e.*, Maḥmud Khān's) sons. If infirmity had not prevailed over the Sulṭān, and [2] if an error had not occurred in his righteousness, he would never have attempted to do such a thing. All the Khāns and *amīrs* urge you, that paying (favourable) attention to the circumstances of 'Uthmān Khān you would not withdraw your hand of support from his head, for if the work of the sovereignty is transferred to 'Uthmān Khān, the kingdom would again acquire greatness and splendour." Maḥmūd Khān replied, "A slave or servant is concerned only with slavery and service. As to authority or over-lording [3] he knows. In the whole

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[1] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. has دعاء ملک عثمان جلال و شاه زاده عثمان خان رسانید - ملک عثمان جلال معروضداشت. The other MS. inserts و گفت between رسانید and ملک عثمان جلال; while the lith. ed. has رسانید گفت. I have adopted the first reading, but M. Ḥidayat Ḥosain has inserted و گفت between رسیانید and ملک عثمان خان. According to lith. ed. of Firishtah also it was Malik 'Uthmān Khān Jalāl who was sent by the partisans of 'Uthmān Khān with Malik Mubārak Ghāzī, but the latter as in the text was the spokesman of the party. Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl is called Mullik Othman Julwany by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 187).

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah all say و در قوي فتوری راه نمي يافت, this appears to be incorrect. I have adopted the reading of the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt which has تصوي instead of قوي; but M. Hidayat Hosain has retained قوي in the text-edition.

[3] It is او داند in both the MSS., the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I suppose the او or *he* refers to the Sulṭān.

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period of my service I have never strayed after what is beyond my province."

When Malik Mubārak Ghāzī obtained permission to leave, (Maḥmūd Khān) called Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk outside, and said, "Go and report this to the Shāhzāda." Malik Maḥmūd went and narrated what had happened. The Shahzāda's mind being now reassured about Maḥmūd Khān, was highly pleased.

After the *amīrs* had become despondent of the life of Sulṭān Hūshang, [1] Ẓafar Minjumla, who was the *peshwā* of Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl, fled from the camp of Sulṭān Hūshang, with the intention of winning over the custodians of 'Uthmān Khān, and arranging for the latter's escape. When this news reached Maḥmūd Khān, he immediately acquainted Shāhzāda Ghaznīn Khān of it, so that he might try to remedy what had happened. The Shāhzāda sent Malik Barkhūrdār, [2] Malik Ḥasan and Shaikh to seize Ẓafar Minjumla. Malik Barkhūrdār and Malik Ḥasan asked for horses, which should be [3] fresh and strong. He ordered that fifty horses should be given to them from the royal stables. As the superintendent of the stables was a partisan of 'Uthmān Khān Shāhzāda, he said in reply, "As long as the Sulṭān is alive, I shall not give a single horse without his express order;" and going to one of the chief eunuchs, who was also a partisan of 'Uthmān Khān, [4] repeated these words to him. The wretched Khwājah, supposing that these words would be the cause

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[1] Firishtah lith. ed. calls him *vakīl*, instead of *peshwā* of Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl. Col. Briggs calls him "Zuffur Khan, a person of Prince Oothman's party" (vol. IV, p. 187).

[2] One MS. has Malik Ḥusain instead of Malik Ḥasan; and neither MS. has the و between Malik Ḥasan and Shaikh Malik. The name of Shaikh Malik is omitted in the next sentence in the MSS. Firishtah lith. ed. has Malik Ḥasan and Malik Barkhūrdār, and omits Shaikh Malik altogether. Col. Briggs says that Ghizny Khan "ordered a party of fifty men of the royal guards to overtake and bring back Zuffar Khan" (vol. IV, p. 187).

[3] The word is تازه زور.

[4] The words تقویر نمود - خواجه بی دولت این سخن را are omitted in one MS. and in the lith. ed. The MSS. and the lith. ed. are very incorrect and imperfect here, and I am rather doubtful about the correct reading. As to the word بی دولت as an epithet of خواجه I do not know what it really means, but it may mean wretched, though why this epithet should be used I do not know.

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of the Sulṭān's protest and anger, explained to the superintendent of the stables to go near the place, where the Sulṭān was lying and to repeat these words in a loud voice, so that they might reach the Sulṭān's ears, and make an impression on his mind, that even while he was still alive, Ghaznīn Khān was stretching his hand to seize his property. When the superintendent of the stables said these words with vigor and emphasis, the Sulṭān in his unconciousness, having regained a little perception, said, "Where is my quiver?" and called for the *amīrs*.

The *amīrs*, thinking that God forbid! that the Sulṭān should have died; and Ghaznīn Khān should have got hold of us by means of this trick, and should destroy us, did not go to the Sulṭān [1] except Maḥmūd Khān. When this news reached Ghaznīn Khān a great fear and awe fell upon his heart, and he fled and went to Kākrūn, which was three stages from the camp. He sent Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk to wait on Maḥmūd Khān with the following message, "All the *amīrs* have combined together to raise 'Uthmān Khān to the throne, and I have no one to support me except yourself. As the Sulṭān had called for his quiver, I thought that he might after arriving at Mandū imprison me also, and place me beside my brothers." Maḥmūd Khān sent the following reply: "You have never done anything contrary to the wishes of the Sulṭān. I shall explain to the Sulṭān, the matter of your order about giving the horses, at the right moment." Ghaznīn Khān again sent Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk, with the following message: "Although you, the asylum of the *vazārat*, have taken me by the hand, yet as I know that the eunuchs have communicated some displeasing words (about me) to the Sulṭān, fear has overwhelmed me." Maḥmūd Khān sent this message, "There is no [2] matter. Do you please return soon to the camp, for there is little time, and the sun is about to set." He also wrote a letter in the presence of Malik Maḥmūd 'Umdat-ul-mulk and sent it to Malik Mughīth to the following purport: "His Majesty the Sulṭān has

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[1] The words مسعود خان occur in the MS., and in the lith. ed. The meaning is doubtful.

[2] The word is قصه, or قضیه in the MS., and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. also has قصه.

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declared Ghaznīn Khān to be his heir and successor; His Majesty's illness has made him very weak, and those who are near him have given up all hope of his life. It is right that you should make every endeavour to guard Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān."

When Malik Maḥmūd went and waited upon Ghaznīn Khān, and gave him Maḥmūd Khān's message, and described the purport of the letter, he was delighted and came back to the camp. When [1] Malik Ānchhā, the paymaster of the forces, and the eunuchs, who were partisans of 'Uthmān Khān, saw that there was a breath left in the Sulṭān, they determined among themselves, that early next morning, they would place him in a palanquin without informing the *amīrs* and [2] Maḥmūd Khān, and go with all speed to Mandū, and bringing Shāhzāda 'Uthmān Khān out of prison place him on the throne. Maḥmūd Khān having obtained information of the plan became watchful for the death of Hūshang. He ordered the palanquin to be placed on the ground there, and then [3] Ghaznīn Khān, under

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[1] The name is ملک انچا in the MS. and ملک انچها in the lith. ed. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has خان جهان.

[2] One MS. omits Maḥmūd Khān. The other MS. has امرا و محمود خان. The lith. ed. has امراء محمود خان. Firishtah lith. ed. has Maḥmūd Khān. I have adopted the second reading, but it may be that the reading of the lith. ed. is correct, for there is no reason why the *amīrs*, who were in favour of 'Uthmān Khān should be kept in ignorance of the plan. If this reading is correct, then the text would be the *amīrs* on the side of Maḥmūd Khān instead of the *amīrs* and Maḥmūd Khān.

[3] There is some difference in the readings here also. The MSS. have غزنین خان بفرمودهٔ محمود خان while the lith. ed. has بفرمودهٔ غزنین خان و محمود خان. Ghaznīn Khān was so much under the thumb of Maḥmūd Khān, that it is quite possible that he should have acted under the orders of the other, and therefore the reading in the MS. which I have accepted is correct; though one would have thought, that whatever the actual relations of the two men might have been, Maḥmūd Khān would have, outwardly at least, acted under the orders of Ghaznīn Khān and not *vice versa*.

Firishtah gives a slightly different account. He says that the Khān Jahān and the eunuchs started with the palanquin with the dying Sulṭān in it. After they had gone some distance the Sulṭān died. Maḥmūd Khān obtaining information of this sent men, so that they might reprimand the eunuchs about their haste, and keep the palanquin there. The eunuchs explained that Hūshang had ordered that he should be carried to Mandū as quickly as possible, and they

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the orders of Maḥmūd Khān had the royal pavilion fixed up, and occupied himself in putting the corpse into a shroud and coffin. Each one of the *amīrs* (apparently of the opposite faction) went to a secluded place and stayed there.

After the enshrouding of the corpse Maḥmūd Khān came out, and said in a loud voice, "Sulṭān Hūshang has died under Divine Dispensation; and has made Ghaznīn Khān his heir and successor. Whoever is with us should come and make his homage; and whoever is against us should separate himself from the camp, and should go about his own affairs." Maḥmūd Khān then [1] kissed Ghaznīn Khān's hand, and having rendered him homage, wept much. Then the other *amīrs* one after another kissed Ghaznīn Khān's feet, and wept, crying Alas! Alas! When the accession of Ghaznīn Khān was confirmed by the homage of the *amīrs* and of the great men of the age, they took up the corpse of Sulṭān Hūshang and carried it towards the [2] *madrassa*; and on the 9th[3] Dhī-ḥijjah, 838 A.H., consigned it to the dust.

Verses:

Where are the kings of Jamshīd-like power,
From Hūshang and Jamshīd to Isfandiyār!
Farīdūn and Kaikhusrū and [4] Jām Kū,

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were only carrying out his orders. Ghaznīn Khān and Maḥmūd Khān did not give any reply, and the latter ordered the royal pavilion to be set up, and commenced to put the Sulṭān's corpse into the shroud and coffin.

[1] I think this is the first time in this history, that the ceremony of the kissing of the hands is mentioned. Of course there are plenty of instances of kissing the feet and of kissing the ground near the *Bādshāh's* seat or feet. Here also the other *amīrs* kissed the feet while Maḥmūd Khān alone was privileged to kiss the hand.

[2] Firishtah adds in Shādiābād Mandū.

[3] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 189) gives the Hijri date as the 9th Zeehuj, 835 and the corresponding A.D. date as 7th September, 1432. The correct date according to the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah is 9th Dhī-ḥijjah, 838 A.H. The Cambridge History of India, page 352, gives July 6th, 1435, as the date of Sulṭān Hūshang's death. The correct A.D. date according to Sewell and Dikshit's Indian Calendar appears to be 7th September, 1435.

[4] I cannot exactly find out what *Jām Kū* means.

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Where are gone Shāpūr and Bahrām [1] Gūr.
They all rest their heads on brick and dust.
Happy he, who, save of good, sowed not seed!

A grand assemblage was convened in the palace of Sulṭān Hūshang; and Malik Mughīth Khān Jahān and all the other *amīrs* rendered homage, and performed the ceremony of making thanks-offerings.

The period of Hūshang's reign was thirty years. The date of his death (838 A.H.) can be found and understood from the words "Alas! Shāh Hūshang is no more."

AN ACCOUNT OF MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF HŪSHANG SHĀH GHŪRĪ.

When Hūshang Shāh accepted the summons of the just God, on the 11th Dhī-ḥijjah, the *amīrs*, against their wishes, but by the exertion of Malik Mughīth, and the arrangements made by Maḥmūd Khan rendered homage anew to Ghaznīn Khān, who had been chosen by Hūshang. He distinguished each one of the *amīrs* by conferring on them robes of honour and titles, and assured them (of safety). [2] The great and well-known men of Mālwa were made happy by the grant of rewards and stipends. The city of Mandū received the name of Shādiābād, and the public prayers having been read, and the coins struck in the name of Ghaznīn Khān he received the title of [3] Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. Every one who had a fief or a stipend anywhere had it confirmed and resettled. In short, although the *amīrs* had not been pleased with Ghaznīn Khān being made the Sulṭān, yet owing to the excellence of the management and the skill of Malik Mughīth and Maḥmūd Khān, a new grandeur and splendour appeared in the administration. The people became the new Sulṭān's adherents, and an affection for him gained an ascendancy over the empire of men's heart. He conferred the title of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khān Jahān on

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[1] One MS. has گور, the other MS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have گو. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has گو. The name of Bahrām is so closely associated with گور or the wild ass which he hunted, that I have thought that the reading should be بهرام گور. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has بهرام گو in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. inserts an و before اکابر.

[3] One MS. omits the word شاه.

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Malik Mughīth, and kept the reins of the *vazārat*, as before, in his powerful grasp.

But as after some days he made attempts on the lives of his brothers, and shed unrighteous blood; and drew the pencil across the eyes of Niẓām Khān, his nephew and son-in-law, and of the three sons of the latter, men's heart were filled with abhorrence of him, and hatred took the place of love in them. The blood of his murdered brother was necessarily not a good omen for him; and in a very short time the rule of the empire passed out of his dynasty. [1] Disturbances and rebellion, [2] which had fallen asleep in the country, awoke again; and refractory and turbulent men [3] raised the standard of violence, and the dust of disturbance and rebellion.

Couplet:

If evil thou hast done, hope not danger to escape,
For, it is right for nature to retaliate.

Among the others the Rājpūts of the country of [4] Hārūtī placed their feet outside the circle of allegiance and raided a part of the kingdom. When this news reached Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, he nominated Khān Jahān on the 11th of Rabī'-ul-āwwal 839 A.H., to punish them and bestowing two elephants and a special robe of honour on him, started him on the expedition.

He placed the affairs of the soldiery and the *ra'īyats* on the shelf of oblivion, and contracted the habit of continual drinking. He always united and joined up the morning draughts with the evening draughts and *vice versa*. At last one day a number of the old wretches sent him a message through an inmate of his harem, to the effect,

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[1] One MS. has پدید امد after اشوب.

[2] One MS. has خفته instead of خواب شد.

[3] One MS. has برانکیخته instead of بر انگیختند.

[4] The name is هاروتي in the MS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has ناوني, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 192) has Nandote. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the rebellion here, or the expedition under Malik Mughīs to crush it, but later on after Mahmūd Khān had seized the palace, he is said, on page 353, "to have summoned his father, who was engaged in hostilities against the Hāra Rājputs of Harāotī". هاروتي cannot, however, be transliterated as Harāotī. It can be transliterated either as Hārūtī or Hārautī. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has حادوتي Hādūtī in the text.

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that a crow of greed had laid an egg of pride in the brain of Maḥmūd Khān; and he was thinking, how he could remove the Sulṭān out of the way and himself sit on the throne of empire. Sulṭān Muḥammad made an agreement with those men, that before Maḥmūd Khān could carry this wicked wish from potentiality to actual facts, he himself should be removed out of the way. When this news reached Maḥmūd Khān, he said, [1]"Praise be to God! that the breach of the agreement has not occurred from my side." He occupied himself in attending to his own affairs, and always [2] collected troops and retainers. He went to wait on Sulṭān Muḥammad with great caution and care. When the Sulṭān observed the cautious ways of Maḥmūd Khān, it became the cause of increased anxiety and fear. One day, he seized Maḥmūd Khān's hand, and took him into the harem. He called his wife, who was a sister of Maḥmūd Khān, and said in her presence, "It is my hope that you will not do any harm to my life, and the affairs of the kingdom will be in your charge without any contention or hostility". Maḥmūd Khān said, "Perhaps the engagements and oaths have passed out of the Sulṭān's mind that he brings such words on his tongue. If some malicious persons, for their own wicked purpose, have spoken words to him, he will in the end be abashed and ashamed. If there is any fear or apprehension of me in the mind of the Sulṭān, I am now alone, and there is nothing to prevent it (my death).

Couplet:

If for loyalty you are, here are my heart and life,
If for enmity, here are the charger and my head".

Sulṭān Muḥammad then made his excuses; and the two men behaved with softness and flattery. But as the Sulṭān was obsessed by his suspicions; words and jestures indicating his [3]distrust appeared

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[1] The phrase is written in different ways. It is لله الحمد in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; and is الله الحمد لله in the other. Firishtah lith. ed. has الحمد الله على كل. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has correctly لله الحمد in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. has خود را محافظت مي نمود instead of همه وقت با جمعيت و استعداد امي بود, which occurs in the other and in the lith. ed.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have تا اعتمادی, but the other MSS. have what looks like ما اعقاش.

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from him every moment. Maḥmūd Khān began to make great exertions and endeavours in gaining his objects. He tempted the Sulṭān's cup-bearer with much gold, and had the Sulṭān killed by giving him poison in his wine. The tongue of the circumstances of Sulṭān Muḥammad thus victimised and done to death, began to sing in this tune; and the faithless time threw up this noise into the curve of the arch of the sky.

Couplets:

A few breaths, I said with pleasure, shall I take,
Alas! they were stopped on the path from my heart.
Alas! that at the table of the viands of life,
I, for a moment partook; and then they said "stop".

When the *amīrs* became cognisant of this, [1] Khwājah Naṣr-ul-lah [2] Parniyānī and Malik Mashīr-ul-mulk, and Laṭīf Zakariyā and some other *sardārs* combined together, and bringing Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān, who was in his thirteenth year, out of the harem, placed him on the throne. They agreed among themselves, that they would remove Maḥmūd Khān out of the way by any means that they could. They sent Malik Bāyazīd Shaikhā to him, and told him, "Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh has sent for you to come with great quickness; and wishes [3] to send you as an ambassador to Gujrāt." As Maḥmūd Khān was aware of the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad he replied, "I have relinquished the duties of the *vazārat*, and wish to pass the remaining years of my life, as a sweeper of the tomb of Sulṭān Hūshang. But notwithstanding this determination of mine, as the marrow of my bones has been nourished by the beneficence of Hūshang Shāh,

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[1] The names are as I have them in the text in one MS. except that of Mashīr-ul-mulk, which is that of Shēr-ul-mulk. In the other the name is Malik Mashīr-ul-mulk; and in the lith. ed. Parniyānī is written as Harsānī; otherwise they agree with the first MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has Khwājah Naṣr Ullah, *vazīr*, and Mashīr ul-mulk and Laṭīf Ḍhakariyā. The names are not given by Col. Briggs and in the Cambridge History of India. The former (vol. IV, p. 193) has, "The officers about the king's person", and the latter (page 353) "a faction among the nobles".

[2] M. Hidayat Ḥosain has دير نباني Dīrnibānī in the text.

[3] The MSS. have رسول, and the lith. ed. has رسولی. It is برسولی in the corresponding passage in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. This would mean, wishes to send you on an embassy, and appears to be a better reading than the others.

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if all the *amīrs* would come to my house, then after discussing [1] all differences of counsels, we would report to the Sūlṭān whatever is determined upon, as appears to be right and proper."

Malik Bāyazīd Shāikẖā returned to the *amīrs*, and informed them, that "Maḥmūd Kẖān has not yet received the news of the Sulṭān's death; if you will all go together to his house, he will go with you to the palace, and he can then be disposed off." Acting on Bāyazīd Shāikẖā's words the *amīrs* went to Maḥmūd Kẖān. The latter had kept his men ready in [2] concealed places. When the *amīrs* entered, he asked, "Has the Sulṭān recovered his senses or is he still lying drunk?" [3] The *amīrs* knew what he was saying. After a moment his men came out of the chambers, and fell upon the *amīrs*. They seized all of them and made them over to guards. As the lofty edifice of the remaining *amīrs*, who were with Mas'ūd Kẖān tottered under the blow of this news, they collected their troops, and made the retinue of the Sulṭān ready; and bringing the royal umbrella from the tomb of Sulṭān Hūshang, raised it over the head of Mas'ūd Kẖān.

Maḥmūd Khān on hearing this news mounted and advanced towards the palace, with the object of seizing both the Shāhzādas, and disposing off them. When he got near the palace both sides seized their arrows and spears, and the battle of slaughter and bloodshed lasted till night. When the lord of the stars (that is the sun) hid himself behind the veil of darkness, Shāhzāda 'Umar Kẖān got down from the fort and took the path of flight; and Mas'ūd Kẖān took sanctuary with Shaikẖ Jāildah, who was one of the great (holy) men of the age. The *amīrs* fled and betook themselves to the corners of safety. Maḥmūd Kẖān remained in front of the palace till the morning, fully armed and ready for all emergencies. When the white light of morning appeared from the sea of the darkness of night,

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[1] One MS. has شقوق کنکاش, the other has شوق و کنکاش, and the lith. ed. has سقوق کنکایش. Firishtah lith. ed. has شقوق و کنگاش. The first reading is followed in the text-edition.

[2] The word is نهان خانها. The corresponding word in Firishtah lith. ed. is گوشها corners.

[3] The meaning of this is not quite clear, but the same words occur in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

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news was brought to him, that the palace was empty, and the enemies, each one of them, had hid themselves in corners.

Maḥmūd Khān then entered the palace, and sent a swift messenger to summon his father Khān Jahān. The latter arrived on the wings of speed. Maḥmūd Khān assembled the *amīrs* and Maliks and sent the following message to Khān Jahān: [1] "The world cannot exist without a [2] ruler. If the throne of the empire remains unoccupied by the person of a sovereign, many disturbances are produced in the world from the womb of time, the suppression of which becomes difficult. The kingdom of Mālwa has become extensive and refractory, and turbulent men have not yet wakened from sleep. Also the news has not yet reached the Sulṭāns of the surrounding countries. Otherwise they would have advanced towards us from all directions." Khān Jahān sent the following reply: [3] "No one should attempt to assume [4] this exalted position, which is a twin brother of the rank of the Prophet, unless he is possessed of the qualities of exalted lineage and perfect generosity and bravery and justice and wisdom, (and unless this is the case) the affairs of the empire do not acquire grandeur and glory. Praise be to God! that my son has all those qualities, which a Sulṭān should possess. It behoves him (therefore) that at an auspicious moment, he should place his foot on the *masnad* of the *salṭanat*, and seat himself on the throne of

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[1] The message does not contain a direct appeal to Malik Mughīth to assume the sovereignty of Mālwa, though it implies it. Firishtah lith. ed., however, says that Maḥmūd Khān wrote to Khān Jahān, that the *salṭanat* belongs by right to you; and you should come quickly and seat yourself on the throne. The Cambridge History of India, page 353, also says that Mahmūd Khān "offered the crown to his father", but the latter "declined the honour".

[2] Both MSS. have incorrectly جهانیان, people of the world. The lith. ed. has the correct reading جهانباني a ruler. Firishtah in the corresponding passage also has جهانباني.

[3] Khān Jahān's message as given in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. appears to me to be incomplete. It appears to me that some word like کس should be inserted before متقلد. and some words like نباید شد after نبوت; and the کسی after تا is changed to او. Firishtah lith. ed. omits the words from متقلد to نبوتست; and then the sentence makes good sense.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have ان but the other MS. has این. This latter appears to me to be better.

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empire." When the messenger brought this message, all the *amīrs* and great men applauded this sentiment, and attested to the truth of the word. The astrologers, who knew the stars, were ordered that they should select an auspicious moment for the accession. All the *amīrs* and the wise men of the kingdom and the great men of the city kissed Maḥmūd Khān's hand, and congratulated him on his accession.

Couplet:

If one goes, another in his place doth come,
The world never without a bridegroom (ruler) is.

The period of the rule of Sulṭān Muḥammad was one year and some months.

An Account of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī.

The narrators of the histories of the Sulṭāns have related, that on Monday [1] the 29th of the month of Shawwāl in the year 839 A.H., Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī ascended the throne of the *Khilāfat* of Mālwa His age at that time had attained to 34 years. In the whole of the country of Mālwa public prayers were read, and coins struck in his name. All the *amīrs* were gladdened with kindness and favour, and the stipends and rank of each were increased. A number of them were selected, and received titles. Among these Mashīr-ul-mulk had the title of Niẓām-ul-mulk conferred on him, and the reins of the *vazārat* were placed in his powerful hands. Malik Barkhūrdār received the title of Tāj Khān, and the office of the pay-master of the kingdom was entrusted to him. Khān Jahān received the title of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; and an umbrella and white quiver, which were specially reserved for sulṭāns, were bestowed on him; and it was also settled that the harems and equerries of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn should have staffs of gold and silver in their hands, and, whenever he should mount or dismount, should say in a loud voice: In the name of the benevolent and merciful God!, which in those days was the exclusive privilege of sulṭāns.

[1] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 196) gives the corresponding A.D. date as May 16th, 1435. The Cambridge History of India, page 353, gives 13th May, 1436, as the date of Mahmūd Khaljī's accession. According to Sewell and Dikshit's Indian Calendar the day and date appear to be Thursday, the 24th of August, 1435.

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When the empire was firmly fixed on Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he devoted his energy to the support of learned and wise men; and whenever he heard of any person of great ability, he sent money to him, and summoned him. He also established colleges in his kingdom, and granted stipends to the learned men and to students, and kept them occupied with imparting and receiving knowledge and learning. In short, the country of Mālwa in the period of his rule became an object of envy to Shīrāz and Samarqand.

As the work of the government was properly administered and all the affairs of the kingdom acquired order, [1] Malik Quṭb-ud-dīn Shaibānī and [2] Malik Naṣīr-ud-dīn Dabīr, and a number of the other Hūshang Shāhī *amīrs*, owing to their envy, attempted to act treacherously in concert with [3] Malik Yūsuf Qawām. With the object of carrying out their intention, they placed a ladder one night, and climbed to the roof of a *masjid* which was adjacent to the palace of Maḥmūd Shāh. From that place they came down to the court-yard of the palace, and were thinking what they should do next. At this time Maḥmūd Shāh appeared there, and with very great bravery came out of the house with his quiver bound round him; and coming within bow-shot wounded some (of them). About this time [4] Niẓām-ul-mulk and Malik [5] Maḥmūd Khiḍr arrived fully armed

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[1] The suffix to the name is شیبانی Shaibānī in both MSS., but it is رستانی Rustānī in the lith. ed. and سمنانی Sumnānī in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 197) has Sumnani.

[2] He is called ملک نصیر الدین دبیر in one MS., and in the lith. ed. and ملک نصیر دبیر in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has ملک نصیر الدین دبیر جرجانی and Col. Briggs has Nuseer-ood-deen Joorjany. Is he the same man as Khwājah Naṣr-ul-lah Parniyānī mentioned on page 494 and in note 1 on the same page?

[3] He is so called in both MSS. The lith. ed. calls him, evidently by mistake, Malik Yūsuf Qaum. Firishtah lith. ed. has Malik Yūsuf Qawām-ul-mulk. Col. Briggs does not mention him. The Cambridge History of India does not give the name of any of the conspirators.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. calls him Mashīr-ul-mulk, who had the title of Niẓām-ul-mulk.

[5] Both MSS. call him what I have called him in the text. The lith. ed. erroneously inserts a و between Malik Maḥmūd and Khiḍr. Firishtah lith. ed. has Malik Muḥammad Khiḍr.

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from outside with a body of *silāḥdārs*. The conspirators fled by the very route by which they had entered, and made their escape. One of them, however, who had been wounded by an arrow, could not descend by the ladder; and threw himself on the ground from the roof of the mosque. His leg was broken, and he was seized, and was taken (before the Sulṭān ?); and he wrote down the names of all the men who were among the conspirators. Early next morning, they were all brought before the Sulṭān, and were punished.

But Ā'ẓam Humāyūn begged for the [1] pardon of the offences of Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān, son of Hūshang Shāh, and Malik Yūsuf Qawām and [2] Malik Anchhā and Malik Naṣīr-ud-dīn Dabīr, although they had had a full share in creating the disturbance; and selected the fort of Islāmābād for the Shāhzāda; and conferred the title of Qawām Khān and the fief of Bhīlsā on Malik Yūsuf Qawām; the fief of Hūshangābād on Malik Anchhā; and the title of Naṣrat Khān, and the fief of Chandērī by deputation (*Niyābat*) to Malik Naṣīr-ud-dīn. They obtained leave to go to their *jāgīrs*. When Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān reached Islāmābād, he at once raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion. His forces began to increase day by day, and although Tāj Khān, who had been nominated to suppress them, sat down at the foot of the fort of Islāmābād, he was unable to effect any result. Aḥmad Khān sent out a detachment every day from the fort, and kept (the men at) the foot of the fort hotly engaged in battle. Tāj Khān sent a petition, and begged for reinforcements. About this time scouts brought the news to the Sulṭān that Malik Anchhā, the feudatory of Hūshangābād, and Naṣrat Khān the feudatory of Chandērī had raised the flag of hostility and the standard of revolt. Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Khān Jahān, to teach the rebels a lesson, and to arrange all the affairs of the country. When the latter arrived within two *karōhs* of Islāmābād, Tāj Khān and the other *sardārs* hastened to meet him, and explained the true state of

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[1] The word is استغفار in one MS. and استعفای in the other. The lith. ed. has what looks like استعفاز. Firishtah lith. ed. has استعفای. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted استعفاء in the text-edition.

[2] He is not mentioned by Firishtah here, but later on in the distribution of fiefs he is called ملک جہاد in the lith. ed., and Mullik Itihad by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 198).

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things to him. On the second day, he started, and having occupied the environs of the fort, distributed the batteries. The next day he sent a number of wise men and Shaikhs to Aḥmad Khān, so that they might after filling his ears with the pearls of advice and the gems of precepts, warn him of the evil effects of a breach of agreements and engagements. Although the Shaikhs and learned men read the texts of persuasion and intimidation to him, his stony heart did not become affected. In reply to the sound precepts he gave equally rare replies, and having given permission to the kind-hearted preceptors sent them out of the fort. Qawām Khān also, acting in a spirit of hostility, sent some arms and other war-like materials to him from his own battery, and strengthened the [1] foundations of amity by promises and engagements. When the [2] siege was prolonged, [3] one day one of the musicians gave poison to Aḥmad Khān in his wine; and throwing himself out of the citadel joined the camp of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; and the fort was captured. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn after arranging matters there left one of his trusted men at that place, and marched towards Hūshangābād.

On the way Qawām Khān fled from Ā'ẓam Humāyūn's camp, and went away towards Bhīlsā. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn considered the overthrow of Malik Anchhā to be of primary importance, and continued his advance to Hūshangābād. Malik Anchhā, finding that he had not the strength to meet him, left all his equipage and other things, and went away towards the foothills of Gōndwāna. When the Gōnds knew that he had turned his face from his lord and master, they collected in large numbers and blocked his way; and killed all of them by pelting them with stones, and shooting them with arrows, and plundered all their goods and property. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn on

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بنیان, but the other MS. has بنیاد.

[2] One MS. has کار محاصرہ, the other omits کار, while the lith. ed. has طول محاصرہ. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has کار محاصرہ.

[3] Firishtah makes this somewhat clearer by saying بساختگي اعظم همایون یا بنابر مقدمہ دیگر, *i.e.*, either at the instigation of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn or for some other reason; and adds زهر داده بکشت. The Cambridge History of India, page 353, says *positively* that Ahmad Khān was poisoned "at the instigation of Mughīs."

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hearing this news was highly pleased and entered the fort of Hūshangābād. He arranged the affairs of that quarter in the best manner, and left one of his trusted men there; and advanced towards Chandērī, to chastise Naṣrat Khān.

When he arrived within two stages of Chandērī, Naṣrat Khān, finding himself weak and helpless, came out to meet him; and wanted [1] to cover up his misdeeds with grass. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn sent for the Saiyids and the learned and great men of the city, and collected them together, and asked each one of them to describe the behaviour and circumstances of Naṣrat Khān. Each one of them told a story, most of which were: that the crow of pride and vanity had laid an egg in his brain, so that marks of hostility and rebellion have made their appearance. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn transferred the government of Chandērī from Naṣrat Khān to [2] Malik-ul-umarā Ḥājī Kamāl; and advanced towards Bhīlsā. Although he sent men of rank to Qawām Khān, and tried to guide him in the right path, it was productive of no good result. Qawām Khān got out of Bhīlsā and fled. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn halted there for a few days, and after assuring his mind of the affairs of that country, turned his face towards the capital city of Shādīābād.

On the way news was brought to him, that Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī was advancing with the object of conquering Mālwa; and had sent Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān with a large army and twenty elephants [3] to attack him. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn started with rapidity, and passing the army of Sulṭān Aḥmad at a distance of six *karōhs* entered the fort of Mandū by the Tārāpūr gate. Maḥmūd Shāh was delighted at the arrival of his father, and performed the rites of offering thanks to God. He sent out detachments every day from the fort, and went on fighting hard. With great bravery and courage he wanted to sally out of the fort and engage in a drawn battle. But as the thorn of the hostility of the Hūshang Shāhī *amīrs* had caught in his skirts,

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[1] The words are خس پوش سازد in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[2] The name is as in the text in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 213) Mullik Kaloo.

[3] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have بر سر شما. Firishtah lith. ed. in the corresponding passage has بر سرش.

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and a sort of caution had taken possession of his mind, so that he considered those who were near him, in spite of the kindness with which he had treated them, to be his [1] enemies. But having regard to their hostility and opposition, he stretched out his hands of generosity and benefactions from the sleeve of liberality and munificence, and kept all the men, even in the narrow and straitened circumstances of the siege, [2] satisfied and contented. He also distributed grain from the (royal) granaries to *faqīrs* and poor men. On account of his great generosity, grain was cheaper in the fort than it was in Sulṭān Aḥmad's camp. He established boarding houses for *faqīrs* and poor men, and gave them cooked and uncooked food. He also summoned to his service some *amīrs* such as [3] Saiyid Aḥmad and Ṣūfī Khān, son of 'Alā-ul-mulk, and Malik-ush-sharq, and Malik Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad Ṣilāḥ, and Malik Qāsim, and Ḥisām-ul-mulk Hāndērī who had an attitude of rebellion and hostility to

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[1] The MSS. have اعداد عدوي خود and اعدا و عدو خود, and the lith. ed. has اعدای خود. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has اعدا و عدو خود. The necessity of the insertion of the words و عدو is not very clear.

[2] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have اسودهٔ و منعم but the other MS. has اسودهٔ و بیغم. Firishtah lith. ed. has only اسودهٔ.

[3] There is considerable difference in the names. There is no difference as regards the first name, but one MS. omits the و after it, which makes it doubtful whether Saiyid Aḥmad and Ṣūfī Khān are two men or only one. There is also no و between Saiyid Aḥmad and Ṣūfī Khān in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and the father's name is given there as 'Imād-ul-mulk and not 'Alā-ul-mulk. The name of Malik-ush-sharq occurs in the MS. but is omitted from the lith. ed., and is changed to Malik Sharf in the lith ed. of Firishtah. Malik Muḥammad has that name in one MS., but is called Malik Aḥmad in the other and Malik Maḥmūd in the lith. ed., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. His father who is called Aḥmad Silāḥ in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. is called Aḥmad Silāḥdār in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. The name of Ḥisām-ul-mulk which is found in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. is changed to Malik Qiyām-ul-mulk and the suffix to his name is rather difficult to decipher but appears to be Handbārī. The names are not given by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 200) who describes them collectively as the "Malwa officers in Ahmud Shah's camp who were at all discontented." The Cambridge History of India (p. 353) refers to the chapter about Gujarāt for a detailed account of these transactions, but even there very few details are given, and there is no mention of any of the names.

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Sulṭān Aḥmad, by promising them gold and *jāgīrs*. Owing to these acts there was a certain amount of wickedness in Sulṭān Aḥmad's affairs; and by the advice of some men who had come from the latter's camp and had joined him, Sulṭān Maḥmūd intended to make a night attack. It so happened that [1] Qaiṣar Khān, the inkstand-bearer of Sulṭān Hūshang, [2] informed Sulṭān Aḥmad of this intention. So when Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army came out from the fort, they found the men in the camp [3] ready, and all the paths closed. In the end, they pulled down a wall and the battle began. Up to the rising of the true dawn, it went on furiously from both sides; and a large number of men were wounded and killed. About the time of the rising of the sun, Maḥmūd Shāh retraced his steps, and went into the fort of Mandū.

After some days the scouts brought the news, that the inhabitants of Chandērī, and the troops in that neighbourhood had rebelled against Malik-ul-umarā Ḥājī Kamāl; and had made 'Umr Khān, son of Sulṭān Hūshang their leader; and to [4] add to the guitar of music, Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī was advancing towards Sārangpūr with five thousand horsemen and thirty elephants. On hearing this news Sulṭān Maḥmūd held a consultation, and it was decided that Ā'ẓam Humāyūn who was, [5] the nursery of the empire, should occupy himself in the guarding and arranging of the fort, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd should himself come out of it, and taking up a position in the centre of the country arrange for its protection.

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[1] The name and description of this man is, as I have written them in the text, in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. But Firishtah lith. ed. has Naṣīr Khān the *dawātdār* of Sulṭān Hūshang, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 200) has "Noosrut Khan the officer he had lately been removed from Chundery."

[2] The word is حاضر ساخت in the MSS., as well as in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has خبر ساخت.

[3] The word here also is حاضر in the MSS., in the lith. ed., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[4] The words appear to be زاد في الطنبور نعمة. A طنبور is a kind of lute or guitar with a long neck. I do not know the meaning of the phrase, but it appears to be a proverbial saying to express "to add to the other difficulties." Firishtah has no analogous phrase.

[5] The word is دوجة in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but it is وجة in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. According to the dictionary دوجة means a groove, a nursery, an orchard. دوحة in the text-edition.

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In accordance with this intention (Sulṭān Maḥmūd) turned his face of determination in the direction of Sārangpūr; and sent Tāj Khān and Manṣūr Khān in advance of himself. As Sulṭān Aḥmad had left Malik Ḥājī 'Alī at the fort of Kanbal to guard the road and keep it open, Tāj Khān and Manṣūr Khān, who had arrived there before Sulṭān Maḥmūd, fought with him. The latter fled and took the news to Sulṭān Aḥmad, that Sulṭān Maḥmūd had come out of the fort, and was marching towards Sārangpūr. Sulṭān Aḥmad sent a messenger to Sārangpūr (with the direction), that the Shāhzāda should, before the arrival of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, betake himself to Ujjain. After the arrival of the messenger Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān started from Sārangpūr, with great caution and vigilance, and came and waited upon Sulṭān Aḥmad at Ujjain.

[1] Malik Isḥāq, the son of Quṭb-ul-mulk, the feudatory of Sārangpūr sent a petition to the Sulṭān; and asking for pardon for his guilt, wrote that Muḥammad Khān had left Sārangpūr, and had gone away to Ujjain on hearing the news of the advance; but Shāhzāda 'Umr Khān had sent an army in advance of himself with the object of seizing Sārangpūr, and was himself following behind it. On becoming acquainted with the purport of the petition Sulṭān Maḥmūd was highly pleased; and drew the pen of pardon across the page of Malik Isḥāq's offences; and sent Tāj Khān in advance of himself to Sārangpūr and he himself also advanced in that direction. When Tāj Khān arrived at Sārangpūr, he comforted and re-assured Malik Isḥāq and all the inhabitants and leaders of the bands of Sārangpūr of the Sulṭān's rewards and favours. On the Sulṭān's arrival after they had rendered homage, the Sulṭān conferred the title of Daulat Khān on Malik Isḥāq and bestowed on him a standard and a [2] *ṭās* and a gold embroidered *qabā* (robe), and ten thousand gold *tankas* in cash and doubled his stipend. He also bestowed on the heads of the different groups and the residents of the city some horses, and fifty thousand

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[1] The name is ملک اسحق in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It is ملک اسحاق in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I have adopted ملک اسحاق.

[2] The dictionary gives cup, goblet, dish and brocade as meanings of طاس *ṭās*. None of these meanings appears to be appropriate.

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tankas to distribute among themselves. When he reached Sārangpūr, the scouts brought the news that Shāhzāda 'Umr Khān had burnt down the town Bhīlsā, and had arrived at the boundary of Sārangpūr; and that Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī had also come out of Ujjain with thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants, and was advancing towards Sārangpūr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd considered that it would be advisable to undertake the destruction of 'Umr Khān in the first instance, and commenced an advance at the end of the night.

When there was a distance of six *karōhs* between the two armies, (he) sent a detachment as an advance guard, and they seized some prisoners from whom a knowledge of the condition of the enemy's army could be obtained, and brought them to the Sulṭān who made an enquiry from them of the state of 'Umr Khān's army. He sent Niẓām-ul-mulk and [1] Malik Aḥmad Ṣilāḥ, and a number of others, so that they might reconnoitre the jungle and the roads. He arranged the army in four detachments, and advanced early in the morning to attack 'Umr Khān. The latter also becoming aware of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's advance hastened to meet him; and having arranged his troops sent them to confront him. But he himself took up a position [2] on the top of a hill and there remained in ambush waiting for an opportunity. It so happened, however, that some one brought the information to Sulṭān Maḥmūd that 'Umr Khān was hiding in ambush with some troops on the top of a hill. Sulṭān Maḥmūd with a well-equipped force advanced towards him. 'Umr Khān said to the [3] soldiers who were with him: "It would be a reflection on their good name to fly from the son of a servant; and it is better to be slain than to baulk behind." He then fell upon Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army with the men who were united with him; but was taken prisoner, and was put to death by the Sulṭān's order. His head was placed on the top of a lance and was shown to the army of Chandērī. The leaders and commanders of that army were amazed and thunder-

[1] The name is Malik Aḥmad Silāḥdār in Firishtah. See note 3 on page 502, where also the name is Malik Aḥmad Ṣilāḥ in the MS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, but Aḥmad Silāḥdār in Firishtah.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. has پس کوہ instead of بر سر کوہ; this is better; but as the MSS., and the lith. ed. have I have retained it.

[3] One MS. has بسپاهیاني but the other and the lith. ed. have بسپاهیان.

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struck; and sent the following message, "Please cease the [1] battle for this day; so that early next morning, we may wait on you and render homage to you anew." On this agreement, both the armies encamped for the night. (But) when night came on, the Chandērī army retired towards its own country; and when it arrived at Chandērī, the *amīrs* joined together, and placed Malik Sulaimān, son of [2] Malik Shēr-ul-mulk Ghūrī, who had been the *nāib* of 'Umr Khān, giving him the title of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd detached an army for crushing him, and advanced himself to fight with Sulṭān Aḥmad. But the two armies had not yet met each other, when some of [3] the pious men in the army of Sulṭān Aḥmad saw His Holiness the last of the Prophet, on whom be the benediction and salutation!, in a dream, as declaring that, "A calamity has descended from the sky, tell Sulṭān Aḥmad, that he should carry the goods of his safety out of this country." When they informed Sulṭān Aḥmad of this dream, he did not put much faith in it. (But) within the next two or three days a pestilence appeared in his army, so that the soldiers had no time even for digging the graves. Sulṭān Aḥmad now having no alternative, went back to Gujrāt by way of Āshta; but he gave a promise to Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān that he would seize the country in the course of the next year, and would deliver it over to him.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd then went to the fort of Mandū, and having, within the course of seventeen days, re-equipped his army advanced to quench the flame (of rebellion) in Chandērī. When he arrived there Malik Sulaimān came out of the citadel with the *amīrs*, and made brave efforts; but as they had not the requisite strength, they fled,

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[1] The words جنگ را occur in one MS., but not in the other or in the lith. ed. I have inserted them as they make the meaning complete. The words موقوف دارند are in one MS., and in the lith. ed., but in the other MS. they are موقوف دارید. I consider this is better and have adopted it. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained موقوف دارند in the text-edition.

[2] Firishtah calls him Malik Mashīr-ul-mulk who was the *nāib* and a near relative of Sulṭānzāda 'Umr Khān. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has ملک شیر ملک in the text-edition.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. has صاحبان, instead of صالحان.

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and again taking shelter in the citadel fortified themselves in it. But Malik Sulaimān died there quite suddenly.

The *amīrs* selected another to be their leader and, making the necessary preparations for carrying on the warfare, came out of the citadel. They fought, but again had to flee and take shelter in the fort. When the period of the siege had extended to [1] eight months, Sulṭān Maḥmūd [2] took advantage of an opportunity; and [3] one night climbed over the wall of the fort; and after him other brave men did so; and the citadel was seized; and a large number became food for the sword. But one party fled and [4] fortified themselves in a fort, which was situated on the top of a hill. After some days Ismā'īl Ḵẖān (of) Kālpī obtained quarter, and brought them down from the fort. Sulṭān Maḥmūd having arranged the affairs of that territory in the best way, and having allotted Chandērī as a *jāgīr* to Malik Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm, intended to return. But his scouts brought the news that Dūngar Sēn had come from the fort of [5] Gwāliar; and had besieged the [6] city of Narwar. In spite of the fact, that his army

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[1] The period is eight months in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. and in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 204). It is seven months in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and in the Cambridge History of India.

[2] The word is انتظار in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is انتهاض in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The dictionary meaning of انتهاض is act of rising, getting up; another word انتهاز means watching for, finding an opportunity. I think انتهاز is more appropriate than انتظار or انتهاض and this is adopted by M. Hidayat Ḥosain in the text-edition.

[3] One MS. has پیش instead of شبي. This appears to be a mistake.

[4] There are some variations in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have متحصن شدند; the other has متحصن شده; and further on one MS. and the lith. ed. have اسمعیل خان کالپي انجماعت را امان گرفته, while the other has اسمعیل خان کالپي نانجماعت امان گرفته. I have accepted متحصن شدند. As to the other difference there is apparently not much to choose. I have adopted the readings of the first MS. and the lith. ed. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has أن جماعه instead of ان جماعت. Firishtah gives the conditions on which quarter was granted.

[5] Gwāliar is spelt گوالیر in both MSS., and in the lith. ed.; but on previous occasions it was spelt as گوالیار, and is so spelt here also in Firishtah.

[6] The name is شهر نو the new city, in one MS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is شهر نرور the city of Narwar in the other MS., and شهر نور the city of Nūr or

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was, owing to its being the rainy season and the long period of the siege, [1] in much distress, Maḥmūd Shāh advanced towards Gwāliar by successive rapid marches. When leaving his own territory, he arrived near Gwāliar, he commenced to plunder and ravage the country. A body of Rājpūts came out of the fort, and engaged in a battle; but as they had not the strength to withstand the assaults of Maḥmūd Shāh's army they fled, and entered into the [2] aperture of the fort. Dūngar Sēn on hearing this news decided on a retreat and raised the siege, and fled to Gwāliar. As Maḥmūd's object was to release Narwar from the siege, he did not occupy himself with besieging Gwāliar and returned to Shādiābād.

In the year 843 A.H., (1439 A.D.), he commenced the erection of the tomb of Sulṭān Hūshang, and the completion of the *Jāma' Masjid* of Hūshang Shāh, which is situated near the [3] Rām Sarāī gate, and

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Naur in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, though later on, it is شهر نو in it also. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 205) has Nurwur. The Cambridge History of India, page 354, has "a town named Shahr-i-Nau, not now traceable". The evidence in support of the reading Shahr-i-Nau appears to be good, but I think شهر نرور or the city of Narwar is the correct reading. Narwar is situated on the river Sind opposite to Jhānsī, and would be on the way from Gwāliar. The Cambridge History of India (p. 354) calls Dūngar Sēn "Dongar Singh the Ṭonwār of Gwalior." The name is Dūngar Sēn in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs has Dongar Sing. After Timūr's invasion, Gwalior according to the Cambridge History of India, page 241, was held by the Tonwar Rājputs, but the name of Tonwar does not appear in the list of the Rajpoot royal races given on page 63 of Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, the nearest approach to that name being the Tuars, which appears in the lists by the Kheechie Bard, and by the author (Col. Tod). It is true that the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XII, page 441, agrees with the Cambridge History of India in saying that "After Timur's invasion Gwalior was seized by the Tonwar Rajputs." But Tonwar is spelt there as it indeed is on page 241 of the Cambridge History with the short a and not with the long a as on page 354. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has شهر نورا in the text-edition.

[1] The MSS. have بر نشان, and the lith. ed. has که بر نشان. Firishtah lith. ed. has پریشان. This appears to be the correct reading and I have accepted it.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah all have بسوارخ قلعه در امدند.

[3] The name of the gate is variously given. One MS. has دروازهٔ رام سرای, Rām Sarāī gate. Another has what looks like دروازهٔ ها راسوی the Hārāsūī gate,

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had two hundred and thirty cupolas, and three hundred and eighty [1] pillars (minarets ?); and these were completed in a short time.

In the year [2] 845 A.H., petitions from the *amīrs* of Mēwāt, and the great and holy men of the metropolitan city of Dehlī came in, rapid succession, to the effect, that Sulṭān Muḥammad (son of Mubārak Shāh) was unable properly to discharge the high and onerous duties of sovereignty; and consequently the hands of the oppressors and of turbulent men had come out of the sleeve of tyranny and oppression; and there was nothing left of peace and quietness, except in name and a story. As the tailor of faith and providence had sewn the robe of sovereignty on the elegant stature of that asylum of sovereignty, the generality of the residents of this country wish, that they should place the collar of allegiance to him on their neck of submission and subjection with willingness and alacrity. In the latter part of the year, Sulṭān Maḥmūd advanced towards Dehlī with a well-equipped army. In the neighbourhood of the town of Hindaun, Yūsuf Khān Hindaunī waited on him. When he encamped in the village of [3] Panna, Sulṭān Aḥmad took up a position with Tughlaqābād at his rear. The

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while the lith. ed. has دروازهٔ رامنراي. Firishtah lith. ed. has دروازهٔ راموي, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 205) has the Rampoora gate.

[1] The MSS., and the lith. ed. have استوانه, which according to the dictionary means a cylinder. The lith. ed. has ستون a pillar. The mosque according to Firishtah lith. ed. has two hundred and eight *iṣṭwānas*; and according to Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 205), "two hundred and thirty minarets and two hundred and sixty arches."

[2] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have 845 A.H., but Firishtah lith. ed. has 844 A.H., and Col. Briggs has 844 A.H., 1440 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 354, also has 1440 A.D. For an account of these transactions, as given in the history of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh of Dehlī, see page 271 of vol. I, Persian text, and pages 327, 328 of vol. I, English translation of this work. The Dehlī Sulṭān is here called Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mubārak Shāh in one MS., and in the lith. ed., and Sulṭān Muḥammad Mubārak Shāh in the other MSS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, though in the Dehlī section he was called Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. He was the adopted son of Mubārak Shāh and the correct reading here should be Muḥammad Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, The Cambridge History of India, page 354, calls him "Sayyid, Muhammad Shāh."

[3] One MS. has پنه Panna, while the other has what looks like تبة Tabta, while the lith. ed. has پٹنه Patna.

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next day Sulṭān Maḥmūd divided his army into three detachments. He placed two of them under the commands of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, and of [1] Ghaznīn Khān who had the title of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn; and sent them against Sulṭān Muḥammad's army; and kept the third force of selected soldiers with himself. [2] Sulṭān Muḥammad sent out Malik Bahlūl Lūdī and Saiyid Khān and Daryā Khān and Quṭb Khān and other commanders, and engaged them in battle. Up to nightfall, brave men experienced in warfare stepped out from both sides and gave proofs of their courage and bravery. In the end both parties sounded the drum of retreat and took up their positions in their original stations.

[3] It so happened that on that very night Sulṭān Maḥmūd saw in a dream, that some audacious low men had risen in revolt in the fort of Mandū, and had brought the royal umbrella from the tomb of Sulṭān Hūshang, and raised it over the head of a man of obscure descent. In the morning there were signs of anxiety and [4] distress in him. At this time Sulṭān Muḥammad sent emissaries, and struck at the door of peace. Sulṭān Maḥmūd immediately agreed to a pacific settlement, and started on the journey back to Mālwa. On the way, news came to him, that as it had happened, on that very night a mob of the common people had raised the dust of disorder and disturbance in Mandū, but it had been quelled by the exertions and

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[1] He is called Qadm Khān in one MS. and Ghaznīn Khān in the other and Naṣrat Khān in the lith. ed. Qadm Khān seems to be the correct reading, see note 4, page 327, vol. I, English translation of this work, and I have adopted it.

[2] One MS. has by mistake Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

[3] Firishtah agrees mainly as to the three versions of the reason of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's return to Mālwa, though the lith. ed. says that he saw the revolt in the fort of Mandū in an واقعه, happening and not in a dream. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 206) says that he saw it in a dream. But the Cambridge History of India, page 354, says that Mahmūd readily accepted Muhammad Shāh's proposed terms of peace, as he "had learnt that during his absence the mob had risen in Māndū, removed the gilded umbrella from the tomb of Hūshang, and raised it over the head of a pretender." It has thus converted what Sulṭān Maḥmūd saw in a dream into a series of actual events.

[4] The MSS. have و بیمزگی and و بمزگی after تردد while the lith. ed. has no similar words. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has بیمزگی, and I have adopted it. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has پژمردگی in the text-edition.

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management of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn. It has, however, come under my notice that it appears in some history that news was conveyed to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, that Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī was about to invade Mālwa; and for this reason Sulṭān Maḥmūd came back. This version appears to be the most correct.

In short, Sulṭān Maḥmūd arrived in Shādiābād on the [1] 1st of Muḥarram 846 A.H.; and made the deserving men there partake of his gifts and benefactions. In the same year he laid out a garden in the land appertaining to the town of Na'lcha; and built a dome and a few great palaces in it; and remained for some time in Shādiābād.

[2] After a short time he repaired the casualties and the damages sustained by his army; and marched out towards Chitōr with the determination of chastising the Rājpūts. [3] At this time, [4] news was brought to the Sulṭān of the arrogance of Naṣīr, [5] son of 'Abd-ul-qādir, the governor of Kālpī, who had assumed the title of Naṣīr Shāh, and had declared his independence; and letters had come from both the great men and the ordinary inhabitants of the country, that he had placed his foot outside the straight and strong path of the law of the Prophet, and was struggling on the path of heresy and oppression; and (they) were crying for justice from his oppression and tyranny. Sulṭān Maḥmūd placed the destruction of Naṣīr Shāh in the forefront of his energies; and [6] advanced towards Kālpī.

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[1] The name of the month is left out in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but is given as Muḥarram in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, Of course the first day of Muḥarram is also the first day of the year. The year is 846 A.H., in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but is 845 A.H., in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and 845 A.H., 1441 A.D., in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 207).

[2] One MS. has و بعد ازانکه شکست و ریخت لشکر خود را درست کرد, instead of what I have in the text, which is the reading of the other MSS. and the lith. ed.

[3] The sentence is long and rather clumsily worded.

[4] The word خبر is omitted in one MS., and in the lith. ed.

[5] The word ولد after نصیر is omitted in the MSS. and the text-edition. It is in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and as it is required to make sense I have inserted it.

[6] One MS. has instead of عازم کالپي گشت, which occurs in the other and in the lith. ed. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, by mistake متوجه سواد اعظم همایون کالپي گشت.

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Naṣīr [1] (son of) 'Abd-ul-qādir, having received information of the advance of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, sent [2] 'Alī Khān, his uncle, with many beautiful things and presents and various kinds of tributes, and submitted a representation to the effect, that "Whatever they have said in respect of me, is entirely false and a fabrication; and in order to decide this matter, if you will send truthful men and will find out the truth, you can mete out any punishment that I may deserve if even a small part of it be proved to be true." Sulṭān Maḥmūd [3] did not grant an audience to the emissary for some days; and advanced stage after stage. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr, he, at the suggestion of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn and other chief men of the state, drew the pen of forgiveness across the [4] page of Naṣīr's offences, granted permission to his emissary to make his *kūrnish*, accepted his tribute, and sending him letters containing counsel and precepts gave permission to 'Alī Khān to go back; and turned towards the country of Chitōr.

When he crossed the [5] river of Bhīm, he sent detachments every day in different directions in the country of Chitōr and devastated it and plundered and took the people prisoners, and pulling down idol temples, laid the foundations of mosques. He halted for three or four days at each stage. When he encamed at Kōnbhalmīr, which is one of the greatest forts of that country, and is famous for its strength in the whole country of [6] Hindūstān, there the *vakīl* of Rāy Kōnbhā, who was named Dēbā, fortified himself, and sent out troops

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[1] Here also the man is named نصير عبد القادر and the word بن or ولد is omitted in the MSS., the lith. ed., and the text-edition.

[2] One MS. has عالي خان instead of علي خان. Firishtah calls him Naṣīr Khān's معلم or tutor and not his uncle.

[3] One MS. has ندیده instead of بار نداده.

[4] The word صفحهٔ is only in one MS. before تقصيرات, but I have inserted it, as it is required to make the metaphor complete.

[5] Both the MSS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah call it the اب بهيم. There was a حوض بهيم mentioned before, see page 481; but it cannot be identical with آب بهيم. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 208) calls it the Bunas river.

[6] Both MSS. have ازانجا, but the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have درانجا. This is better, and I have adopted it. It would appear that according to the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah it was the fort of Kōnbhalmīr itself that Dēbā Rāy fortified himself in; but according to Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 208)

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to carry on skirmishes. It so happened, that they had built a grand temple opposite to the fort, and had drawn a line of fortifications round it, and had stored provisions and war materials in it. Sulṭān Maḥmūd directed his energies to the capture of the fortifications round the temple, and seized them in the course of a week. A large number of Rājpūts became food for the sword, and others were plundered and taken prisoners. Sulṭān Maḥmūd ordered that the buildings appertaining to the temple should be filled with firewood and set on fire, and he poured [1] water and vineger over the walls; and in the winking of an eye, those grand edifices, which had taken so many years to erect, were rent asunder and crumbled down. The idols were also broken up, and given to the butchers (Col. Briggs adds "of the camp"), so that they might use them as weights for their scales for the sale of meat. The largest idol which had been fashioned in the shape of a [2] sheep, was converted into lime, and given with the

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it was, "one of the forts in the Koombulmere district." And he calls its defendant Beny Ray. The Cambridge History of India, page 355, is delightfully vague here, and says "he captured a fort and destroyed a temple, and advanced to Chitor." It is curious that there is no mention of these incidents in Tod's *Rajasthan*. On the other hand Tod (vol. I, p. 222) says that in S. 1496 A.D. (1440 A.D.), the kings of Malwa and Guzerat "at the head of powerful armies, invaded Mewar. Koombho met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Cheetore Mahmood the Khilji sovereign of Malwa." We have no mention of this victory in either the Ṭabaqāt or in Firishtah, but according to Col. Tod, Abul Fuzil mentions it, and dilates on Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. Col. Tod, also says that Mahmood was confined for six months in Chetoore, that Rana Sanga's son gave Baber the crown of the Malwa king, one of the trophies of the conquest, and finally that there is a more durable record of the victory in the inscription on the triumphal pillar of Chetoore, of which Koombho laid the foundation eleven years after the event, and which was completed in ten years.

[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have اب و سركه, while the other MS. has اب سركه; but Firishtah lith. ed. has اب سرد. He, however, agrees with the Ṭabaqāt in saying that water was poured over the wall, but Col. Briggs says that cold water was thrown on the stone images.

[2] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 209, footnote) says probably the figure was one of a bull, for, as he says, there is no other instance of the image of a sheep or a ram being treated as an object of worship by the Hindūs.

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pān leaf to the Rājpūts, so that they should have to eat of the object of their worship.

After he had done all this, he turned the bridle of his determination towards Chitōr; and after his arrival in that quarter, he seized, after some fighting, a fort, which was situated at the foot of the Chitōr hill; and slew a number of Rājpūts there. He was, after this, engaged in preparations for the siege of Chitōr, when the scouts brought the news, that Kōnbhā himself was not in the fort, but had on that day come out of it, and had gone away in the direction of the foot hills, which were situated in that neighbourhood. The Sulṭān started in pursuit of him; and sent several detachments separately in different directions after him. It so happened, that one of these encountered Kōnbhā, and a great battle took place, in which Kōnbhā was defeated; and entered the fort of Chitōr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd detached one army to besiege the fort; and himself took up a position in the centre of the country, and sent detachments every day for ravaging, and laying the country waste.

He then summoned Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Khān Jahān, so that he might take possession of [1] the country belonging to the Rājpūts, which was situated round about Shādīābād. When Ā'ẓam Humāyūn arrived at Mandisōr, he fell ill; and surrendered the deposit of life. Sulṭān Maḥmūd on receiving this news became extremely disconsolate and sorrowful. He wept much, and in his great grief and distress wounded his face. On arrival in the fort of Mandisōr, he sent the body of his father to Shādīābād; and made Tāj Khān, who was the pay-master of the army, its commander; and returned to his own camp.

As the rainy season had now arrived, the Sulṭān resolved, that he should select an elevated position, and take up his quarters there; and after the end of the rains again go on with the siege of Chitōr. On the night of the 25th of Dhī-ḥijjah, 846 A.H. (April 24th, 1443 A.D.)

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[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. agree, but Firishtah says تا ولایت جیتور را که در اطراف مندسور واقع است متصرف شود *i.e.*, so that he might occupy the part of the country of Jaitōr, which was situated around Mandisōr. The Cambridge History of India (p. 355) does not say that Sulṭān Maḥmūd asked his father to occupy the country round Mandisor, but that the latter led an expedition against that place, and there fell ill and died.

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Kōnbhā made a night attack with ten thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry, but Sulṭān Maḥmūd had arranged for the protection of his camp with such care and vigilance that he was unable to do anything; and a large number of [1] Rājpūts were slain. The next night Sulṭān Maḥmūd made a night attack on the army of Kōnbhā, with an army in battle array. Kōnbhā was wounded, and fled towards Chitōr; and many Rājpūts became food for the sword, and much booty fell into the hands of [2] the followers of Maḥmūd. The latter carried out the rites of offering thanks to God, and deferring the capture of the fort of Chitōr to the next year returned to his capital of Shādiābād for protection and safety.

Towards the end of Ḏhī-ḥijjah of the same year, he planned the erection of a college, and a minaret [3] seven stories high, in front of the Hūshang Shāhī *Jāma'* Mosque.

In the year [4] 849 A.H., an ambassador came from Sulṭān Maḥmūd son of Sulṭān *Ibrāhīm* Sharqī, the ruler of Jaunpūr, with *gifts* and *presents* of rare excellence; and after placing them before the Sulṭān gave a verbal message to the following effect, "Naṣīr, [5] son of 'Abd-ul-qādir the governor of Kālpī, has turned his face from the strict path of the law of the Prophet, has adopted the ways of heresy and heterodoxy, has given up the practice of fasting and prayer, and has made over Musalmān women to Hindū *Nāyikās* so that they might teach them the art of dancing. As the governors of Kālpī have from the time of Sulṭān Hūshang, been nominees of the rulers of Mālwa, it is right and proper, that I should in the first instance reveal all

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have راجپوت بسیار, but the other MS. has راجپوتان بسیار.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بدست محمودیان, but the other MS. has بدست لشکر سلطان محمود.

[3] The words are منار هفت منظر. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 210) has translated it "a beautiful pillar seven stories high." I have found that the dictionary gives face, aspect, a lofty building, tower, and palace among the meanings of منظر, but none of these is quite appropriate. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has منارۂ instead of منار in the text-edition.

[4] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have 849 A.H., but Firishtah and Col. Briggs have 847 A.H., and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 210) has 1444 A.D.

[5] One MS. omits the word بن.

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his circumstances to your right-thinking mind; but if you should not have the leisure to punish and chastise him, you may indicate the fact to me, so that I may chastise him in a way, that may be deterrent to others." Sulṭān Maḥmūd said in reply, "The greater part of my army has gone to punish the rebels of [1] Mandisōr, and as you have placed the defence of the faith in the forefront of your energies, [2] may your undertaking be of good omen; and it has my approval." In the same *majlis* he bestowed a robe of honour, and the usual money, which had become customary in that age and which had been paid to ambassadors, on the ambassador of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, and granted him permission to return.

When the ambassador arrived at Jaunpūr, and reported (Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khalji's) reply, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on account of his great pleasure and joy, sent twenty elephants as a final present to the Sulṭān. He then advanced towards Kālpī with a well-equipped army, and [3] expelled Naṣīr (son of) 'Abd-ul-qādir from that country.

And Naṣīr (son of) 'Abd-ul-qādir sent a petition to Maḥmūd Shāh to the following purport, "I have been obedient and submissive to your well wishers from the time of Hūshang Shāh to this day. Now Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī has, with violence and tyranny, seized this *faqīr's* territory. As you have always been my protector, now also knowing your high threshold to be the altar of my hopes, I have turned (my face) towards the country of Chandērī." Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent 'Alī Khān with elegant things and presents to Sulṭān Maḥmūd

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[1] The MSS. have میوات, and سواد, and the lith. ed. has منوانر which all appear to be incorrect. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has مذسور, and I have adopted it. M. Hidayat Ḥosain, however, has retained سواد in the text-edition.

[2] There is some difficulty about the meaning of the passage, which is written in one MS. as مبارک باشد که قصد مقبول نموده اند. In the other MS. the word و is substituted for که, and the word است for the last two words نموده اند. In the lith. ed. the conjunction is و and the sentence ends with the words مقبول, and both نموده اند and است are omitted.

[3] The expression in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. as well as in the lith. ed. of Firishtah is خواجه دار ازان دیار بیرون کرد I cannot find out the exact meaning of the word خواجه دار. It would be noticed that it was used in two previous passages.

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Sharqī; and begged him that "As Naṣīr Khān, son of 'Abd-ul-qādir, has, through your exertions and activities, repented of his evil acts, and has adopted the path of the law of the Prophet; and as he has from the time of the fortunate Sulṭān Hūshang been under our protection, it is hoped, that accepting and taking into consideration the purport of the text, 'that one who has repented of his sin is as if he had not sinned at all', he would draw the pen of forgiveness over his offences; and would deliver his country back to him." After the arrival of 'Alī Khān, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī did not give any distinct reply, and passed the time by saying "may be and perhaps."

Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī owing to his sense of honour and manliness, considered the protection of Naṣīr (son of) 'Abd-ul-qādir incumbent on his spirits, and started on the [1] 2nd Shawwāl 848, towards Chandērī; and in the neighbourhood of that place [2] Naṣīr Khān came and rendered him [3] homage; and [4] (Sulṭān Maḥmūd then) immediately advanced towards Erij and Bhāndīr. When this news reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, he came out of the city, and encamped in the territory of Erij; and having seized Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān, who was the hereditory ruler of that place, took him along with him. Starting from that place he encamped in the broken ground near the river Jamunā, to which there was only a narrow

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[1] The corresponding A.D. date is given by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 212) as January 8th, 1445 A.D., while the Cambridge History of India, page 355, gives January 12th, 1445, as the date on which Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī commenced his march towards Chanderī.

[2] He is called Naṣīr Shāh in this place in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but more correctly Naṣīr Khān in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has Naṣīr Shāh in the text-edition.

[3] The words و ملاقات کرد occur in one MS. after ملازمت نمود but not in the other MS. or in the lith. ed.

[4] The words from بلا توقف to چون occur in the MS., but are omitted from the lith. ed. There are slight differences in the MS. also; the initial و is omitted in one and the name of the second place is differently spelt in the two MSS. In one it is بهاندیر, which I suppose is Bhāndīr, though there is no dot below the first letter, while in the other it is written as بهدیر, which is probably Bhadnīr. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is تهاندیر, Thāndīr. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 212) has Bhandere. The Cambridge History of India mentions Erij, but not Bhāndīr.

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passage, and where a hostile army could not come up to him; and strengthened the position by the erection of works round it. Maḥmūd Shāh leaving him alone there advanced towards Kālpī; and Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī becoming impatient also marched towards that place. At this time the warriors of the Khaljī army attacked his base, and took an immense quantity of booty. Upon this he turned round with a body of his men, and engaged in a battle; and the fight and slaughter continued till the evening. After the lord of the stars (the sun) had set, the two armies returned to their original stations, and remained there. After two or three days, as the rainy season had already made its approach, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī returned to Fatḥābād after plundering and ravaging some villages appertaining to Kālpī. He planned the erection there of a palace seven stories high.

The *ra'īyats* and inhabitants of the town of Erij complained of the oppression and tyranny of Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī sent Malik-ush-sharq Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm, the governor of Chandērī, with a large army to Erij. When he arrived in the neighbourhood, news came that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī had sent Malik Kālū to attack and destroy him, and had reached the village of [1] Rātah. Malik Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm also turned to Rātah and after they had met Malik Kālū fled. The inhabitants of Rātah came and saw Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm; [2] he seized them all, and sent them to Chandērī; and again advanced towards Erij. He learnt on the way that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī had sent the major portion of his army to make a raid on the territory of [3] Barhār, the Rāy whereof was a dependant of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī. Malik Muẓaffar considered the guarding of his (master's) dominions must have precedence over the conquest of Erij, and advanced in that direction; and the Sharqī army, hearing

[1] The name is written as راٹ and راٹہ in the MS., and راٹہ in the lith. ed., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 213) calls it Rohut. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the place, or the incidents connected with it.

[2] It is not at all clear why he did so. Firishtah does not mention the incident.

[3] The place is called Barhār in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and برہاد Parbād in the other MS. It is not mentioned in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted پرھارہ Parhārah in the text-edition.

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the news, turned back, and went to the town of Rātah. As the war was being prolonged, and Musalmāns belonging to both sides were being wounded and slain, [1] Shaikh Jāīaldah, who was one of the great men of the age, and was famous for revelations and miraculous acts, wrote and sent, with the concurrence of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, a letter to Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, on the subject of a peace; and by the exertions of His Holiness the Shaikh, the peace was effected in this way; that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī should at once make over the towns of Rātah and Mahōbah to Naṣīr Khān; and when four months should have elapsed after the return of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, he should deliver to him the territory of Kālpī also. The period of four months was mentioned for this reason, that in that time, the truth about his religion and creed would be disclosed; and on this agreement Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī returned to Shādīābād.

In the [2] year 848 A.H., the Sulṭān planned the establishment of a [3] hospital, and he created an endowment, by the gift of some villages, for paying the charges of medicines and all the other things required for the sick. He also appointed Maulānā Faḍl-ul-lah *ḥakīm* (physician), who had the title of *Malik-ul-ḥukamā'* for observing the condition of the [4] sick and the insane.

On the [5] 20th of Rajb-ul-murajjab in the year 950 A.H., (Sulṭān Maḥmūd) advanced with the object of capturing the fort of Mandalgarh.

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[1] The name is written as جایلدہ, and جانیلدہ in the MS. and as چایلدہ in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and جایلدہ in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 213) calls him Sheikh Chand of Mālwa.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. gives 849 A.H., as the year of the foundation of the hospital. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 214) gives 1445 A.D., as the corresponding year of the Christian era.

[3] This is one of the earliest mentions of the establishment of a hospital; and it certainly, as far as I know, is the earliest mention of a hospital for mental diseases. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 214) gives a description of the hospital, and mentions "apartments for maniacs"; but the Cambridge History of India, page 356, only incidentally mentions the building of the hospital.

[4] The MSS. are incorrect here. One has مرض و جاندین, and the other مرض و مجانین. The lith. eds. of both the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah have the correct reading.

[5] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 214) gives September 11th, 1446 A.D., as the corresponding date. The Cambridge History of India, page 356, says Mahmūd Khaljī invaded the Rānā's dominion in October, 1446 A.D.

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When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Ranthambhōr, he transferred the command of it from Bahār Khān to Malik Saif-ud-dīn; and marching by successive stages encamped on the bank of the river Benāres. As Rāy Kōnbhā did not possess the strength to meet him, he fortified himself in the fort of Mandalgarh; and on the 2nd and 3rd day, the Rājpūts sallied out of the fort, and exerted themselves bravely. But in the end, they came in with weakness and humility; and agreed to pay tribute. Sulṭān Khaljī, owing to the exigencies of the time, agreed to a peace, and returned (to his own dominions).

In a short time, having newly equipped his army, he advanced with the object of capturing the fort of Biyāna. When he arrived within two *farsangs* of that place, [1] Saiyid Muḥammad Khān, the governor of the place, sent his son Aūḥad Khān to wait on him; and sent one hundred horses, and one *lakh* of *tankas* in cash as tribute. Maḥmūd Shāh having honoured him with a special robe of honour, gave him permission to go back. He also sent a gold embroidered *qabā* (robe) and a head-dress decorated with gems, a gold belt and horses with saddles and bridles adorned with gold for Muḥammad Khān himself. The latter put on the *qabā*, and opened his mouth in praise of Maḥmūd Shāh, and had the public prayer read and the coins struck [2] in his name. The Sulṭān on hearing this news returned from the place where he was. On the way he captured the town of [3] Alhanpūr which is situated near Ranthambhōr. He next [4] sent eight thousand

[1] He is called Maḥmūd Khān in one MS. In the other he is called Maḥmūd Khān in one place and Muḥammad Khān in the other. The lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah call him Muḥammad Khān.

[2] It appears from Firishtah that he did so by removing the name of the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī. The Cambridge History of India, page 356, says Muhammad Khān substituted the name of Mahmūd Khaljī for that of 'Ālam Shāh of Dehlī. As a matter of fact, the Sulṭān of Dehlī at this time was Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, who was succeeded by Bahlūl Lūdī, and no 'Ālam Shāh reigned in Dehlī at that time.

[3] The name of the town is variously given. The MSS. have آلهنپور Alhanpūr, and the lith. ed. has پهتور Pahtūr, while the lith. ed. of Firishtah has نیور Nēwar. Col. Briggs has the *fort* (not the *town*) of Anundpoor, and the Cambridge History of India, page 356, cuts the Gordian knot by calling it "a minor fortress."

[4] Under Tāj Khān, according to Firishtah, Col. Briggs and the Cambridge History of India.

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horsemen and twenty-five elephants, with the object of capturing the fort of Chitōr; and after taking one *lakh* and five and twenty thousand *tankas* from the Rāja of Kōtah in the way of tribute returned to Shādiābād.

In the year 854 A.H., 1450 A.D., [1] Gangdās, the Rāja of the fort of Chāmpānīr sent him tribute, and submitted that, "Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad, is besieging the hill of Chāmpānīr; as this slave has always carried his prayers to Your Majesty, he now hopes for aid and support." Sulṭān Maḥmūd turned his attention to give him help. On the way news came that [2] Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Gujrātī, had come towards Īdar, with the object of demanding tribute from the Rāja of that place. Sulṭān Maḥmūd considering him to be [3] weak, started towards [4] Bārāsīnōr. On hearing this news Sulṭān Muḥammad, as his [5] baggage animals had become lame and disabled, burnt his tents and other equipages

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[1] He is called کنک داس Kankdās or گنگ داس Gangdās in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 215) calls him Gungadas. The Cambridge History of India which, on page 301, in the chapter about the history of Gujarāt, had Gangādās, calls him here, on page 356, Kanak Dās.

[2] He is called Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Gujrātī in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but the other MS. has Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Gujrātī. Firishtah lith. ed. has Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Gujrātī. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh died soon after the invasion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī; and Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn succeeded him. This is probably the reason of the confusion in the names of the Sulṭān.

[3] There is some difference in the readings here. One MS. has what looks like حریر و ضعیف. The other has خرود ضعیف. It is omitted in the lith. ed. Firishtah has عاجز و ضعیف. It is rather far-fetched, but the reading may be عاجز و ضعیف in the text, the عا having been omitted by some scribe. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has این خبر را ضعیف دانسته, which seems more appropriate.

[4] The name is بارسینور, in one MS., and بار اسینور in the other and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has what looks like مار اسلپور. Neither Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions this place. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has باراسنبور in the text-edition.

[5] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have چارواي باري. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has چارواهاي بارکش. This appears to me to be correct, and I have adopted it. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has چارواها بارکش in the text-edition.

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and retired towards Aḥmadābād. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd received this information, he also turned back from the way, and encamped on the bank of the Mahindrī. Gangdās came to him at this place, bringing with him thirteen *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash, and some horses in the way of tribute. Sulṭān Maḥmūd bestowed on him a gold embroidered robe (*qabā*) in the same *majlis*; and gave him permission to go back; and himself returned to his capital of Shādiābād. On the way, he gave permission to Rāy Bīr, Rāja of Īdar, to go back, after bestowing on him, as a reward, five elephants and twenty-one horses and three *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash. He remained for a time at Shādiābād and occupied himself with the affairs of his dominions and army.

In the year 855 A.H., (1451 A.D.), he advanced with more than one hundred thousand horses to conquer Gujrāt and having passed [1] Ghātī Bawālī, besieged the town of Sulṭānpūr. Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Suhrāb, who was the deputy of [2] Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn for some days sallied out of the fort and fought bravely. (But) when he [3] became hopeless of receiving any reinforcement he begged for quarter and joined Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The latter sent his family and [4] children to the fort of Mandū; and made him swear that he would never turn his face from his master. He then gave him the title of Mubāriz Khān, and made him the commander of the army; and advanced towards Aḥmadābād. On the way news came that [5] Sulṭān Muḥammad had surrendered the deposit of his life; and his son Quṭb-ud-dīn had taken his place. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in spite of the fact that his object was the destruction of the mansion of Sulṭān Muḥammad's government, owing to his great humanity, assumed

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[1] The name is written as گهالي بوالي, and گهاني توالي in the MSS., and as كابني نوالي in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has كاتي نوالي. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted كهاتي بوالي in the text-edition.

[2] But see below where it will be seen that Sulṭān Muḥammad was yet alive.

[3] شد in one MS., and in the lith ed.; but گشت in the other MS.

[4] عيال و اطفال او را in one MS., and in the lith. ed.; and عيال او اطفالش را in the other MS.

[5] One MS. inserts احمد بن سلطان after محمد سلطان, while the other quite erroneously substitutes احمد سلطان for محمد سلطان.

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mourning; and in accordance with a custom of the time distributed *pān* and *Sharbat* (betel and sweet drinks) to the *amīrs* and learned men in his army. He also wrote a letter to Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, offering him condolences on his father's death, and congratulations on his accession. At the same time, however, he laid waste the town of Barōda, and left no stone unturned in the matter of plundering and seizing the inhabitants. He made prisoners of some thousands of Musalmāns and *Kāfirs*; and after halting for some days in that town, advanced towards Aḥmadābād.

At this time, Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Suhrāb, who had been waiting for a time and opportunity, fled and went to Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn. [1] It would appear, that when he took the oath, and engaged that he would not be false to the salt of his master, he had his old (original) master in his mind; and owing to his great regard for his salt had abandoned his family and children. Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched by successive stages, and encamped at [2] Kaparbanj, which was situated at a distance of 25 *karōhs* from Aḥmadābād. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn halted at the village of Khānpūr, which was three *karōhs* from Kaparbanj. For some days the two *Bādshāhs* confronted each other; and on the night of [3] the last day of Ṣafar in the afore-mentioned year, Sulṭān Maḥmūd mounted his horse with the determination of making a night attack, and came out of his camp. But he missed the way, and remained all night seated on his horse in an open plain. Early in the morning he placed the army of Sārangpūr on his right wing, and entrusted the command of it to his eldest son Ghīyāth-ud-dīn; and nominated the *amīrs* of Chandērī to the left wing and arrayed it under the command of [4] Qadam Khān, who was his younger son.

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[1] There are differences in the readings here. The MSS. have, with slight variations, the reading I have adopted; the lith. ed. has a very imperfect reading.

[2] سرکیج Sarkaj in the text-edition.

[3] The date is سلخ صفر in the MSS. and in the lith. eds., both of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah. سلخ as applied to a month means towards the close of, and in respect of a particular day means the last day. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 217) gives the 1st of Suffur, 856, as the date of the proposed night attack and gives the 10th of February, 1453, as the corresponding date of the Christian era. Both the date and the year of the Hijrī era and consequently the date and the year of the Christian era are incorrect.

[4] غزنین خان in the text-edition.

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He placed himself in the centre of the army and commenced the battle. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn also placing the army of Gujrāt in battle array advanced to the (battle-) field. The vanguard of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's army fled before the vanguard of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, and joined Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn. Muẓaffar Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs* of Chandērī, separated himself from the left wing of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, and attacked the right wing of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's army; and its soldiers being unable to withstand the attack turned their faces in flight. Muẓaffar Khān pursued them as far as Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's camp; and his men stretching their hands to plunder and ravage entered the treasury in the camp, and loading all their elephants with treasure sent them at once to their own camp. When the elephants returned, and they wanted to lead and send them a second time, they heard that a detachment of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's army finding Shāhzāda [1] Qadam Khān's troops to be weak and in distress had attacked them, and as they were unable to withstand them, they carried away their lives [2] on one foot (*i.e.*, with much difficulty). Muẓaffar Khān withdrawing his hand from plunder went into a corner. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was amazed at seeing his army dispersed and his left wing routed, and stood with two hundred horsemen on the field of bravery, and acting as an expert archer, as long as he had any arrows left in his quiver, gave proof of his great courage. At this time Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn came out of the corner, in which he was concealed, with a detachment in battle array and confronted Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The latter having exerted himself to the utmost retired to his camp, with (only) thirteen men. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn considered this victory a great gift of God, and did not engage in pursuit. Eighty-one elephants and an immense quantity of booty fell into his hands.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd remained on horseback in his place till nightfall. When five or six thousand horsemen had collected round him, he started for Mandū at midnight. On the way, his army was badly harassed by *kōlīs* and *bhīls*. Sulṭān Maḥmūd did not, from the time of the rising of the sun of his greatness and up to the end of the period

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[1] فدي خان in the text-edition.

[2] The MSS. have بيک پا and تبک پا, and the lith. ed. has تبک پا. I cannot find the meaning of تبک پا ; يک پا of course means one foot.

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of his reign, suffer any defeat, except this. When he arrived at Mandū, and the damages sustained by his army had been repaired, [1] he appointed Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn, who was his true-born son to raid the town of Sūrat, which had been founded on the bank of the Tāptī, and was one of the famous ports of Gujrāt. Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn returned after having ravaged a number of places pertaining to Sūrat. It so happened that (at this time) [2] information of the deceit and treachery and hostilities of Niẓām-ul-mulk, the *vazīr*, and his sons, reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and by his order they were punished.

In the year 857 A.H., 1453 A.D., Sulṭān Maḥmūd confirmed his determination to conquer the country of Mārwār ; but as he was not assured in his mind from the side of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, he thought it advisable that he should, in the first instance, conclude a treaty with the latter; and after that undertake the conquest of Kōnbhā's dominions. He kept this hidden in his mind, and gave orders for the equipment of his army; and went from Shādiābād to the town of Dhār. He sent Tāj Khān from that place with a well-equipped army to the border of Gujrāt, so that he might introduce the matter of the treaty. Tāj Khān wrote letters to the *vazīrs* of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn; and sending them by the hands of eloquent emissaries, conveyed the message, that disputes and hostility between the two sides were a cause of injury to the people; and peace and amity the cause of safety and prosperity. After much discussion Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn expressed his consent to a treaty of peace, and great and pious men from both sides having intervened, strengthened the treaty by engagements and oaths. It was settled, that the Quṭbī army should plunder and ravage such parts of Kōnbhā's dominions as were contiguous to Gujrāt, and Maḥmūd Shāh should take possession of the country of Mēwār and Ajmīr and all the neighbouring countries; and whenever necessary either of the parties should not refuse to aid and help the other.

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[1] Firishtah lith. ed. agrees, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 218) says that "Gheias-ood-deen, with the right wing of the army, fled to Surat, where he plundered the country" etc.

[2] The word خبری appears to be required after بحسب اتفاق , but does not appear either in the MSS., or in the lith. ed. It is in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and I have inserted it in the text.

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In the year 858 A.H., 1454 A.D., Sulṭān Maḥmūd advanced to punish the rebellious Rājpūts, who had raised the standard of recusancy and revolt in the territories of [1] Hārautī; and made many Rājpūts in the town of [2] Mahōlī food for the sword; and having seized their children and families sent them to Mandū. From that place he advanced towards Biyāna; and when he arrived near it, and as Dāūd Khān, the governor of Biyāna sent much tribute, and came in the way of loyalty and sincerity, he left the territory in his possession. He also, by his excellent exertions, changed a [3] dispute, which had existed between Yūsuf Khān Hindaunī and the governor of Biyāna, into friendship and attachment. At the time of his return, he left the government of the forts of Rantambhōr and Hārautī in the charge of Qadam Khān who had the title of [4] Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn; and spread the shadow of peace and hope on the residents of Shādiābād.

In the course of the same year, Sikandar Khān and Jalāl Khān Bukhārī, who were among the great *amīrs* of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahmanī Dakinī, sent petitions and incited Sulṭan Maḥmud to seize the fort of Māhūr, which was one of the great forts of Berār. The Sulṭān advanced towards Māhūr [5] by way of Hūshangābād. Sikandar Khān came and waited on him in the neighbourhood of

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[1] The name is written as هادوتی in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is written as هاروتی. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 219) has Kerowly. The Cambridge History of India, page 356, does not give the name of the country, but calls the people the "Hāra Rājputs".

[2] The town is called مهولی and مرهولی in the MS., and مهولي in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has مهوتی Mahōtī. Neither Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the name.

[3] The word which I have translated as "dispute" is written in the MS. as نقاری, and لقازی. In the lith. ed. it is تقاوی, and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is نقاضي. None of these words have any meaning in the dictionary which is quite appropriate. I believe "dispute", "railing at", than the "dandying words", which is the meaning of نقاری as the nearest. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained نقاضی in the text-edition.

[4] Both MSS. have Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn. This is incorrect. Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn was the title of the elder son. Qadam Khān's title was 'Alā-ud-dīn. Firishtah lith. ed. has فدای خان Fidāī Khān instead of Qadam Khān; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 219) has Fidwy Khan.

[5] The MSS. have از دار الملک هوشنگا باد instead of از راهِ هوشنگا باد.

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Maḥmūdābād. When he laid siege to Māhūr, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn came with an army, as numerous as the stars and as splendid as the sky, to aid the besieged garrison. Sulṭān Maḥmūd finding that he had not the strength to meet him turned back. The pen, perfumed with musk, has narrated these incidents clearly and in detail, in the section about the Bahmanī Sulṭāns.

At the time of his return news came from the [1] enemies, that Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Asīr, had invaded the country of Baklāna which is situated between Gujrāt and the Deccan, and owed fealty and allegiance to Maḥmūd Shāh. The latter, considering it incumbent on his spirit to protect and favour the ruler of the country, turned the reins of his determination in the direction of Baklāna; and sent Iqbāl Khān and Yūsuf Khān in advance of himself. Mubārak Khān came with a large army to oppose, but fled after a massacre. Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned to Shādīābād, after raiding some villages and towns in the territory of Asīr.

In the year 858 A.H., news was brought to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, that the son of Rāy Bābū, the Rāja of Baklāna, wanted to come to him; but Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Asīr had invaded his country, and was laying it waste, and was preventing him from coming. Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn on wings of speed to put him (Mubārak Khān) down. When the news reached the latter, he turned back and went to his own country. A son of Bābū came with much tribute, and received favours; and having obtained permission to return, went back proud and happy to his own country; and Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn went towards Rantambhōr.

About this time, the Sulṭān advanced towards Chitōr. Kōnbhā met him in the way of affability and gentleness, and sent a quantity of [2] coined gold and silver as tribute. As the coins bore Kōnbhā's

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[1] The word is متردديں in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; and متردين in the other MS. The only meaning of متردديں that can at all apply is enemies, but even that is not appropriate. متردين cannot be found in the dictionary. Firishtah leaves out the words از متردديں in the corresponding passage; and gives the full name of Mubārak Khān as Mīrān Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī.

[2] One MS. has زر و نقرہ مسکوک پیشکش فرستاد. The other has زر و نقرہ مسکوک پیش فرستاد both these readings are partly incorrect. The reading in the lith. ed. appears to be correct and I have retained it.

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stamp, they became the cause of an increase of Maḥmūd's wrath; and [1] he returned them; and his men stretched their hands in the way of plunder and rapine; and did not leave a vestige of cultivation and population. He also appointed Manṣūr-ul-mulk to lay waste the country of Mandisōr. And with the object of leaving *thānadārs* there, he wanted to found a town of the name of Khaljpūr in the centre of the country. On hearing this, Kōnbhā came in a state of distress and humility and sent a message to the Sulṭān, that he was prepared to send any amount of tribute that the latter might demand, and after that would never transgress the path of devotion and loyalty on the condition that the Sulṭān would abandon the project of building Khaljpūr. As the rains were approaching, Sulṭān Maḥmūd took as much tribute as pleased his heart, and turned towards Shādiābād. After remaining there for a time, he again advanced in the year 859 A.H., 1454 A.D., with the object of conquering the country of Mandisōr. On arriving in that neighbourhood, he sent detachments in different directions, and himself took up a position in the centre of the country. Every day news of a fresh victory came to him, and he performed the rites of offering thanks to God.

It so happened that one day a petition came from a detachment, which had been sent in the direction of Hārautī, to the purport that, the beginning of the rising of the sun of Islām in the country of Hindūstān was from the horizon of Ajmīr, and His Holiness the most learned of the sects [2] Shaikh Mu'īn-ud-dīn Ḥasan Sanjarī was at rest in that place; and now as it had come into the possession of the *Kāfirs*, there was no vestige left there of Islām or Musalmāns. As the purport of this petition was received, Sulṭān Maḥmūd turned in the direction of Ajmīr that very day; and after successive marches,

[1] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 221) says in a note that Chittoor was never subjugated by the kings of either Guzerat or Malwa; and therefore Sooltan Mahmood did not return the tribute, because the coins bore Koombho's stamp, but because he did not consider it to be large enough. It appears to me that Sulṭān Maḥmūd did not admit the independence of Rānā Kōnbhā, who was paying tribute off and on; and, therefore, resented the fact that the tribute sent contained coins which bore the Rānā's stamp; and he was probably also dissatisfied with the amount of the tribute.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 357, calls him Shaikh Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī.

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encamped opposite the tomb, which was the receptacle of light, and asked for help from the spirit of the Khwājah, may his tomb be sanctified! (He then) ordered the *bakhshī* (pay-master) of the army, that he should, in concert with the *amīrs*, reconnoitre round the fort and distribute the batteries. At this time [1] Gajādhar, who was the commander of the garrison, sallied out with a body of renowned Rājpūts to give battle. He was, however, unable to withstand the assaults of Maḥmūd's troops, and retired again into the fort. After that bloody skirmishes were carried on for four days. On the 5th day, Gajādhar again came out with all his troops, and was slain in the full swing of the fight. A body of Maḥmūd Shāh's soldiers, being mixed with those who were fleeing, got inside the gates; and the conquest of the fort fell to the lot of the Musalmāns. In every lane there lay heaps of Rājpūts that had been slain. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, having carried out the rites of offering his thanks to God, attained to the honour of circumambulating the grave of the great saint; and made plans for the erection of a grand mosque. He conferred the title of Saif Khān on Khwājah Na'mat-ul-lah, and entrusted the rule of the fort to his charge. He made the attendants of that holy place happy by bestowing rewards and stipends on them; and then returning towards the fort of Mandalgarh, encamped after successive marches on the bank of the river Banās. He nominated *amīrs* to different points round the fort. Kōnbhā also sent out his army from the fort dividing it into three detachments. The division, which confronted Tāj Khān, and that which was opposed to 'Alī Khān, fought with arrows and lances and there was [2] a great battle; and a large number of Maḥmūd

[1] The name is written as كجادهر, Kajādhar, in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed.; and as Gajādhar in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. This latter is of course correct. Gajādhar is a corruption of Sanskrit Gadādhar, *i.e.*, one who bears the mace. Col. Briggs has got Gungadhur Ray, which may be derived from Gangādhārā—a name of Siva—meaning one who carries the goddess or river Gangā. The Cambridge History of India, page 357, has Gajānhar, which has no meaning at all. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained كجادهر in the text-edition.

[2] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 223, footnote) suggests that this was the battle which was commemorated as a great victory obtained by Rana Koombho over Sooltan Mahmood on the superb column which the former erected; but there is very little similarity between this battle and the victory claimed

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Shāh's troops were slain, while an innumerable host of Rājpūts became food for the sword. When the sovereign of the stars turned his face from the arch of [1] the fourth heaven towards his private chamber (*i.e.*, the sunset), the two parties took up their quarters in their respective stations. In the morning, the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* collected in the royal pavilion, and submitted that as during that year the troops had been fighting repeated campaigns and the rainy season was near, it would be fitting and proper, if he would rest and repose for a few days in the capital city of Shādīābād, in order to repair the damage and injury to the army; and make after the rains, with a fully equipped army, a king-like attempt to capture the fort. Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned and rested for some days.

On the 26th Muḥarram 861 A.H., 23rd December, 1456, the Sulṭān marched with a great army to capture the fort of Mandalgarh. In the neighbourhood of Mēwār, the armies of Nāgōr and Ajmīr and Hārautī came and joined him. From that place they marched together to besiege Mandalgarh. On the way, wherever they saw a

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by the Rājpūts. According to the Rājpūt Annals, the victory took place in 1440 A.D., while the date of this battle was 1455 or 1456, 15 or 16 years later; while to take one of the incidents, Sulṭān Maḥmūd was said to have been taken prisoner, and kept in confinement for six months, and then released; see note 6, pages 512, 513. There is no mention of this in the Musalmān histories; and it is scarcely possible that such a thing should have occurred without being noted.

The Cambridge History of India, page 357, does not mention this battle at all, and the account given by it is entirely different. According to it, "the siege was opened and the approaches carried up to the walls. On October 19th, 1457, the place was carried by assault, with great slaughter., etc., etc." There is no mention of Rānā Kōnbhā and of his army; and instead of the retreat mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah, we have Sultān Mahmūd advancing towards Chitor, and sending columns in different directions to harass the Rājputs and to reduce them to subjection. Later on, however, on page 361, when giving a summary of the qualities and achievements of Sultān Mahmūd it says "The more famous column of victory at Chitor is said to commemorate victories over Mahmūd of Gujarāt and Mahmūd of Mālwa. If this is so it, 'like some tall bully lifts its head and lies'."

[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have طاق فلک چہارم the arch of the fourth heaven or sky, and I have accordingly adopted it; but the reading in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt طارم چہارم, which has the same meaning, sounds very well, and I had a mind to retain it.

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temple, they razed it to the ground. On their arrival at their destination, he gave orders to cut down all the trees from the roots and having pulled down all structures, left no trace of cultivation or population. Then they commenced the siege, and carrying the batteries beyond the ditches, took them close to the wall of the fort. In a short time, the citadel was captured by the help of Divine Providence. A large number of men were taken prisoners, or [1] were slain. The Rājpūts took shelter in a second fort, which was situated on the top of a hill, and felt proud of its strength and protection. But as the water of the reservoirs above the fort had failed owing to the concussion of the cannon, and the water, which had been stored in the first fort had fallen into the hands of Maḥmūd Shāh's troops; owing to the want of water cries of weeping and anguish rose from all sides, and the garrison crying "thirsty", "thirsty", begged for quarter; and agreed to pay a sum of ten *lakhs* of *tankas* as tribute; and coming out [2] with an assurance of safety, surrendered the fort. This great victory appeared on the stage of events, on the [3] 1st Dhī-ḥijjah in the year 871 A.H. Sulṭān Maḥmūd performed the rites of offering praise and thanks to God in a spirit of great humility and submission; and entering the fort on the following day, demolished the idol temple, and used the materials for the construction of a *Jāma'* Mosque. He appointed a *Qāḍī* (judge), a *Muftī* (judge or one who issues *fatwas* or decisions), a *Muḥtasib* or censor of public morals, a *Khaṭīb* or a reader of prayers, and a *Muadhan* or one who calls worshippers to perform the *Namāz* at fixed hours; and having arranged the affairs of that neighbourhood in the best way, advanced on the [4] 15th Muḥarram in the year 862 A.H., in the direction of Chitōr.

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have قتيل, while the other MS. has قتل.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بامان, while the other MS. has پايان below.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. has the 25th Dhī-ḥijjah 862 A.H., as the date of the victory, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 224) has Zeehuj 20, 861 A.H., 8th November, 1457.

[4] Both MSS. have 15th Muḥarram 862 A.H., while the lith. ed. has 15th Muḥarram-ul-ḥarām in the year 892, which is manifestly incorrect, as to the year. Firishtah lith. ed. has 15th Muḥarram, 863 A.H., and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 224) has 16th Moḥurrum, A.H. 862, December 4th, 1457.

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When he arrived in that neighbourhood, he sent Shāhzāda Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn to raid and ravage the countries of Kīlwārah [1] and Dīlwārah. The Shāhzāda laid the country waste, captured many prisoners, and returned under the wings of help and safety. After some days Shāhzāda [2] Qadam Khān and Tāj Khān were nominated to attempt the capture of the fort of Būndī. When the Shāhzāda arrived in the vicinity of the fort, the Rājpūts came out of it and commenced a fight. They exerted themselves to the best of their ability, but being in the end routed, became food for the sword; and a number of them having thrown themselves into the ditch were taken prisoners. On the first day of the attack they captured the fort by the strength of their arms, and their bravery and courage. The Shāhzāda having offered thanks for this great gift in the best way, left one of his trusted chiefs in that place; and with victory and triumph, returned to the capital city of Shādiābād in the foot steps of his father and patron.

In the year 863 A.H., 1458 A.D., (the Sulṭān) [3] again mounted to punish and chastise the Rājpūts. When he encamped in the village of [4] Ahār, he appointed Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-dīn and [5] Qadam Khān to raid the countries of Kīlwārah and Dīlwārah. They ravaged that country, and also raided the country round Kōnbhalmīr. When they waited on their father, and Sulṭān Ghīyāṯh-ud-dīn dilated on the praise of that fort, Sulṭān Maḥmūd advanced the next day towards it. On the way he demolished temples and traversed the different stages. When he encamped in the vicinity of Kōnbhalmīr, he mounted his horse one day, and went to the top of a hill which was situated on its eastern side, and reconnoitred the city. He then declared that the

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have Kīlwārah and Dīlwārah, while the other MS. has Kīlwārah and Malwārah.

[2] The text-edition has فدن خان.

[3] One MS. omits the words بتادیب و گوشمال راجپوتان سواری نمود - و چون and has instead باو بتادیب کلوارہ پل وارہ نامزد فرمود and then as in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have بموضع اهار, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 225) has the town of D'har.

[5] The name is variously written as Qadam Khān, Fidāī Khān, and Fidwī Khān.

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capture of the fort would not be possible without a siege lasting some years. The next day he started from that place and advanced towards Dūngarpūr. When he encamped on the bank of the Dūngarpūr reservoir, [1] Rāy Syām Dās, the Rāja of the place fled, and took shelter in the foot-hills; and coming out again from that place in great humility and distress gave a tribute of two *lakhs* of *tankas* and twenty-one horses. The Sulṭān then returned to his capital of Shādīābād.

In Muḥarram 866 A.H., September 1461 A.D., he advanced by rapid stages to conquer the country of the Deccan at the instigation of [2] Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk Ghūrī. [3] When he crossed the river Narbada, the scouts brought the news, that Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Asīr, had surrendered the deposit of his life. And Ghāzī Khān, his son, who bore the title of 'Ādil Khān, had taken his place. In the beginning of his rule he had stretched out his hands of [4] tyranny from the sleeve of oppression, had unjustly ordered [5] Saiyid Kamāl-ud-dīn and Saiyid Sulṭān to be slain, and had laid waste the houses of the victims. After some days their brother named Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn came to Sulṭān Maḥmūd praying for justice. The latter, in order to help him, determined to chastise 'Ādil Khān, and with this intention marched towards Asīr. 'Adil Khān in his helplessness and humility sent one of the grandsons (descendants) of Quṭb 'Ālam

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[1] He is called Rāy Syām Dās in one MS. and Rāy Sām Dās in the other, and Sāmī Dās in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Rāy Sām Dās, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 225) has Sham Das. I have adopted Syām Das, as it is nearest to the Sanskrit name.

[2] Firishtah and Col. Briggs agree; see also page 87 in the account of Niẓām Shāh Bahmanī, from which it would appear, that the invasion was at the instigation of Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk Ghūrī; but the Cambridge History of India, page 357, says that Humāyūn Shāh caused Malik Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī to be assassinated; and it was at the instance of his family, who escaped to Māndū, that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī invaded the Deccan.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 358, dismisses the matter of the advance on Asīr, with the rather inadequate and misleading statement, "composed a recent quarrel with 'Ādil Khān II of Khāndesh."

[4] Both MSS. have ظلم, but the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have تظلم.

[5] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 225, 226) has "Syud Kumal and Syud Sooltan, two of the most respectable and holy persons of the age," but I cannot find his authority for doing so.

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Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shakarganj to wait on him, and sending some tribute, prayed for the pardon of his offences. As Sulṭān Maḥmūd knew that the arrow of the plan of no conqueror of forts had ever reached the battlements of the strong bastions of Asīr; and besides the real object of this expedition was the conquest of the Deccan, he drew the pen of forgiveness over the volume of 'Ādil Khān's offences; and having given him some advice, turned towards the country of Berār and Elichpūr.

On his arrival in the town of Bālāpūr, his scouts brought the news that the *vazīrs* of [1] Niẓām Shāh had summoned and collected the troops from the different frontiers; and having drawn two *crores* of *tankas* from the treasury, had disbursed it, in the way of help to their expenses, to the *amīrs* and the commanders; and they had come out of the city of Bīdar with a large army and one hundred and fifty elephants of mountain-like size; and were waiting for the appearance of secret hidden in the providence of God, may His greatness be glorified! Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on hearing this news, put his troops in order, and by repeated marches arrived within three *farsangs* of Niẓām Shāh. [2] The *vazīrs* placed the eight year old Niẓām Shāh

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[1] The eight years old son of the tyrant Humāyūn Shāh, who had in the meantime succeeded him.

[2] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. has وزراء نظام شاه هشت ساله را سوار كردند, while the other has وزراي نظام شاه را سوار كردند and the lith. ed. has the same reading as the first MS., with the difference that it has وزراى instead of وزراء. I have adopted the reading of the first MS. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 226) says that the young king was placed on an elephant; but the use of the word عنان bridle, shows that this is not correct. The account of the battle as given in the Cambridge History of India, page 358, is somewhat misleading. It is said there that, "when the two armies met, that of the Deccan got some slight advantage, but the precipitate action of a slave named Sikandar Khān, who had charge of the person of the child king, decided the fate of the day." As a matter of fact the Deccan army gained a decisive victory and the Mālwa army fled and was pursued for two *karōhs*, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd's camp was plundered; and the fate of the day was not decided by the precipitate action of the person in charge of the child king; but as so often happened in other battles, was due to the victorious troops having dispersed in search of plunder, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd coming out of ambush with a body of fresh troops at the psychological moment. The person who took away the young king towards Bīdar was not, according to the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, Sikandar

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on a horse; and raising the royal umbrella over his head placed the bridle of the horse in the hand of Khwājah Jahān Malik Shāh Turk. The command of the left wing was entrusted to Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk Turk, and of the right wing to Khwājah Maḥmūd Gīlānī, who had the title of Malik-ut-tujjār. When the two *Bādshāhs* arrived in front of each other Malik-ut-tujjār acting with great quickness fell on the left wing of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army; and both Mahābat Khān, the governor of Chandērī, and Ẓahīr-ul-mulk, the *vazīr*, who were the commanders of it were slain; and a great defeat fell on the Mandū army, so that it was pursued to a distance of two *karōhs*; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd's camp was plundered.

At this time Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who had betaken himself to a corner, and was waiting for an opportunity (saw that) most of the Dakinīs were engaged in plundering, and Niẓām-ul-mulk was standing with only a few men round him, appeared with twelve thousand horsemen from behind Niẓām Shāh's army. Khwājah Jahān Turk, who was the leader of the centre of the army, turned round; and seizing the bridle of Niẓām Shāh's horse turned towards the city of Bīdar. The tables were now turned; and the men who had gone away in search of plunder were deprived of the beautiful capital of their lives.

Malka-i-Jahān, the mother of Niẓām Shāh, having suspicion of deceit and treachery, left Mallū Khan to guard the city of Bīdar, and went away herself to Fīrūzābād, taking her son with her. From that place she sent a letter to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, and asked for his help and reinforcements. And Sulṭān Maḥmūd followed on and besieged Bīdar. When the people having run away gathered round Niẓām Shāh at Fīrūzābād, and the news was received that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, who had determined to help Niẓām Shāh with a huge army, would be soon arriving; Sulṭān Maḥmūd, having held a consultation, decided in the end, that as the air had become hot, and the month of Ramaḍān had drawn near, it would be best and

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Khān, but Khwājah Jahān Turk. It is true that in the letter, which Niẓām Shāh or his mother or his ministers wrote to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī they said that Sikandar Khān and Khwājah Jahān carried him off to Bīdar; but not till an arrow from Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army hit the elephant on which Sikandar Khān was riding, and the animal became unruly, so that Sikandar Khān's action can scarcely be described as precipitate (see note 1, pp. 87–89).

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most proper, that he should defer the conquest of the country till the next year, and should then return, and with this pretext, he started on the following day for his own territory.

Again in the year 867 A.H., 1462 A.D., as he had the conquest of the Deccan in his mind, he again equipped his army, and encamped at [1] Naṣratābād Na'lcha; and he was still there, when a petition of Shīrāz-ul-mulk the *thānadār* of the fort of Kehrla arrived with the information, that Niẓām Shāh Dakinī had sent Niẓām-ul-mulk with a large army to attack the *thāna* of Kehrla; and on the way news came that Niẓām-ul-mulk Turk, having arrived, had attacked the fort of Kehrla; and also that when Niẓām-ul-mulk had arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort, Sirāj-ul-mulk was intoxicated, and had no notice of what was happening; but his son came out of the fort, and after putting up some fight fled. [2] Niẓām-ul-mulk, owing to his great pride and haughtiness, did not occupy himself in arranging the affairs of the place. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on receiving this news, sent Maqbūl Khān with four thousand horsemen in the direction of the fort; and himself advanced towards Daulatābād to have his revenge. On the way, the adherents of the Rāy [3] Sirkaja and the *vakīls* (representatives) of the Rāy of Jājnagar brought five hundred and thirty elephants as tribute. Sulṭān Maḥmūd bestowed robes of honour and rewards on them, and gave them permission to return. When he encamped in the village of Khalīfa-ābād, one of the servants

[1] Both the MSS. have نصرت آباد نعلچه but the lith. ed. has only نعلچه; while Firishtah lith. ed. has ظفر آباد نعلچه. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 228) has Nalcha. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the incidents connected with Kehrla.

[2] This is the version of Niẓām-ul-mulk's proceedings in the Ṭabaqāt, both in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but Firishtah has a different account. According to him, Niẓām-ul-mulk entered the fort with the troops which were fleeing, and took possession of it, but was murdered the same day by some Rājpūt foot soldiers. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 228) makes the matter clearer, by saying that "the place had fallen into the hands of Nizam-ool-Moolk; but that he, having exercised excessive tyranny towards the inhabitants had been put to death by a party of Rajpoot infantry." The Cambridge History of India, page 359, mentions the fact of Niẓām-ul-mulk's occupation of Kehrla but does not mention his death.

[3] The word is written سرکجه in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 228) has Surgooja.

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of the *Amīr-ul-mu'minīn* (the *amīr* of the Musalmāns) *Mustanjad Billāh* Yūsuf *bin* 'Abbāsī brought for him a mandate conferring imperial rule, under a robe of chieftainship from Egypt. In his great joy and delight he carried out the rites of welcoming the servants of the Khalīfa, treated them with great honour, and bestowed on them horses with jewelled saddles and bridles and embroidered robes of honour.

When he arrived on the frontier of Daulatābād (they) informed him that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī had come out of his capital and was advancing towards the place. Sulṭān Maḥmūd advanced towards the fort of [1] Mālkōnda; and having raided and ravaged some villages and hamlets returned to his capital of Shādīābād by way of Gōndwāra. He rested there for some days; and sent some troops under the command of Maqbūl Khān in Rabī'-ul-āwwal in the year 871 A.H., to plunder and [2] ravage the town of Elichpūr. When they plundered the city after occupying the surrounding country, the governor of the place after a part of the night had passed, collected his neighbours such as Qāḍī Khān and Pīr Khān, and with fifteen hundred horsemen and innumerable foot soldiers came out to fight. When Maqbūl Khān got this news, he despatched the booty and other goods and his equipments with one body of troops and he selected and kept the most useful men with him, and appointed [3] some detachments

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[1] Col. Briggs says in a note in vol. IV, page 229, of his History, "I am not aware of any town in Berar bearing this name; and the Teloogoo termination, *conda*, renders it likely to be an error of transcribers. It may be in Mulkapoor which lies in the direct route of the King's retreat."

[2] One MS. substitutes ساختند for بتاخت.

[3] The reading in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. appear to be incorrect. The MSS. have برای چنداول, and برای چندوالی; while the lith. ed. has برای چندولی. The reading in Firishtah is جمعی چند برای جنگ. This appears to be the correct reading, and I have adopted it. As to the incidents connected with Elichpūr, Firishtah agrees generally, with the exception pointed out in the preceding note. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 229) quotes an account of the incidents from what he calls "the best authenticated history I have seen", without, however, giving its name. It agrees generally with the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah. In this account, however, it is stated distinctly what is perhaps implied in the other accounts, viz., "The enemy, as he anticipated, attacked the army for the sake of plundering the camp-equipage, etc.; and at the very

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for engaging in a battle; and himself remained in ambush. When the two parties engaged each other Maqbūl Khan came out of ambush, and Ghāzī Khān fled towards Elichpūr. Maqbūl Khān pursued him to the gate of the city. On the way twenty of the notable leaders were slain and thirty were taken prisoners. Maqbūl Khān returned from that place victorious and triumphant to Maḥmūdābād (*i.e.*, Kehrla).

In Jamādī-ul-āwwal 871 A.H., January 1467 A.D., the ruler of the Deccan sent a man of the name of [1] Qāḍī Shaikhan to the capital city of Shādiābād for effecting a treaty of peace; and after much interchange of views peace was concluded on these [2] terms: that the ruler of the Deccan should leave the country of Berār as far as Elichpūr in the possession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and the latter should not henceforward cause any damage to the country of the Deccan. A treaty of peace was written containing these terms and received the agreement of the *amīrs* and great men and divines of the kingdom. In the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir in the aforementioned year, a robe of honour and the usual remuneration was bestowed on the ambassador Shaikhan; and [3] Mashīr-ul-mulk was sent with him so that the treaty and the agreement might be confirmed in the presence of each other.

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moment they expected to be crowned with victory, Mukbool Khan charging with his cavalry on the rear of the assailants gave them a total defeat."

[1] The name is قاضی شیخن in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and قاضی سیخن in the other MS. It is not mentioned by Firishtah, who says the rulers of the Deccan and Mālwa sent their emissaries to meet together and does not mention the names of those emissaries.

[2] The terms are slightly different according to Firishtah lith. ed., which says that the ruler of the Deccan should leave Sulṭān Maḥmūd in possession as far as Elichpūr and of the country of Gōndwāra and Baqālī, as far as Kehrla; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd should cause no injury to the country of the Deccan. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 230) says that "it was agreed, according to some historians, that Kehrla should be retained by Malwa, and that it should be considered as the southern limit of the kingdom; while others have asserted, that Elichpoor was ceded to Malwa on condition of the King refraining from invading the Deccan in future." The Cambridge History of India, page 359, says that Mahmūd's possession of Kehrla was confirmed, but the integrity of Berar, with that exception, was maintained.

[3] The name is Mashīr-ul-mulk and Shēr-ul-mulk in the MSS. and Sharf-ul-mulk in the lith. ed. It is not mentioned anywhere else. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has شیر الملک in the text-edition.

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After some days Sulṭān Maḥmūd ordered that the accounts of the offices should be kept according to lunar dates, and these dates should be written instead of the solar dates; and from the year 871 A.H. the lunar dates were entered in the accounts of all offices.

In the month of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year, [1] Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn, who was one of the most learned men of the age arrived in the neighbourhood of Mandū. Sulṭān Maḥmūd went as far as the *Hauḍ-i-rānī*, the rānī's tank or reservoir, to meet him; and they embraced each other at the heads of their horses, and the Sulṭān showed him great honour and respect.

In Dhī-ḥijjah of the aforesaid year Maulānā 'Imād, an emissary of Saiyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh came and waited on Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He brought the patched garb of the Shaikh as a gift of good omen. The Sulṭān considered the arrival of the garb a sign of good fortune, and welcomed the arrival of Maulānā 'Imād-ud-dīn with gratitude; and owing to his great pleasure and happiness kissed the [2] garb, and opening his hand of liberality and lavishness, made all the learned men and Shaikhs and honoured men of the country, who were present in the assembly, delighted and fortunate.

In the month of Muharram 872 A.H., August 1467, [3] swift messengers, who could race with the wind, brought to the notice of

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[1] The name is Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn in the MSS., and also in the lith. ed., and the place of his arrival is مندو Mandū, in one MS. and مندور in the other; while it is مندسور Mandisor in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. calls the man Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn and the place of his arrival, the neighbourhood of Shādiābād Mandū.

[2] One MS. has خلعتی instead of تلقی and خرقه را پوشیده instead of خرقه را بوسیده by mistake. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has, however, retained خرقه را پوشیده in the text-edition.

[3] Firishtah and Col. Briggs agree generally, but the Cambridge History of India, page 359, says that Muhammad III of the Deccan tampered with the loyalty of Maqbūl Khān, and the latter surrendered the fortress to the son of the Raja when Mahmūd had imprisoned; and it also calls Tāj Khān and Ahmad Khān Mahmūd's sons. I cannot find any authority for these statements. In the genealogy of the kings of Mālwa, on page 713 of the History, Ghiyās-ud-dīn is shown as the only son of Sultān Mahmūd I, though we know that there was at least one other son, Qadam Khān or Fidāī Khān, also known as Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn. It may be that the name of the only son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd,

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the Sulṭān, that Maqbūl Khān, of perverted destiny, had ravaged the town of Maḥmūdābād, which is now celebrated as Kehrla, and had applied to the ruler of the Deccan for protection; and had also made over some elephants, which had for administrative purposes been kept with him to the Rāyzāda of Kehrla; and the latter had taken possession of the town; and had put all Musalmāns, who had been residing in the fort, to death. He had also made a tribe of Gōnds join him, and had by their help closed up all roads. Immediately on hearing this news, Sulṭān sent Tāj Khān and Aḥmad Khān to put down this rebellion; and he himself also encamped at N'alcha on the 20th Rabī'-ul-ākhīr of the aforementioned year; and after a few days he started towards Maḥmūdābād. News reached him on the way that Tāj Khān and Aḥmad Khān had reached that place on the [1] *Dussehrah* day, which is a great day of the Brahmans, after making a forced march of seventy *karōhs*. When they were informed that the Rāyzāda was at his meal, Tāj Khān said, "It is not the act of a brave man to attack an enemy, when he is unaware of his danger." He therefore stopped his horse there, and sent a man to the Rāyzāda and gave him notice. The latter withdrew his hand from his food, and took up his arms and with his men came out to give battle. Such great exertions were made by the two parties, that nothing greater can be imagined. In the end most of the Rāyzāda's men became food for the sword; and he himself fled with head and feet bare; and sought the protection of the Gōnds. The elephants which had been with Maqbūl Khān and other booty and the town of Maḥmūdābād again came into Sulṭān Maḥmūd's possession. When the report of Tāj Khān reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd he was extremely delighted. He appointed Malik-ul-umarā Malik Dāūd to chastise the tribe who had given shelter to the Rāyzāda. When this news reached them, they sent the Rāyzāda under confinement to Tāj Khān.

After the victory Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched towards Maḥmūdābād; and encamped on the 6th of Rajab-ul-murajjab, in the town of Sārangpūr. At that place, after a few days Khwājah Jamāl-ud-dīn

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who became a ruler of Mālwa is given in the genealogy; but the names of five sons of Hūshang Shāh, none of whom ascended the throne, are given.

[1] One MS. has, by mistake, روز سیرم .

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Astrābādī came as an ambassador from the honoured [1] Mirzā Abū Sa'īd with fine presents and gifts. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was very pleased and delighted on his arrival, and made him happy with royal favours, and gave him permission to return. He also sent various [2] presents of the articles of Hindūstān, such as different kinds of silk and linen fabrics, and some [3] slave girls skilled in dancing and singing, and some elephants and some eunuchs and a few *Shāriks* and talking *Ṭūṭīs* (parrots) and some 'Arab horses in charge of Shaikhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn in company with Khwājah Jamāl-ud-dīn. The Sulṭān then remained (for some time) in Shādiābād.

In the year 873 A.H., 1468 A.D., a petition came from Ghāzī Khān, to the effect that the *zamīndārs* of Kachwārah had placed their feet outside the high road of allegiance. Immediately on its arrival, Sulṭān Maḥmūd taking the difficulties of the entrances and exits from the country into his consideration, planned the erection of a fortress in the centre of the country, which was completed in the course of six days. It received the name of Jalālpūr and [4] Mīrzā Khān was placed in charge of it.

On the 8th Sha'bān of the aforementioned year [5] Shaikh

[1] Ruler of Transoxiana, third in descent from Tīmūr, and grandfather of Bābar.

[2] One MS. inserts تحفهای after سوخات.

[3] One MS. has چند کنیزکی رقاص و گویندهٔ, the other has چند کنیز خاص و گویندهٔ while the lith. ed. has چند نیز و گویندهٔ. The first is the correct reading and I have adopted it. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, page 232) says that "dancing women, and singers mounted on elephants superbly caparisoned, together with a number of Indian and Abyssinian slaves for the seraglio." He calls the *shāriks*, *meinas*, but this is not correct. The dictionary describes *shāriks* as a species of talking bird, a grackle, a nightingale. In Bengalī *sūks* and *sārīs* are said to be two kinds of talking birds, the former being supposed to be the male and the latter the female; and as far as I know the *shārik* is a variant of *sārī*; the *ṭūṭī* being the *sūk* or parrot. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the presents, but otherwise generally agrees with the text.

[4] The name is منیر خان in one MS., and in the lith. ed. It is میرزا خان in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; and Meer Khan in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 233). The name is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has منیر خان in the text-edition.

[5] The name is Shaikh Muḥammad Farmalī in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and the Cambridge History of India have Shaikhzāda Muḥammad Qarmalī (p. 360).

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Muḥammad Farmalī and Kapūr Chand, son of the Rāja of Gwāliar came as ambassadors of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī, the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī, and waited upon the Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in the neighbourhood of Fatḥābād; and offered the presents which they had brought. They also submitted the following by word of mouth; "Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī does not keep his hand from me. If his Majesty the Sulṭān comes to the neighbourhood of Dehlī to help and reinforce me, and removes from me the disturbance created by him, I shall make over the fortress of Biyāna with its dependencies as tribute at the time of his return; and whenever the Sulṭān would advance in this direction I shall send six thousand horsemen, with necessary equipments, to wait on, and accompany him." Sulṭān Maḥmūd said, "Whenever Sulṭān Ḥusain should advance towards Dehlī, I shall with great rapidity betake myself to you and support you." Upon this agreement he conferred great favours on the ambassadors, and bestowed on them valuable robes of honour, and bade them farewell.

On the following day he started from that place, and advanced towards his capital of Shādīābād. As the air was extremely hot on the road, his health fell out of [1] equability and his illness became greater day by day, till on the 19th Dhī-q'adah in the year 873 A.H., [2] May 26th 1569, he passed away in the country of Kachwārah from the waste country of the world to the happy land of the after life. The period of his reign was thirty-four years.

Couplet:

Although with grandeur to the sky he lifts the throne,
To the [3] grandeur of the burial, at last, he carries his all.

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[1] The readings in the MSS. are از اعتدال and از حد اعتدال and in the lith. ed. با اعتدال. I have adopted the first reading, while in the text-edition it is از حد اعتدال.

[2] The Cambridge History of India (p. 360) gives June 1st 1469 as the date of the death. Firishtah agrees with the Ṭabaqāt in saying that the Sulṭān died in the country of Kachwārah; but the Cambridge History of India, page 360, says he expired shortly after his arrival at Mandū, or as it always wrongly calls it Māndū.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have بچاہ لحد, but the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has بچاہ لحد, which would of course mean to the well or pit of the burial; this last has been adopted in the text-edition.

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The similarity between the age of Sulṭān Maḥmūd at the time of his accession with the period of his reign is not without a certain singularity and curiosity. His Majesty the Lord of the Conjunction, Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān also ascended the throne of the empire as a matter of permanence in his 36th year, and the period of his reign was also 36 years; and after his death 36 of his sons and grandsons were [1] living and in their places.

[2] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN GHIYĀTH-UD-DĪN, SON OF SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD KHALJĪ.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī passed away, his eldest son Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn sat on the throne of the empire; and putting out the hand of liberality and lavishness from the sleeve of generosity and beneficence, made all the sections of the people satisfied and grateful. He distributed the gold, which had been scattered over his umbrella, among men of culture and other deserving people. [3] He confirmed the territory of Ranthambhōr which have been already alloted to him, to his younger brother, who bore the title of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn and was known as Qadam Khān. He, in order to please him, also bestowed on him certain other *parganas*, which had been in his

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[1] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has حی قایم بودند another has حی و قایم مقام بوده اند ; while the lith. ed. has و قایم بوده اند. Firishtah lith. ed. has no corresponding passage. The second reading has been adopted in the text-edition.

[2] There are differences in the heading also. One MS. has what I have got in the text, the other has ذکر سلطان غیاث الدین خلجی, while the lith. ed. has only ذکر سلطان غیاث الدین.

[3] Firishtah has, he made فدیخان, Fidī Khān, his brother, happy by conferring on him شهر نو *Shahr-i-Nau,* and certain other *parganas,* which he had in his possession in the time of Sūlṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī; Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 236) calls the brother Fidwy Khan, but agrees with the Ṭabaqāt in saying that Runthunbhore was conferred on him, to be held in perpetuity. The Cambridge History of India, page 361, says that "his next brother Tāj Khān was confirmed in his fiefs, and received the title of 'Alā-ud-dīn, and his younger brother Fidāī Khān was permitted to retain Ranthambhor and other districts." Neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah mention Tāj Khān as a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī; and they say that Qadam Khān or Fidī Khān had the title of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn. فدن خان in the text-edition.

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possession in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He made Shāhzāda 'Abd-ul-qādir his heir, after conferring on him the title of [1] Nāṣir Shāh; and entrusted the duties of the *vazārat* to him. He conferred on him the umbrella and palanquin and polished still-ball as ensigns of royalty; and a *jāgīr* of twelve thousand horsemen. He also gave orders to the *Khāns* and *amīrs*, that they should go every morning to salute him, and come to the palace in attendance at his stirrups. When he had finished the festivities and rites of the accession, he sent for the *amīrs* one day, and said, "As I have spent 34 years at the stirrups of my father in labours and expedition, it now comes to my mind, that I should endeavour to guard what has come to me from my father, and should not give myself the trouble to acquire more; and should open the [2] door of peace and rest, and pleasure and enjoyment on me, and those depending on me. It is better to keep the territories in [3] peace and quiet, than to strike one's hand on those of others." He commenced to endeavour to collect musicians; and they came to his threshold from all directions. He filled his seraglio with [4] beautiful slave girls and daughters of Rājas and *zamīndārs*; and in this matter made very great exertions. He taught an art and a profession to each of the beautiful girls; and taking their fitness into consideration, taught some the arts of dancing and singing; and others those of reading and recitation and playing on the flute; and a small number the art of wrestling. He had five hundred Abyssinian slave

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[1] Firishtah and Col. Briggs say that the title of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen was conferred by Gheias-ood-deen on his eldest son, and he was made heir-apparent and *vazīr*. The Cambridge History of India, page 362, says that Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn "associated him with himself in the business of government." It appears, however, more correct to say that the Sulṭān left the government entirely in his hands.

[2] One MS. has در امن و آسایش و عشرت. The other has امانش, incorrectly, for اسایش. The lith. ed. has عیش و before عشرت. This appears to me to be better than either of the two other readings, and has been adopted as correct.

[3] One MS. has در دامن و امان داشتن and both MSS. have به instead of بهتر and دست زند instead of دست زدن; in the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted the first reading.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have کنیزان صاحب جمال, while the other MS. has کنیز قا صاحب جمال.

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girls dressed in male attire, and arming them with swords and shields gave them the name of the *Ḥabīwash* band. He also called five hundred Turkī slave girls in the Turkī dress as the Mughul band. He also trained five hundred slave girls, who were distinguished for the strength of their genius and the keenness of their intelligence, in various kinds of learning; and he had one of them join him every day at his meals. He selected a number of them, and entrusted various affairs of state, such as the office of demands, and the watching of receipts and expenditure of the country, and the supervision of various factories, to them.

[1] He also established a market in his harem, so that whatever went to the market of the city for sale was also sold there. Altogether sixteen thousand slave girls were collected in his harem; and [2] each one of them had every day two silver *tankas* and two *mans* of grain; and in equalising this allowance he acted with the greatest meticulousness, so that Rānī Khurshīd who was the highest of the members of the seraglio and had great love for him, and great authority in all affairs, also had two *mans* of grain by lawful weight and two *tankas*. He had also ordered a servant that he should place every day cooked food at the mouths of the holes of mice and rats. He had also ordered his officers, that when he offered thanks for the gifts of the great and holy God, and when the benefits, which the great God had showered on him, came before eyes, they should give fifty *tankas* by way of thanks-offering to deserving men; and [3] should not suspend it during

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 362, says, "A replica in miniature of the great bazar in the city was erected within the precincts of the palace, and was filled with the artists, artisans and craftswomen of the harem." This does not convey the meaning of the statement in the text.

[2] Firishtah agrees, but he adds غیر سرداران و منصبداران, *i.e.*, except *sardārs* (chiefs), and *manṣabdārs*; but this does not agree with Ṭabaqāt according to which even Rānī Khūrshīd had the usual allowance. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 236) gives each of them "two seers of grain and two tunkas of copper." The Cambridge History of India does not give the exact amount paid to each woman, but adds (p. 362), that "the king himself regulated with meticulous nicety the pay and allowance of all, even to the quantities of grain, fodder, and meat allotted to the various animals employed or domesticated" in the harem.

[3] The reading is doubtful and the meaning is obscure. The readings in MSS. are بجواب معطل ندارند و and بحوات معطل ندارند و which are clearly incorrect.

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sleep. [1] He also ordered that to each person young or old to whom he might speak anything outside, they should give one thousand *tankas* in the shape of a reward. Most of his time was passed in pleasure and enjoyment. After a watch of the night had passed, he girded the belt of service, in the middle of his life, and occupied himself with the ceremonies of worship; and rubbed his forehead in the dust of humility and poverty; and entering by the door of humility begged for the grant of his object and desires from the great and holy God.

He had given an order to one who was near him, that he should bring to his notice at a fitting place, whatever might take place in his kingdom, and any petition that might come from any frontiers (of his kingdom). If in any affair of the country, there was doubt among the *vazīrs* they used to write a statement of the facts and send it to the palace, and he wrote a fitting reply and sent it to them. It is stated that Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī raided the [2] town of Alhanpūr, which appertained to the Sulṭāns of Mālwa; and great injury was done to the residents of the town. No one could place his foot of daring forward and bring this matter to the notice of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn. In the end by the advice and counsel of the *vazīrs*, Ḥasan took advantage of an opportunity one day, and reported that Sulṭān Bahlūl used to send every year the whole of the profits, in the form of tribute and *salāmī* (bonus) to the fortunate Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh; and it was now being heard that he had committed an act of audacity, and his troops had stretched the arm of plunder and rapine to the town of [3] Alhanpūr. On hearing this news, he immediately sent an order to Shēr Khān, son of Muẓaffar Khān,

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The lith. ed. has و بخواب معطل ندارند; this seems to be the correct reading, and has been adopted. M. Hidayat Ḥosain, however, has retained the first reading.

[1] The meaning of the payment of this large reward is not clear. It is not clear also what is meant by در بیرون. Does it mean outside the harem?

[2] Both MSS. have قصبه الهنپور, but the lith. ed. has قصبه رستیور. Firishtah lith. ed. has in the corresponding passage پالنپور. Col. Briggs has Runthunbhore, and the Cambridge History of India, page 361, has Pālampur near Ranthambhor. The fact that Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn did not attack Buhlūl Lodī when the latter invaded Mālwa, but ordered Sher Khān to do so is given in the Cambridge History of India, as an illustration of his being averse to war. I think it was due to his laziness and inertia.

[3] Here also the MSS. have الهنپور.

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the ruler of Chandērī, that he should take the armies of Bhīlsa and Sānrangpūr with him, and proceed to chastise Sulṭān Bahlūl. After receiving the order, Shēr Khān collected his troops, and advanced towards Biyāna. As Sulṭān Bahlūl saw that he did not possess the strength to meet Shēr Khān, he abandoned Biyāna, and went to Dehlī. Shēr Khān pursued him, and advanced towards Dehlī. Sulṭān Bahlūl then, by offering terms of peace and making presents, turned him back and the latter then rebuilt [1] Alhanpūr and then came back to Chandērī. They narrate that every night he placed some gold *mōhurs* under his pillow, and every morning he gave them away to deserving people. [2] He had ordered seventy slave girls, who had memorised the holy *Qurān*, that at the time when he changed his clothes they would finish the *Qurān* and [3] blow their breath on the garment. In [4] respect of the beauty of his belief and simplicity, they narrate that one day a man brought to him a hoof of an ass, and said, "This is a hoof of the ass of Jesus." He ordered that they should bestow on the man fifty thousand *tankas*, and he bought the hoof. To make the story short, three other men, who brought three other hoofs also sold each of them for a similar sum. It so happened that another man also brought one in, and the Sulṭān gave orders for giving fifty thousand *tankas* to him. One of the attendants of His Majesty said, "Perhaps the ass of Jesus had five legs, so that such a sum is being paid for the fifth hoof." The Sulṭān said that perhaps this man is telling the truth, while one of the others may have brought a wrong

[1] See notes 2 and 3 on page 546. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 238) calls the place Lallpoor. The year of Bahlūl Lūdī's invasion is not given in the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah says it was in 889 A.H., while Col. Briggs has 887 A.H., and 1482 A.D., as the year (vol. IV, p. 237).

[2] This is mentioned by Firishtah also, but he says that there were one thousand and not seventy slave girls who had memorised the *Qurān* and they recited it together when he changed his clothes.

[3] This means that each of the slave girls used to blow on the garment after reciting three-sevenths of each *pārah* of the *Qurān* (the *Qurān* being divided into thirty *pārahs* or parts) in order to render the garments of the king pure, blessed or holy.

[4] This story is mentioned in the Cambridge History of India, see page 363, but while the Musalmān historian mentions it as an illustration of the Sulṭān's حسن اعتقاد و سادۂ لوحی, the English historian calls him the "crowned fool".

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hoof. He had also ordered those who were near him, that when he was engaged in pleasure, or was occupied in talking with worldly people, they should bring a piece of cloth before him to which he gave the name of a shroud; and he, taking alarm, would perform his ablutions anew, and having prayed for pardon again occupy himself in worship. He had also told the members of his harem with great emphasis, that they should wake him up for the night prayer; and (if necessary) dash water on his face. If it so happened that his sleep was heavy, they pulled him out by force and wakened him. And if he was engaged in any festive function, and did not rise on receiving one or two intimations, they, according to his orders, caught his hands, and lifted him up. People never said a word in his *majlis*, which was contrary to the law of the Prophet or which would cause pain. And he never saw (partook of) any intoxicating drinks. One [1] day they had made an electuary for him, and had spent a *lakh* of *tankas* on it. He ordered that they should tell him the name of the ingredients, and it then appeared that there were three hundred and odd drugs in one *diram* of nutmeg. The Sulṭān said, "This electuary cannot be used by me," and ordered that it should be converted into a morsel of fire. Someone said, "Let it be bestowed on someone else." He said, "Alas! that I should prescribe for another, what I do not consider right for myself."

[2] At one time one of the neighbours of Shaikh Maḥmūd Na'mān, who was one of the companions of the Sulṭān, came to him from Dehlī; and said, "I have come remembering the promises and gifts of the Sulṭān, so that by your intervention, I may get from him the wherewithal for the marriage of my daughter." The Shaikh said, "I am prepared to pay myself the amount you require." He replied "I will not take it from you, I wish that I may partake of the gifts of the Sulṭān, and my respectability may thereby be increased. The

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[1] The matter of the electuary is mentioned by Firishtah and his account agrees with that in the text.

[2] This is preceded in the lith. ed. by the words حکایت غریب, a strange story; but these words are not found in either MS. The Cambridge History of India, page 363, gives this story also, but omits most of the particulars. The man is described as a beggar from Dehli, but the reason of his journey is not mentioned, nor is Shaikh Maḥmūd Na'mān, who engineered the fraud.

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Shaikh insisted, but the other did not agree. At last the Shaikh said, "I recommend those who come to me on the ground of the greatness of their ancestors, or on their own excellences. You do not possess either of these qualifications. With what qualities shall I praise you?" The man replied, "I have brought myself to you, you act according to your own intelligence and wisdom." The Shaikh took the man with him to the audience hall of the Sulṭān; and he told him to take a handful of the wheat which the men were weighing there for the *faqīrs*. When the Shaikh met the Sulṭān, that man was also behind him. The Sulṭān said, "Who is this man?" He replied, "This man has memorised the holy *Qurān*. He has brought a handful of wheat as a present, on each grain of which he has finished the *Qurān*." The Sulṭān said, "Why did you bring him here? I should have gone to him." The Shaikh said, "He does not possess such a position or qualifications, that the Sulṭān should go to him." The Sulṭān said, "If he is not fit for it, his present is priceless." As the Sulṭān insisted, the Shaikh settled that the man should bring his presents to the *Jāma'* Mosque on the following Friday. When they had finished their prayers, the Sulṭān ordered that the man should mount the pulpit, and throw the grains of wheat in the lap of the Sulṭān's skirt, and the Sulṭān favoured him with a variety of gifts.

[1] They have narrated, that one day the Sulṭān said to his intimates, "I have collected some thousands of beautiful women in my harem; but I have not yet found a person such as my heart desires." Of the men who were present one said, "Perhaps the men who were employed in this service were not perfect in discerning a beautiful person. If this slave is employed in this work, it is likely that he should find a person, that may be agreeable to the Sulṭān." The Sulṭān said, "What do you consider a beautiful person?" He said, "It is one, each part of whose person, which comes to the beholder's sight, deprives the latter of the desire to see any other part; for instance if he sees her figure, he becomes so fascinated with her, that he has no desire to see her face." The Sulṭān was pleased with

[1] This is also preceded by the word حکایت, story, in the lith. ed., but the word is omitted in both MSS. This story is also narrated by Firishtah; but it does not appear to be mentioned by Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

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this judgment of his about a woman's beauty. The man then took leave of the Sulṭān and went round the country. But although he cast his eyes over all the world, he did not find what he wanted. However he arrived at a place, where he saw a young woman, who went walking gracefully. Her gait and figure enchanted him. When taking great care he cast his eyes on her beautiful face, he found something much better than what he wanted. He remained there for some days and, by such trickery as he knew, took her along; and placing her in the service of the Sulṭān made him happy. He told the Sulṭān that he had bought her for so many thousands *dirams*.

After some days, the father and mother of the young woman became acquainted with this matter; and knew that a man, who had stayed in the village for some time, had taken away their daughter. Having sought a clue to his name and country, they came to the Sulṭān praying for justice. They happened to meet him at the crossing of two roads and begged for justice. The Sulṭān knew that they were complaining about that particular young lady. He did not take a single step from the place where he was; and ordered that men learned in the law should be directed to attend there. Then he asked them to pass on him the sentence directed by the law of the Prophet. The complainants, on becoming acquainted with the truth of the matter, submitted that their complaint was for this reason that that man had taken away their daughter. As she had now become an inmate of the harem of Sulṭān, it was a matter of honour and happiness to them, more specially as she had become a Musalmān, and had left their faith; and they were now pleased and satisfied.

Then the Sulṭān told the learned men, the woman has now become my lawful wife; but for the time that has passed, you should carry out in respect of me whatever might be the order of the law. If I deserve to be put to death, I shall hold you absolved for causing my death. The learned men said that whatever is done without knowledge is pardoned in the law; and is absolved by penitence. In spite of this decision, the Sulṭān was repentant about this; and forbade his servants to seek for and produce any women.

[1] In the year 887 A.H., 1482 A.D., there was a conjunction of

[1] These conjunctions are mentioned by Firishtah also. He, however, says distinctly that he took the account from the Ṭabaqāt, and also says that

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planets; that is Saturn and Jupiter became contiguous and near to each other in degree and minute in the sign of Syrpio, and the [1] five stars were also collected in one sign of the Zodiac. The evil caused by these conjunctions appeared in most countries; and specially in Khaljī territories there was much [2] disturbance, as will clearly be seen from the account of Nāṣir Shāh.

In the year 889 A.H., 1484 A.D., an ambassador came from the Rāy of Chāmpānīr, and submitted a petition to the following effect: "When in former times [3] Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad besieged Chāmpānīr, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh came to help and assist the slaves; and [4] released us from the siege; and now Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī has come and is again besieging Chāmpānīr. If your Majesty considering our ancient relations of servitorship to you, would advance to release us, it would be the cause of an increase of your protection and bravery. A sum of one *lakh* of *tankas* would be remitted to your officers as a contribution towards your expenses." When the report reached Sulṭān he collected his troops, and came and took up his residence in the palace of Na'lcha. The next day he sent for the learned men and the *Qāḍīs* to his *majlis* and asked them for a ruling on this point. "A Musalmān *Bādshāh* has besieged a hill of a *Kāfir*. Is it allowed to me according to the law of the Prophet that I should

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the coming of Bahlūl Lūdī and the destruction of Alhanpūr or Pālanpūr was among the effects of these conjunctions. They do not appear to be mentioned either by Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

[1] The five stars are عطارد Mercury, زهره Venus, مشتری Jupiter, مریخ Mars, زحل Saturn.

[2] The MSS. have اختلاجی and the lith. ed. has اختلانی; while Firishtah in the corresponding passage has احتلالی. This last seems to be the most appropriate word, and I have adopted it.

[3] So in both MSS., and in the lith. ed. As a matter of fact the correct name of the son of Sulṭān Aḥmad was Sulṭān Muḥammad. Probably Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who ascended the throne in 862 A.H., and was contemporaneous with Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, who reigned from 839 A.H. to 873 A.H., is meant, but he was the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad and grandson of Sulṭān Aḥmad. Firishtah lith. ed. mentions the fact of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn's march to Na'lcha, but he does not mention the particulars of the previous siege. Neither Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the matter.

[4] One MS. has, by mistake, خلاص بودند instead of خلاص کرده بود.

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advance to aid the *Kāfirs*?" All the learned men said, "It is not allowed." Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn then bade farewell to the ambassador from Chāmpānīr; and went back to his own capital.

When old age overtook the Sulṭān, disputes commenced about the possession of the kingdom between Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn and [1] Shujā'at Khān, who had the title of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn; and in spite of the fact, that they were twin brothers, things came to such a pass, that they made attempts on the lives of each other. Rānī Khūrshīd, the daughter of the Rāy of Baglāna who was the chief inmate of the harem of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, took the side of Shujā'at Khān, and wanted to turn Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn against Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. This matter will be described in the account of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. To be brief, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn lost the bridle of power and fled from Mandū; and having taken up a position in the centre of the kingdom, brought over the *amīrs* to his side; and coming back besieged the fort of Mandū. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn [2] having given encouragement and comfort to a body of five thousand Gujrātīs made vain efforts. In the end, the Ghiyāth Shāhī *amīrs* opened the gates; and invited Nāṣir-ud-dīn into the fort. When Shujā'at Khān saw that Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn had entered by the gate, he went and took shelter with

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[1] One MS. has شجاع خان. Firishtah's account of the quarrels between two brothers is somewhat more detailed. He says they began in 903 A.H., 1491 A.D., when Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn had become old and decrepit. Rānī Khūrshīd attempted to have Nāṣir-ud-dīn seized; whereupon in 905 A.H., he fled; and seeing that the Rānī was still bent on his destruction, he took up a position in the centre of the country, and *amīrs* and soldiers came, and joined him; and he assumed the emblems of royalty, and advanced and besieged the fort of Mandū. As he had acted as his father's *vazīr* for years, people knew him. They opened the gates of the fort and brought him into it without the opposite party knowing anything about it. Shujā'at Khān or 'Alā-ud-dīn fled to his father's palace, but he and the Rānī were dragged out; and he and his son were butchered like so many sheep. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 239) gives a similar account, but he adds that Nasir-ood-Deen was admitted into the fort by the Tarapoor gate, on the 24th of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 906, October 22nd, 1500 A.D.; and also that Alla-ood-Deen and all his children and all his family were put to death. The account in the Cambridge History of India, page 363, is somewhat different in some particulars.

[2] One MS. has بخود موافق ساخته between پنجهزار گجراتی را and دلاسا کرده; this is followed in the text-edition.

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his father; and after some days, when the foundations of the palace of the Nāṣir Shāhī rule became stronger, Shujā'at Khān and his sons were summoned to the Sulṭān's presence and were beheaded. On the 9th of Ramaḍān in the year 906 A.H., Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn was attacked by the disease of dysentery, and joined the vicinity of God. [1] Some say that Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn killed his father by giving him poison. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn sent a message to Rānī Khūrshīd that she should make over to the treasurer all the treasures of the Sulṭān which were in her possession, otherwise she would suffer much trouble. The Rānī having regard to his probable harsh treatment, brought over all the treasures and property which were hidden and concealed in the harem; and made them over to the Nāṣir Shāhī agents.

The period of his (*i.e.*, Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn's) reign was [2] thirty-two years and seventeen days.

An account of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn.

Historians are agreed that the birth of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn took place during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī. Maḥmūd Shāh and Ghiyāth Shāh in their great joy arranged festive entertainments; and for one month kept the bed of pleasure and enjoyment spread out. In thanks-giving for this great gift, the ordinary *ra'īyats* generally, and men of wisdom and deserving men specially, were made participators in the board of their benefactions and the tables of their favours. Astrologers, who knew the stars, reported that the Shāhzāda was born with a happy fortune, and in an auspicious moment; and would get perfect nurture and full education from the nurse of the age; and will be supreme and unrivalled in all the various arts, and the different cultures and education. On the 7th day after the birth, he was produced before the great and holy men, and received the name of 'Abd-ul-qādir. Both in the time of his youth and in that of his manhood, the marks of royalty and empire were patent

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[1] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 240) thinks that the accusation is false, as Nasir-ood-Deen had "been already crowned by his father's consent", but the fact, that many of the important nobles rebelled against Nāṣir-ud-dīn, would lead one to infer that the accusation had some foundation.

[2] Firishtah and Col. Briggs make it thirty-three years.

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and clear and bright on his forehead. When he reached the years of discretion, and excelled all his contemporaries in the matter of the duties of leadership and chieftainship, Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn made him his heir apparent; and entrusted the duties of the *vazārat* to him. His younger brother, Shujā'at Khān, although outwardly he did not forget any of the minutiæ of agreement, still being hostile to him in spirit, got a number of men to combine with him. One day he [1] represented in private to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn that "A number of audacious, low men have collected in the service of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, and are inciting him to seize the kingdom. It is better to remedy an event before it actually occurs." He made so many insinuations, that the intention of seizing the Shāhzāda and of imprisoning him became impressed on the Sulṭān's mind. But as the marks of nobility and the token of sovereignty were evident in his countenance, his paternal affection induced him to apply the ointment of kindness and favour on the wound of his heart, and make him more powerful. He accordingly ordered that the pay-master of the kingdom should send orders to the *amīrs* and to heads of all bands, that they should go every morning to offer their salutation to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, and should attend at his stirrups to the palace gate.

Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn now took up all the affairs of state permanently in his own hand; and appointed his own *gumāshtas* (his agents) everywhere. As he allotted the management of the *Khālṣa parganas* (*i.e.*, *parganas* in the direct possession of the sovereign) to Shaikh Ḥabīb and Khwājah Suhail eunuchs, [2] Yakān Khān and Amman and Mūnjā Baqāl, who had before this been the officers in charge of the *Khālṣa* complained to Rānī Khūrshīd, who was of a mannish disposition. The latter as she was inclined towards Shujā'at Khān, and her mind was not free from evil towards Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, reported (to the Sulṭān) through Shujā'at Khān that Malik Maḥmūd *kōtwāl* and

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[1] One MS. has the text I have adopted, while the other omits the word Sulṭān Ghiyath-ud-dīn, and the lith. ed. has روزی در خلوت غیاث شاہ بعرض رسانید.

[2] The names in the MSS. are as I have given them here. The lith. ed. omits Āman. Firishtah lith. ed. has موتی خان, and مکھن خان. The names are not in any other history that I have seen.

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[1] Sēv Dās Baqāl, who were the heads and chiefs of the rebels and traitors, have become specially attached to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, and have made the lease of certain *mauḍas* appertaining to his *jāgīr* the pretext of their visits to him. Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn summoned Malik Maḥmūd and Sēv Dās, and, without asking them any questions and making any enquiries, killed them; and ravaged and destroyed the people in their houses.

[2] After this, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn withdrew his hands from the duties of the [3] *vazārat*, and did not for some days attend to salute the Sulṭān. Rānī Khūrshīd and Shujā'at Khān, having got an opportunity through the exertions and management of Yakān Khān and Mūnjā Baqāl, spoke words full of interested suggestions in the garb of disinterestedness, and, having stretched their misappropriating hands to the treasury, with a composed mind took upon themselves the full management of the affairs of the government. Owing to his great age, Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn agreed to their doing so. But as he had heard from disinterested persons that Rānī Khūrshīd and Shujā'at Khān wanted to calumniate and falsely accuse Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, he waited to see their further proceedings. As Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah and Khwājah Suhail knew that Mūnjā Baqāl was the prime mover in all this mischief and disturbance, they waited for an opportunity, and killed him; and fled and went to the harem of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. Rānī Khūrshīd narrated this story to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn with much exaggeration and embroidery; and on hearing of this occurrence, the flame of the wrath of the Sulṭān blazed up; and he sent a number of men with Yakān Khān that they might seize the murderers and

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[1] The name is سیو داس, Sēv Dās, and سویداس Sawī Dās, and the lith. ed. has سومداس Sōm Dās.

[2] The account of the intrigues and fighting between Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn and his partisans on the one side, and Shujā'at Khān and Rānī Khūrshīd and their adherents on the other, which extends over several pages in the Ṭabaqāt, is dismissed in the course of some twenty lines by Col. Briggs on pages 238, 239 of vol. IV of his history, and also in some lines in the Cambridge History of India, page 363.

[3] One MS. has وزارت, and the other مہمات after شغل; while the lith. ed. has neither the one nor the other. I have adopted وزارت. In the text-edition, however, it is مہمات.

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[1] bring them out from the house of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. When he gave these men permission to go, he told them that they were on no account to forego any of the minutiæ of respect and honour towards Nāṣir Shāh.

At this time Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah and Kẖwājah Suhail mounted their horses from Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn's palace, and rode away to the open country. On the way they went on saying, "We are going to the house of the *Qāḍī*. Whoever wishes to make any complaint about the murder of Mūnjā Baqāl, let him appear there." Yakān Kẖān and the other *amīrs* on arriving at the Nāṣir Shāhī *darbār* sent a message. The reply came, "Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah and Kẖwājah Suhail did not kill Mūnjā Baqāl under my orders, and I do not know where they are gone." Yakān Kẖān did not accept this reply, and for three days kept the harem of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn under guard. When the Sulṭān knew that the murderers had fled, and giving further trouble to his son was wrong, he sent Mashīr-ul-mulk [2] and Manhī Kẖān to him; and sent him a message to say that, "If my son's heart has not been aggrieved and the dust of pain has not clouded the seat of his mind, he should, as in former days, come to me, for I have no more strength to endure the pain of separation and estrangement."

Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, [3] notwithstanding a hundred reasons for caution, obtained the honour of kissing the feet of his benefactor and father; and the father and the son washed off the dust of disturbance from the pages of the age with their tears. And Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn again became zealous in the Sulṭān's service; and every day saw fresh signs of the Sulṭān's affection towards him. He planned the building of a palace for his residence in the vicinity of the Ghiyāṯh Shāhī palace, so that he might always, when he wanted to do so, have the honour of waiting on his father. Rānī Kẖūrshīd took advantage of an opportunity one day, and said to the Sulṭān; "Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn has erected for himself a house close to the *Jahān-numā* palace; and

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[1] One MS. has بیارند, the other has بیاورند, while the lith. ed. has بیاورد.

[2] The name is مهنی خان Mahnī Kẖān, in both MSS. In the lith. ed. it is مستهی خان, Mustahī Kẖān, while in the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is منتهی خان Muntahī Kẖān.

[3] Firishtah makes the matter clear by saying با وجود بیم حبس و قید وغیره, *i.e.*, in spite of fear of imprisonment, etc.

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he apparently intends to act [1] treacherously." Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn without any consideration or deliberation ordered Ghālib Khān, *kōtwāl*, in the year 905 A.H., [2] to destroy completely the Nāṣir Shāhī palace. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn started the same night, with a body of his adherents, in the direction of Dhār, which is situated in the forest of Kishun. Shaikh Ḥābib-ul-lah and Khwājah Suhail came there, and waited on him. Rānī Khūrshīd and Shujā'at Khān sent an army in pursuit of him, without giving any information to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn of their having done so. But Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn sent Tātār Khān, so that he might, after conciliating Nāṣir Shāh bring him back to the city. Tātār Khan left his men in the village of [3] Bakankālū; and went in company with Malik Faḍl-ul-lah Badeh, *Mīr Shikār*, to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, and gave him his father's message. The latter wrote a petition which he gave to Tātār Khān, and directed him that he should go and read it to the Sulṭān, and bring his reply. The well-intentioned Tātār Khān went on wings of speed to Shādiābād, and reported the substance of the petition to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn. But he had not yet received any reply, when Rānī Khūrshīd, who had very great influence on the mind of the Sulṭān, sent an order to the pay-master of the empire, that he should appoint Tātār Khān to attack and destroy Nāṣir-ud-dīn. When Tātār Khān became acquainted with these facts, he came down from the fort, and advanced towards [4] Bārah.

The army which had been sent to attack Nāṣir Shāh was on arrival at [5] Bakankālū puzzled and amazed about the result of their acts. (They knew) if they decided to fight, they had reason to be afraid that when the turn of Nāṣir Shāh came, each one of them

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[1] One MS. has by mistake قدری instead of غدری.

[2] Firishtah explains that Sulṭān Ghiyath-ud-dīn, had, on account of his great age, lost his sense and intelligence.

[3] The name appears to be بکنکالو, Bakankālū in the MSS. and بکبکالو Bakbakālū in the lith. ed. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has در کمینگاه, *i.e.*, in some secret place. کنکانو Kankānū is adopted in the text-edition.

[4] I cannot make out whether بارة or مارة is the name of a place or otherwise.

[5] See note 3 above. At this place one MS. has بموضع بلنکالو, in the village of Balankālū, while the other has بکنکالو Bakankālū. The lith. ed. has بموضع کنکالو in the village of Kankālū.

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would receive capital punishment; and if they went back to Mandū they were afraid of punishment by Rānī Khūrshīd in the immediate future. They were still wandering in the plains of amazement when they heard that Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn had left that place and had marched to and encamped in the town of [1] Thahnah. At this station, Malik Mahta and Malik Haibat, who were among the great *amīrs* of [2] the Ghiyāth Shāhī state came and joined him; and the power and splendour of Nāṣir Shāh were much increased. From that station he moved to the town of [3] Rājāwiyah; and Maulānā 'Imād-ud-dīn Afḍal Khān and a body of the *zamīndārs* [4] of that neighbourhood joined him there. He stayed there for a few days on account of the pleasant nature of the air, and the freshness and verdure of the fields; and had, with the consent of the *amīrs* the royal umbrella raised over his head, on the day of the *'Īd-i-fiṭr* (the festivity of the breaking of the fast); and distinguished the *amīrs* and divines and heads of groups by bestowing valuable robes of honour on them.

At this time news was brought to him, that Shujā'at Khān's troops had started from the village of [5] Bakankālū with the intention of giving battle; and had arrived in the village of [6] Kandūyah.

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[1] The name looks like تهنه Tahnah or نتنه Natnah in the MSS; and بهليه Bhalīah in the lith. ed. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has هسته Hastah in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. has دولت غياث الدين شاهى, while the other and the lith. ed. have دولت غياث شاهى.

[3] The name is راجاويه Rājāwiyah, in both MSS., while the lith. ed. has اجارنه Ajārnah; and the lith. ed. of Firishtah has جاديه Jādīah. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has اجايه Ajāiyah in the text-edition.

[4] The reading in one MS. is زمين داران ان ناحيه which I have adopted. The other MS. has الحنه Alḥanah and the lith. ed. has ريخته Rēkhtah instead of ان ناحيه. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has بعضى از زمينداران, some *zamīndārs*.

[5] The name is here written as كنكاتو Kankātū in one MS. and كيكالو Kīkālū in the other, and بكيكالو Bakīkālū in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has here كنكانو Kankānū.

[6] The name appears to be كندويه Kandūyah in the MS., and كندوبه Kandūbah in the lith. ed. In later passages it is written as كندويه Kandūyah in the MS., and I have adopted that name. Firishtah lith. ed. has كندوهر Kandūhar.

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Nāṣir Shāh sent [1] Malik Malhū to chastise them. As the star of his fortune had become resplendent over the horizon of greatness, when the two armies met the breeze of victory and triumph blew over the plumes of Malik Malhū's standard; and the enemy fled and went to Mandū; and Malik Malhū joined Nāṣir Shāh's camp at Rājāwiyah, with much booty. On the 16th Shawwāl in the year 905 A.H., 1499 A.D., he marched from that station towards the town of [2] Aūjūd. Mubārak Khān and [3] Himmat Khān now came and joined him. And when he arrived in the town of Sundarsī, Rustam Khān, the governor of Sārangpūr, came and waited on him; and brought some elephants and much other property as a tribute. After his arrival at Ujjain, *amīrs* and *faujdārs* and *thānadārs* came to his threshold in great numbers. Rānī Khūrshīd and Shujā'at Khān (now) in fear of their lives, reported to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, that Nāṣir Shāh had arrived at Ujjain, and all the *amīrs* and *thānadārs* had turned to him; and the fort of Shādīābād would be besieged in the near future.

Ghiyāth-ud-dīn sent Shaikh Auliyā and Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn as ambassadors, and sent the following message through them, "It is a long time since I have placed the bridle of the work of government in the grasp of my son's hand of power. If acting in a spirit of sincerity and attachment, he would send away the mob of common people, which has collected round him, and would come and wait on me, the affairs of the empire would again be entrusted to his penetrating intellect and judicious consideration. At that time, if he considers it advisable, he can allot the territory of Ranthambhōr to Shujā'at Khān, who stands in the relation of a son to him; and the flame of disturbance and revolt should be extinguished by the waters of peace." Nāṣir Shāh did not bind himself by any reply; and towards the end of Dhī-qa'dah of the aforesaid year, marched from the town of Ujjain to the town of Dhār; and halted there for some days. About this time

[1] That is the name in both MSS. and in the lith. ed., but Firishtah lith. ed. has ملک محمود Malik Maḥmūd.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have the reading I have in the text; but the other MS. has پتن و راو موجود گشت instead of بتوجه قصبهٔ اوجود گشت. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted اجود Ajūd for او جود in the text-edition.

[3] The name is همای خان and همت خان in the MSS. and محسان خان, without any dot above or below the third letter in the lith. ed. Firishtah does not name these men.

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news came that [1] Yakān Khān had come down from Shādiābād, with three thousand horsemen, with the intention of giving battle. Immediately on hearing this news, Malik [2] 'Aṭan was sent with five hundred horsemen to the village of Hānspūr. Yakān Khān receiving information of this advanced towards Hānspūr. After a fight between them, Malik 'Aṭan was victorious; and [3] one hundred brave men out of Yakān Khān's troops, who knew men, were slain. Malik 'Aṭan seized eighty horses and much booty, and returned to the town of Dhār. Yakān Khān with the men who had escaped the sword fled and entered the fort. After a few days, Yakān Khān, at the incitement of Rānī Khūrshīd and Shujā'at Khān, again came out of the fort with a body of men whom he had got together, with the determination of fighting another battle. Immediately on hearing this news, Nāṣir Shāh nominated Khwājah [4] Suhail and Malik Mahta and Malik Haibat and Miyān Jīw to attack and crush Yakān Khān; but as soon as the eyes of the latter fell on Nāṣir Shāh's troops, his foot of firmness and stability slipped; and he fled without attempting to fight; and, in short, wherever the two sides met, the breezes of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Nāṣir Shāh's standards.

On the 22nd of Dhī'l-ḥijjaī-ul-ḥarām of the aforesaid year, (Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn) took up his quarters in the *Jahān-numā* [5] palace at

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[1] See note 2, page 554. Here the name is لکان خان without any dot above or below the first letter in one MS. and یکان خان in the other MS., and نکان خان in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has مکهن خان as before, and describes him as the مادهٔ فتنه و نزاع or the cause of all disturbance and dispute. I have adopted یکان خان.

[2] He is so called in both MSS. The lith. ed. has ملک عطا از عطن. The name of the village is هانسپور Hānspūr in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; هانسلپور Hānsalpūr in the other MS. and هانسلور Hānslūr in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have یکصد نفر مردانه مردم شناس. I do not understand the exact meaning of these words. Firishtah simply has یکصد سپاهی مکهن خان.

[4] The names are as I have got them in the text in one MS. There are slight differences as regards the second and the fourth in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah does not give the names, though he mentions the second attempt.

[5] One MS. has کشک, while the other MS. and the lith. ed. have کوشک.

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Na'lcha. At this station his spies brought the news, that Sulṭān Ġhiyāṯh-ud-dīn, in his old elegant person, intended to come, in order to comfort and counsel his son (*i.e.*, Nāṣir-ud-dīn); and in order to carry out this intention he had moved from the capital, and had taken up his residence [1] in the centre of the kingdom; and he would move from the place at a moment which the astrologers had selected; and after trying to please his son's heart he would return to Shādiābād. Nāṣir Shāh was pleased and delighted on hearing this news; and waited in expectation of the joy-giving arrival of his father; but Shujā'at Khān, with the advice of Rānī Khūrshīd, had the Sulṭān's litter taken up and had it carried towards Na'lcha. When they arrived at the Dehlī gate, and as age and senility had overcome the Sulṭān, he asked those who were near him, where they were taking him to. Some of them informed him of what had happened. He said, "I will go another day. You should turn back to-day." The servants having no alternative turned back. When Rānī Khūrshīd heard that Sulṭān Ġhiyāṯh-ud-dīn had returned from the way, she knew that this had happened at the incitement of Nāṣir Shāh's well-wishers. She summoned the men into her presence, and having used harsh words towards them demanded the reason of their action. They said that the Sulṭān had returned according to his own wishes; and no one else had any hand in the matter.

Shujā'at Khān, then with the advice and consent of Rānī Khūrshīd repaired the broken and ruined parts of the fort, and distributed the bastions (among his commanders). Nāṣir Shāh also advanced from his position, and arranged batteries round the fort. Everyday numbers of men were slain from each side. Sulṭān Ġhiyāṯh-ud-dīn sent the ablest of the judges, Mashīr-ul-mulk, to arrange for peace; but, as he did not get a reply like what he wanted, and was afraid of Rānī Khūrshīd, he remained where he was. As the siege became close, and the garrison was in great anxiety and distress owing to the non-arrival of grain and other necessaries; and bearing in mind the purport of the text, that change is best even though it may go against us, directed their attention to this, that the office of the Sulṭān

[1] The actual words are صفه عرض ممالک. I cannot find out the exact meaning of the first two words.

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be fixed on Nāṣir Shāh. Amongst the *amīrs*, who were still in the fort, Muwāfiq Khān and Malik Faḍl-ul-lah, *Mīr Shikār*, (chief huntsman) availing themselves of an opportunity betook themselves to the service of Nāṣir Shāh. The latter bestowed a *lakh* of *tankas* on Muwāfiq Khān. When Rānī Khūrshīd and Shujā'at Khān received information of this, they dismissed 'Alī Khān from the charge of the fort; and made over the guarding of the fort and the government of the city to Malik Piyārā, on whom they conferred the title of 'Alī Khān. They also sentenced [1] Muḥāfiẓ Khān and Sūrajmal to death. The *amīrs* and the great men and all the residents of the city became heartbroken on seeing this punishment; and sent petition to Nāṣir Shāh, and prayed for permits of protection. After a few days the siege was carried on to such a point, that among the garrison, nothing was left of any grain except the name; and many people came out of the fort on account of the famine.

Nāṣir Shāh mounted his horse on the night of 18th Ṣafar in the year 906 A.H., with the object of capturing the fort. When he arrived close to the fort, the men in the bastions came up and shot arrows and musket shots; and many active and brave warriors were wounded. In the end Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn advanced towards the bastion of seven hundred steps. Dilāwar Khān Jangjū to his great honour, managed to get into the fort. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn also entered the fort. Shujā'at Khān, with a number of trusted men, came out on a turret of the fort, and exerted himself, and showed great bravery. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, in his own elegant person, shot many arrows; and [2] many men fell under his arrows of fate. As reinforcements reached Shujā'at Khān time after time, and brave warriors belonging to Nāṣir Khān's army received wounds, the latter thinking it advisable to return came out of the fort to his own camp. He bestowed much favour and kindness on the men who had exerted themselves, and offered their lives in his service; and comforted them by bestowing new robes of honour, and enquired about their health and condition.

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[1] Firishtah explains كه از موافقان سلطان ناصر الدين خلجي ميدانست, *i.e.*, whom they knew to be partisans of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khaljī.

[2] The actual words are مردم خوب بر سر تير قضاء او رفتند. The meaning is not very clear, but I think my translation is correct. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has مردم خود بتير قضاى او در گذشتند.

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After some days, the sons of Shēr Khān, son of Muẓaffar Khān, the governor of Chandērī came and joined the camp of Nāṣir Shāh with one thousand horsemen and eleven elephants. In the first *majlis* after their arrival, Nāṣir Shāh conferred the title of Muẓaffar Khān on the elder, and As'd Khān on the second son. Owing to the arrival of the army of Chandērī, new vigour and strength, appeared in the men of the army. At this time some men in the garrison of Mandū, who had the charge of guarding the [1] Mālpūr gate, sent a notice to the besieging army, that if Nāṣir Shāh's troops came in that direction, the fort will come to his possession without any difficulty or trouble. Sulṭān Nāṣir Shāh sent Mubārak Khān and Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah and Muwāfiq Khān and Khwāja Suhail and a number of others on the night of the 24th of Rabī'-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year. Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah told them, that if they succeeded in capturing the fort, he would send his ring, that they might know that the fort had come into their possession. When the *amīrs* reached the gate, the citizens, in concert with Zabardast Khān son of Hazbar Khān who had charge of the *silāḥkhāna* (armoury) of the fort, slew the keeper of the Mālpūr gate and opened it; and Nāṣir Shāh's men galloped into the fort.

Shujā'at Khān with his army in battle array advanced to fight, but was unable to do anything; and fled and got into his own house, and then taking his family and children with him retired into the harem of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn. Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah, then according to previous arrangement, sent his ring; and brought Nāṣir Shāh in. He reached the Mālpūr gate in a moment and got into the city. The *amīrs* hastened to wait on him, and offered their congratulations. Some foolish men set fire to some of the palaces and mansions of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, [2] without any order from Nāṣir Shāh; and they seized and brought Shujā'at Khān and Rānī Khūrshīd and some other persons; and having commenced to plunder and ransack the city devastated it for two days. Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn then made up his mind and formed a determination, and moved from the place to the palace of Sarsatī and took up his abode there.

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[1] One of the MSS. has بالپور Bālpūr instead of مالپور Mālpūr. The Cambridge History of India, page 363, calls it the Bālāpur gate.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بی امر ناصر شاهی, while the other MS. has بی استصواب و حکم ناصر شاهی.

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On the 3rd day, which was [1] Friday the 27th of Rabī'-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn sat on the throne of the empire and [2] made over Shujā'at Khān and Rānī Khūrshīd to custodians. He sent Malik Mahta to Na'lcha (to bring) his [3] second son, who was known as Miyān Manjhla; and making the latter his heir, conferred on him the title of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn. He allotted to him the *Ṣafa Bāgh*, which was situated near the palace of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn as his residence. The same day the *Khuṭba* was read in the name of Nāṣir Shāh; and pearls and other gems, which were showered over his umbrella, were distributed among deserving men. Yakān Khān and Amman and Muḥāfiẓ Khān Jadīd and Mufarraḥ Pidar Ḥabshī and other men, who had been hostile to him, were punished with death; and some men were brought away from under the sword, and were kept in imprisonment. According to the established custom he confirmed fiefs [4] on the men who had sided with him. He conferred on Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah the title of 'Ālam Khān; and to Khwājah Suhail to whom he [5] had given the *pargana* of Āshtah, he gave the post of *Sipahsālārī* (office of commander-in-chief). On the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn was honoured by being allowed to do homage to his father and benefactor Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn. The latter took him into his arms, and wept a great deal, and kissed his head and face; and on giving him permission to retire, bestowed on him the cap of state and the

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[1] Firishtah lith. ed. gives the same day and date. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 240) also has Rubbee-oos-Sany 27, A.H. 906, October 25, A.D. 1500, as the date of Sultan Nasir-ood-Deen's accession. The Cambridge History of India, page 363, has October 22nd, 1500.

[2] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not appear to mention the execution of Shujā'at Khān but Firishtah mentions it. See note 1, page 552. Col. Briggs says Shoojat Khan and "all his children and the whole of his family" were put to death. The Cambridge History of India, page 363, also says that Shujā'at Khān was put to death.

[3] Neither Niẓām-ud-dīn nor Firishtah gives any reason for the selection of the second son as the heir-apparent in preference to the eldest son, or whether the latter was dead or otherwise disqualified.

[4] One MS. inserts شیخ حبیب الله را before و انجماعت.

[5] One MS. omits که and بود, and the other has پرگنه که داشته داده.

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[1] robe of woven hair, which he used himself to wear on the days of public audience and other auspicious days; and placing the royal crown on his head made over to him the keys of the treasury, and offering him felicitations and congratulations bade him adieu.

On the 16th of Rajab of the afore-said year, he bestowed on Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn the same fur cloth robe and the cap of state, and also gave him twenty elephants and one hundred horses and eleven royal umbrellas, two *pālkīs* and also a standard and a kettle-drum and a red pavilion and twenty *lakhs* of *tankas* for his household expenses.

After a few days Muqbil Khān, the governor of Mandesōr [2] fled owing to his extreme misfortune; and Mahābat Khān, in whose charge he was, was sent immediately that he might seize and bring him back, with the threat that otherwise he should expect the thunderbolts of punishment. Mahābat Khān made great exertions, but (being unsuccessful) went and joined Shēr Khān (the governor of Chandērī). 'Alī Khān and some other men of evil destiny, who were suspicious and afraid owing to their evil deeds, also went and joined Shēr Khān. The latter marched from the neighbourhood of Na'lcha and advanced towards Chandērī. Sulṭān Naṣir-ud-dīn sent Mubārak Khān and 'Ālam Khān to Shēr Khān, so that they might, in any way that they could, reassure him. Although they gave him words of sage counsel, he spoke rare words in answer to all their arguments; and wanted to imprison both of them. On the pretext that he was going to consult

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[1] The lith. ed. has کلاه دولت before قبای مویئه, which, however, is printed as قبای سرنیه in it. The MSS. omit کلاه دولت, though they mention it a little later. I have therefore retained it. مویئه appears to mean made of woven cloth of hair, and Firishtah explains the importance of sanctity of this robe by saying از بابت سید محمد نور بخش, *i.e.*, appertaining to Saiyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh.

[2] Firishtah says تمرد ورزید, but like Niẓām-ud-dīn, he gives no reason for this. Col. Briggs quotes in a note (vol. IV, p. 241) some of the intrigues and fighting between Nasir-ood-Deen on the one side, and Shoojat Khan and Rany Khoorsheed on the other, from the Muntukhib-oot-Towareekh; and says these are not mentioned by Ferishta, although as a matter of fact they are. The Cambridge History of India, page 364, says that the *amīrs* declined to believe that Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn "had ascended the throne with his father's consent", and, therefore, rebelled. Firishtah does not say that Muqbil Khān was in charge of Mahābat Khān. He however agrees with the text in saying that he was sent to bring the latter.

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with his mother, he came out of the pavilion, and made over Mubārak Khān and ʿĀlam Khān to his own men. The latter seized Mubārak Khān, and slew two of his servants. ʿAlam Khān took the opportunity to get to his horse; and with great quickness came out of the camp, and reported the matter to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. The latter left his son Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, in charge of the government of the fort of Shādīābād; and took up his quarters, on the 9th Shaʿbān of the afore-mentioned year, in the *Jahān-numā* palace at Naʿlcha. When Shēr Khān arrived in the fort of Ujjain, he again, at the instigation of Mahābat Khān turned back to give battle, and came to Dībālpūr, and plundered the town of Hindīah. Immediately on hearing this, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn marched forward, and took up his residence in the palace of Dhār.

At this time they brought the news that Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn had passed away from the waste place of the world to the popular land of after-world. According to one statement he was poisoned at the instance of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. [1] It is a matter of experience that a parricide never attains to old age and never becomes successful. Sulṭān Nāṣīr-ud-dīn ruled for [2] eleven years. Therefore the allegation of his attempt on the life of his father may be a mere calumny, but knowledge is with God alone.

In short, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn wept much at the death of his father, and was in mourning for three days. [3] On the 4th day he

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[1] Firishtah gives the same reason for disbelieving the guilt of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn; but he is not so positive as Niẓam-ud-dīn as he prefixes the word شاید perhaps, to the sentence about Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn's innocence. Col. Briggs thinks that it is not just to accuse him of that crime; while the Cambridge History of India (p. 364) says that the poison was "administered, as it was generally believed, by his orders." One would have thought, that seeing that the father was so weak in body and mind, and so helpless, it would be futile and unnecessary to cause his death; but there is the fact that some of the nobles rebelled, because they believed that Nāṣir-ud-dīn had not ascended the throne with his father's consent.

[2] Both MSS. have سیزدہ سال 13 years, but the lith. ed. has یازدہ سال 11 years. Firishtah lith. ed. has many years. As Nāṣir-ud-dīn's reign lasted from 905 to 916 A.H., the reading in the lith. ed. is correct and I have retained it.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. agrees generally with the text as to the Sulṭān's proceeding against Shēr Khān. Col. Briggs however (vol. IV, p. 241) says

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started on his march; and Shēr Khān in [1] fear of his life turned back to his own country. 'Ain-ul-mulk and some other *sardārs* separated from him and joined the camp of [2] Nāṣir Shāh. The latter pursued Shēr Khān, and the latter turned back in the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr to engage him; and after doing so, fled. He could not stand firm in Chandērī itself, and went away to the country of Erij and Bhāndīr; and the dust of the disturbance settled down; and Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn went to Chandērī. When some days had passed, the Shaikhzādas of Chandērī sent a letter to Shēr Khān, saying, that as most of the Shādiābād troops had dispersed, and had gone away to their *jāgīrs*; and as, owing to the rains, the *amīrs* would not be able to assemble quickly, if he would come to Chandērī, and the men of the city, should in conjunction with him come out in great numbers, it was probable that they would be able to seize Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn; and even if he should escape, the city could be conquered in a very easy way. Shēr Khān without any delay marched out and arrived within six *karōhs* of Chandērī. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn [3] became acquainted with the consultations of the Shaikhzādas, and appointed Iqbāl Khān and Mallū Khān with a well-equipped army and *mast* elephants to get rid of Shēr Khān; and sent two *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash with them to defray their expenses. They had not yet gone two *karōhs*, when Shēr Khān relying on the statements of

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that Sheer Khan's adherents "wrote to him that the King had retreated to Mando on account of the rains." This is not correct. The Cambridge History of India, page 364, says that, "After an unsuccessful attempt to crush this rebellion, and another attempt, equally unsuccessful, to conciliate the rebels, he took the field against them." This also is incorrect, if Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah are correct. Neither of them speaks of the first unsuccessful attempt to crush the rebellion.

[1] Both MSS. have وهم جان, which I have adopted, but the lith. ed. has بیم جان.

[2] The MSS. have Nāṣir Shāh, and Nāṣir Shāhī; and the lith. ed. has Nāṣir-ud-dīn.

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have اطلاع نمودہ, which does not appear to be quite correct. Firishtah lith. ed. has اطلاع یافتہ which is better, and I have adopted it. In the text-edition. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained اطلاع نمودہ.

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the Shaikhzādas came forward to meet them; and after the arraying of the troops the two sides fought bravely. In the midst of the struggle, Shēr Khān happened to receive a wound, became disabled, and [1] got the fruit of his rebellion. [2] Sikandar Khān was killed in the battle-field. Khwājah Suhail and Mahābat Khān placed the wounded Shēr Khān in a box (some sort of *howdah*) on the back of an elephant and took the way of flight. As Shēr Khān died on the way, they buried him, and went on in their flight. Iqbāl Khān returned after pursuing them for some distance. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn was delighted and pleased on hearing this news; and went to the battle-field, and [3] from there sent Sikandar Khān to Chandērī, so that he might expose Shēr Khān's body on a gallows. He placed the bridle of the government and defence of that territory in the grasp of power of [4] Bihjat Khān; and marching by successive stages arrived in the pleasant town of [5] Sa'dulpūr. There some men reported to him, that Shaikh Ḥabīb-ul-lah, [6] who had the title of 'Ālam Khān, intended to act treacherously, and was waiting for an opportunity. Sulṭān

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[1] The words in one MS. and in the lith. ed. are و نتیجه بغی کار خود کرد. The other MS. incorrectly omits the verb کرد; but in either case the meaning is rather obscure. I think, however, my translation is correct. Firishtah lith. ed. in the corresponding passage omits this semi-moral observation.

[2] It is not stated who he was. Firishtah in the corresponding passage says که عمدهٔ ان قوم بود. Firishtah agrees generally with the text in respect of the battle and the incidents preceding and following it; and so do Col. Briggs and the Cambridge History of India.

[3] Firishtah differs slightly, and says that the Sulṭān went to the battle field, exhumed Shēr Khān's body, and sent it to Chandērī, so that it might be suspended from the gallows there.

[4] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 242) calls him Himmut Khan; and the Cambridge History of India, page 364, has Bihjat Khān.

[5] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 242) calls the place Adilpoor. It is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India.

[6] The actual words are نسبت بعالم خان in both MSS. and in the lith ed. I do not actually understand the meaning of the word نسبت in this context, Firishtah has in the corresponding passage شیخ حبیب الله المخاطب بعالم خان. which is perfectly clear, and I have translated the passage accordingly. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has retained the reading of the manuscripts, but refers to a variant ملقب instead of نسبت in another MS.

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Nāṣir-ud-dīn imprisoned him, and sent him to Mandū, in advance of himself.

On the 10th Sha'bān 907 A.H., he entered the fort of Shādīābād attended with victory and triumph. He then occupied himself with pleasure and dissipation, and most of his time was spent in the drinking of spirituous liquor. In his drinks, he ordered his father's *amīrs* to be murdered owing to a suspicion of their treachery; and he supported and favoured his own men. His immorality and tyranny reached such a pitch, that one [1] day, when drunk he was asleep on the bank of a reservoir. By accident he fell into it. His attendants, who were watching him, brought him out of the water. When he came to his senses, he asked who had taken him out. Four slave girls told him, "We performed this service." He ordered all four of them to be executed. He had heard from the chief men of Ujjain (apparently the reservoir was in that city and this incident occurred there), that that reservoir or tank was the Kaliyādah. He [2] planned the erection of a palace there, in the *Bāgh Fīrūz*, of such grandeur, that people, who had travelled over the inhabited fourth part of earth, never saw anything like it. Gradually his desire for building reached such a point, that out of the seventeen *krōrs* of Mālwa money, which had come to him by inheritance, he spent five *krōrs* on different structures.

On the 22nd Dhī-qa'dah 908 A.H., he came to the town of Na'lcha with the intention of destroying the country of [3] Kachwārah. And

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[1] Firishtah narrates this incident in greater detail. According to him, the Sulṭān rolled into the water, and the four slave girls pulled him out, some seizing hold of his hands, and the others the hair of his head. They also put him into dry clothes. When he recovered his senses he complained of headache, and the slave girls, hoping for a reward, told him what had happened, after the usual prayers and praise; he flew into a rage, drew his sword, and cut down the poor and helpless slave girls. And then Firishtah indulges in three couplets, expressing the woes of the hapless women, and their having their revenge on the day of resurrection.

[2] Firishtah does not mention the erection of the wonderful palace and the other buildings.

[3] The name is written as کھچیوارہ, and کھچواڑہ in the MS. and کچھواڑ in the lith. ed. both of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 243) has Keechiwara. The Cambridge History of India does not mention this invasion at all.

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when by successive marches, he arrived in the town of [1] Āgar, he found the air of that place to be pleasant, and built a lofty and [2] noble palace there; which is now one of the wonders of the age. He remained in that town for some time; and sent his troops in different directions, and having chastised the rebels and taken tribute from them, returned (to his capital).

In the year 909 A.H., 1803 A.D., he again moved in the direction of [3] Chitōr; and when he arrived in the centre of the country, the Rāja of Chitōr and all the *zamīndārs* sent tribute. [4] Bhawānīdās, the son of Shevdās, who was a near relation of Rāymal Chitōrī brought his daughter as tribute. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn gave her the title of Rānī Chitōr, and bestowed many favours on Bhawānīdās. In the course of the Sulṭān's return, scouts brought the news, that Niẓām-ul-mulk Dakinī had invaded the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr. As Dāūd Khān, the ruler of Asīr, had always sought the protection of Nāṣir Shāh, the latter sent Iqbāl Khān and Khwājah Jahān to Asīr and Burhānpūr. Niẓām-ul-mulk then turned back and returned to his own country. Iqbāl Khan had the public prayer read in Asīr and Burhānpūr in the name of Nāṣir Shāh, and returned to the capital city of Shādīābād Mandū.

In the year [5] 916 A.H., 1512 A.D., Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn raised the standard of rebellion at the instigation of some of the *amīrs* of

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[1] The name is written as اکر and اکرہ in the MS., and اگر and اگرہ in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 243) calls the place Akburpoor. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the place here but later on (p. 367) it calls it Āgar.

[2] One MS. omits the word عالی after عمارت.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 243) all have Chittoor, but the lith. ed. of Firishtah has Jaipūr. The Cambridge History of India, page 364, says the Sultān in 1503 "led a marauding expedition into the dominion of the Rānā", but does not mention the place.

[4] He is so described in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed., but the lith. ed. of Firishtah calls him جیوندداس کہ قرابت قریب برانا داشت. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 243) has "Raja Jewundas, one of the subordinate rays." The Cambridge History of India has not mentioned it. Firishtah lith. ed. says the daughter of Jhūndās was named Rānī Jaipūrī; but Col. Briggs says that she was afterwards dignified with the title of the "Chittoor Queen."

[5] The Cambridge History of India, page 364, gives 1510 A.D., as the year of the rebellion.

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perverted destiny; and came out of the fort of Mandū. The *amīrs* of the frontier districts mostly joined him, and he marched from the town of Na'lcha to the town of Dhār. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn arrived there with a body of his special troops; and from that place he advanced towards Dhār, with the intention of giving battle. Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, considering that his father's followers were weak, advanced to engage him; but in the end, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on the plumes of Nāṣir Shāh's standards. Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn fled towards Chandērī. The brave warriors in Nāṣir Shāh's army pursued him; and were about to take him prisoner, but (on account of) fatherly love and paternal affection (he) forbade the men from further pursuit.

On the following day he marched from that station and went forward. When Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn arrived in the town of [1] Siprī, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn sent a number of wise men to him, so that they might instruct him, and lead him from the by-path of error to the high-road of guidance. But as the way of righteousness was hidden from his side and the veil of negligence and of the love of splendour had been drawn down on his eyes, he never gave a reply that might be of any use. On the following day he sent a reply, "At present his shame and self-abasement prevent his acquiring the good fortune of waiting on Your Majesty. If a small part out of the many portions of the empire be bestowed on this slave; he would after a few days honour himself by rendering homage." When the men who had been sent knew that it would be impossible to bring about an interview, they came back and reported the matter. Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn said, "Verily we are for God, and verily we shall return to him."

Hemistich:

The soil devoured the seed that in hope of thee I sowed.

He then sent a *farmān* to Ranthambhōr to summon Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, his younger son. The latter came on wings of speed and steps of eagerness and waited on his father near Chandērī. Sulṭān

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[1] The name of the place is written as سوی in one or two places in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but as سپری in other places. The Cambridge History of India, page 364, also has Siprī. Firishtah lith. ed. and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 244) both have "Dehly" instead of Siprī. This of course is incorrect.

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Nāṣir-ud-dīn started from Chandērī on the following day; and advanced to the town of Siprī. At that station, he ordered the attendance of the *amīrs* and the great men of the city; and said, "As Shihāb-ud-dīn has made undutifulness and revolt the return for paternal love, I am removing him from the position of the heir apparent; and I am making my son Ā'ẓam Humāyūn my heir." He then gave him the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, and bestowed a robe and the crown of the empire on him; and returning from the town of Siprī resided for some days in the village of [1] Behishtpūr. [2] As the temperature of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn was high, and as in spite of the fact of its being the winter, he got into cold water and remained in it for a moment, his health immediately turned from the normal; and various diseases and ailments with mutually opposed results attacked him. Although the physicians tried to effect a cure, they had no success.

Couplet:

[3] Oxymal, by fate's decree, increased his bile,
The oil of almonds dryness produced.

Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, seeing that his condition was unsatisfactory sent for Maḥmūd Shāh, and the *amīrs* and the great men of the country to his presence; and opening his lips to give utterance to counsels and precepts said: "[4] As the great and holy God has selected this excellent

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[1] The name is بهشت پور in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; and نهب پور in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 244) has Burtpoor. The name of the place is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India.

[2] Firishtah's account agrees with that in the text, but he surmises that the fever was caused از افراط شراب یا از عفونت اخلاط و تصرف هوا *i.e.*, from excessive drinking or from infection of the humours of the body or the influence of the air. Col. Briggs's account (so far it goes) agrees with that in the text. The Cambridge History of India, pages 364, 365, gives two accounts of the manner of Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn's death. The first agrees with that in the text. According to the other he suspected many of his nobles to be secretly in correspondence with Shihāb-ud-dīn, and threatened them, so that they became apprehensive and poisoned him. I have not seen this said anywhere else.

[3] A mixture of honey and vinegar prescribed for the bile.

[4] Firishtah does not ascribe any speech to the Sulṭān, and considering the latter's disposition and habits, and his condition at the time, it is not likely that he could make such a sensible and eloquent address. However, as it is there, I have translated it.

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son (of mine) from the entire people of the world, and has entrusted the bridle of the affairs of all people to his grasp of power, it behoves him, that he should not place his foot out of the high-road of worship of, and submission to God; and should not become subject to lust and sensuality; and should write the text of 'love to the people of God' on the leaf of his mind and the page of his heart. He should also not withhold the favour of God from the people, as it has not been withheld from him. He should also shorten his hand from the skirts of the oppressed. He should not in his public audiences give way to hesitation and weariness; and should not close the path of approach of the oppressed to him; and should properly listen to their words. He should not also, in administering justice and equity, allow any difference between the weak and the strong, and the high and the low; so that he may not become ashamed on the day of the judgment. He should also treat with honour and respect all Saiyids who are the fruits of the garden of the prophetship and of the emissary of God; and should make the high society of the learned, who are the heirs of the prophet, green and fruitful by the beneficence of the clouds of his rewards. He should also consider it right and proper to refrain from the society of stupid and foolish men, who are satisfied with husk of words; and are ignorant and unmindful of the purity and greatness of saints. He should also lay the foundation of houses of piety and goodness, which are the effects of one's good fortune, in all parts of the dominions. In short, he should devote all his energy in carrying out the wishes of God; and in the administration of the affairs of the state always take counsel (with wise men)." Shāhzādah Maḥmūd Shāh and the great men of the kingdom were in great pain and anguish on hearing this speech. (The Sulṭān) then, with a true determination and a right resolution made repentance of all his sins and iniquities in the presence of the learned men, and after a moment accepted the summons of the just God. The period of his reign was eleven years and four months and twenty [1] three days.

Couplets:

From the cold earth, rose this palace grand;
But as you make it warm they tell you "rise"!

[1] Firishtah lith. ed. has eleven years and four months and three days and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 244) has eleven years and four months.

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As this world of dust has such foundations weak,
Soon should it be scattered to the wings, and ruin be.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD SHĀH, SON OF NĀṢIR SHĀH.

On the [1] 3rd day of Ṣafar in the year 917 A.H., Maḥmūd Shāh, the son of Nāṣir Shāh, ascended the throne of the Khaljī empire, in the village of Behishtpūr, with [2] an auspicious and triumphant fortune and at a happy time. The rites of thanks-offering and of wave-offering having been performed, each one of the great men of the age was made happy with royal beneficence; and from the same *majlis* sent the coffin of Nāṣir Shāh to the fort of Shādiābād.

[3] Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn on becoming acquainted with the event (*Ḥāditha*, *i.e.*, probably his father's death), betook himself from where he was by rapid marches, to Naṣratābād Na'lcha. Muḥāfiẓ Khān *Khwājah Sarā* and Khawāṣ Khān shut the gates in his face. On the following day, he sent a message to them, by one of his immediate attendants, that if they would act in friendship with him, it [4] was certain, that the loosening and fastening of the affairs of the state would be entrusted to their wisdom. Muḥāfiẓ Khān and Khawāṣ Khān said, "As the ordinance of the empire, has been recorded in

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[1] Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India gives the date of the accession.

[2] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. has بطالع فرخندهٔ فیروز و زمانی سعادت اثر. This I have adopted. The other MS. substitutes فر for فیروز. The lith. ed. has بطالع فرخندهٔ فرود در زمان سعادت اثر.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 365, says "Shihāb-ud-dīn, on hearing of his father's death, returned to Mālwa and marched on Māndū, but Mahmud II outstripped him and arrived there first, and when Shihāb-ud-dīn reached the city, the gates were shut in his face." This appears to me to contain more than one inaccuracy. There was no race between the brothers; and it was the gates of Na'lcha and not of Mandū that were shut in Shihāb-ud-dīn's face by Muḥāfiẓ Khān, who was the governor of the former place and not of the latter. It is true that Col. Briggs also says that the gates of Mando were shut in his face and Mahafiz Khan refused him admission. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 246) also says that immediately after this the Prince "fled to Aseer", and says nothing about his defeat by Jāwash Khān. The Cambridge History of India appears here to follow Col. Briggs and does not refer to the Ṭabaqāt or Firishtah at all.

[4] Both MSS. omit است after یقین; but I have retained it.

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the renowned name of Maḥmūd Shāh, in the office of destiny and fate, the best course is that you should join the camp (of Sulṭān Maḥmūd); and should change the foulness and roughness of a strange man for the purity of friendship." [1] Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn becoming despondent retired towards Kandāsah. [2] When Sulṭān Maḥmūd knew that Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn had gone away towards Mandū, he marched by successive stages and took up his residence in *Jahān-numā* kiosk of Na'lcha, on the 2nd Rabī'-ul-awwal of the afore-mentioned year.

From there he sent [3] Jāwash Khān with a detachment of troops to crush Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, and he sent eleven elephants with him. He then went to the fort of Shādīābād, on a date which had been selected by the astrologers, and at an auspicious moment on the 6th Rabī'-ul-awwal, had the golden throne, encrusted with gems and pomegranate-colour rubies, in the open plain near the audience hall, and [4] had twenty-one other thrones raised around it, and Maḥmūd Shāh ascended the throne of the Khaljī Sulṭāns from the east of the

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[1] One MS. omits the whole sentence from سلطان to شد. The name of the place is كندوهه Kandūhah in the MS. which has the sentence, and كندويه Kandūyah in the lith. ed. Firishtah is very brief here and does not mention the place.

[2] There is much difference in the readings. One MS. has سلطان محمود بمندو رفته بكوچ etc., while the other has از نوشته سلطان محمود واقف شد كه سلطان شهاب الدين بمندو رفته بكوچ, and the lith. ed. has سلطان محمود چون واقف شد كه سلطان شهاب الدين بمندو رفته بكوچ. The reading in the first MS. is manifestly incorrect, and there is not much to choose between the other two, but on the whole I think the reading of the lith. ed. is the best.

[3] The name is جاوش خان in one MS., and in several places in the other. In the latter it is جلوس خان in one place. The lith. ed. has جادوش خان. The expedition against Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn is not mentioned by either Firishtah or Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

[4] I have translated the text as it is in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but I am very doubtful about its correctness. I cannot understand the reference to the twenty-one thrones, and also to the rising of Maḥmūd Shāh from the east of the throne of the empire. As regards the rising of Maḥmūd Shāh from the east the reading from Firishtah is a great improvement. It is و افتاب دولت محمود شاه از افق سرير جهانداری طالع گشت. Probably the correct reading of the Ṭabaqāt was something like this. As to the twenty-one thrones, I cannot hazard any explanation.

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throne of the empire. The [1] *amīrs* and the great men of the city and the notabilities of the kingdom stood in their proper places. Each one of them received such distinction as was suitable for his position; and some of the *amīrs* were honoured with titles; and seven hundred elephants, which were [2] in the environs of the fort came into use.

After a few days a report came from Jāwash Khān, to the effect, that as the star of the good fortune of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn had fallen into the abyss of ruin, he did not listen to all the friendly advice and the wise precepts which were given to him; and came forward to give battle. And this helpless one (*i.e.*, he himself) advanced to chastise him, placing the great good fortune of His Majesty in the vanguard; and at the first onset Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn's foot of firmness slipped from its place, and he fled. The bearer of his umbrella was slain, and the umbrella fell into our hands. He himself fled to the country of [3] Asīr. As the rainy season had now come, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh summoned Jāwash Khān back. The latter returned to the fort on the last day of Rabī'-ul-awwal, and received many favours.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, now having his mind at rest in respect of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, entrusted the management of the affairs of the kingdom to [4] Basant Rāy, to whom the post of the *vazārat* of Nāṣir Shāh had belonged. Basant Rāy, [5] owing to his great pride and ignorance,

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[1] I have adopted the reading in the MS. That in the lith. ed. is امرا و ارکان و اکابر و معارف ممالک.

[2] The MSS. have بر دور قلعه but the lith. ed. has بر قلعه. I have adopted the former. The meaning of بتصرف درآمد is not at all clear. The corresponding passage in Firishtah is more intelligible. It is و هفتصد زنجیر فیل که در قلعه بود بخیهاے مخمل و زربفت آراسته بدربار حاضر ساخت *i.e.*, and seven hundred elephants which were in the fort were brought to the *darbār*, adorned with housings of velvet and gold tissue.

[3] The Ṭabaqat has ولایت اسیر; and Firishtah has بلاد اسپر. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, however, says, he retired to the fortress of Asīr.

[4] The name is written in various places in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. as well as in the lith. ed. of Firishtah as نسبت راے Nisbat Rāy, but in other places as بسنت راے Basant Rāy. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 246) has Buswunt Row and the Cambridge History of India (p. 365) has Basant Rāi.

[5] The nature of Basant Rāy's offence is not quite clear. Of course he was a Hindū, and the other *amīrs* were Musalmāns, but Basant had apparently

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did not maintain the usual relations towards [1] the army, and did not leave out any minutiae of meanness and mischief-making; and having adopted a harshness of behaviour did not show proper respect towards the *amīrs* and *sardārs*. The latter, having availed themselves of an opportunity, killed him in the audience hall on the 7th Rabi'-ul-thānī. [2] Naqd-ul-mulk, who was of the same religion as Basant Rāy, and the latter's colleague in service, fled into the harem of the Sulṭān. Iqbāl Khān and [3] Mukhtaṣ Khān talked together, and said, "Unless the kingdom is purified of the contamination of the existence of this impure one, he will always be in ambush for taking revenge for Basant Rāy." They sent the following message to the Sulṭān by Ṣadr Khān and Afḍal Khān, "Nothing has been done, and nothing will be done by these loyal slaves, except in the way of a sincere desire for Your Majesty's well-being, and it must be clear to your illuminating wisdom, that as the affairs (of the kingdom) have not been well arranged, the act of leaving the threads of the administration in the grasp of people who are strangers to us in creed and religion, is (likely to be) the cause of disorder in the conduct of government. It has probably been submitted to Your Majesty by some of your well-wishers, what kind of treatment Basant Rāy meted out to the *amīrs* and to your other loyal adherents. His sole object was, that your old servants might become heart-broken; and they and their retainers might be

been the minister of Nāṣir Shāh also. The Ṭabaqāt says he did not show the usual courtesy towards the army, and left out no minutiae of دقائق کفایت according to the MSS. and, according to lith. ed., of نکایت. دقیقه appears to mean littleness or meanness; کفایت economy or thrift; and نکایت means mischief-making. I have adopted نکایت in the translation. Firishtah says the other *amīrs* became hostile to him lest he become too powerful (مبادا تقرب و تسلط بهم رساند). Col. Briggs says he was a personal favourite of the King, and had attended him from the period of his birth; and he also says that the conspirators declared that he had laid a scheme to overturn the government. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, is satisfied with saying that the Muslim nobles resented his holding the high office of minister.

[1] One MS. has quite incorrectly جانب شاه instead of جانب سپاه.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. also calls him Naqd-ul-mulk; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 246) has Nizam-ool-Moolk. He is not mentioned in the Cambridge History of India.

[3] It is مخصوصان instead of Mukhtaṣ Khān in the text-edition.

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dispersed. This was in fact disloyalty on his part; and we your loyal servants, in a body, removed him out of the way. Naqd-ul-mulk is also following in his footsteps. If it be your noble order, the world might be purified of the contamination of his existence." Sulṭān Maḥmūd in his weakness and helplessness sent Naqd-ul-mulk to the *amīrs*; but he ordered that he might be externed, and no injury caused to his life or property. When they brought Naqd-ul-mulk, [1] the *amīrs*, acting in a body, expelled him. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was aggrieved at these proceedings of the *amīrs*, and at their domination; and the purity of his heart was changed to resentment.

Muḥāfiẓ Khān, eunuch, the combination of whose disposition was made up of malice and wickedness, [2] owing to his longing for the *vazārat*, reported (to the Sulṭān), in private, words that were not true [3] in respect of the *amīrs*. It so happened, that one day availing himself of an opportunity, he represented to the Sulṭān, that Iqbāl Khān and [4] Mukhtaṣ Khān wanted to raise one of the (other) sons of Nāṣir Shāh on the throne. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, simply on hearing this news, became anxious; and wanted to punish the two ministers. But afterwards acting with patience and calmness, he set about making enquiries and investigations.

When Muḥāfiẓ Khān saw, that his words had not produced any result, he grew more insistent in his calumnies; and every day made use of harsh words, till one day Sulṭān Maḥmūd ordered some people,

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[1] Firishtah says that to this extent they tried to please the Sulṭān.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. is not explicit about Muḥāfiẓ Khān's motive; and neither Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India says what his motive was. Firishtah and Col. Briggs say nothing about Muḥāfiẓ Khān's intrigues against Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān; but they say that he quarrelled with the Sulṭān and used unmannerly language towards him. After some fighting the Sulṭān had to leave Shādiābād; and Muḥāfiẓ Khān then brought Ṣāhib Khān out of the fort, and raised him to the throne. According to the Ṭabaqāt this happened sometime afterwards, *i.e.*, after the rebellion of Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtaṣ Khān and the death of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, and the submission of a petition by Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtaṣ Khān. The Cambridge History of India mentions the intrigues of Muhāfiz Khān and the rebellion of Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtas Khan, etc. (p. 365).

[3] The reading in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. is از امراء but I think the meaning is about or in respect of the *amīrs*.

[4] مخصوص خان in the second MS.

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that they should slay Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtaṣ Khān, when they come, according to custom, to make their salute.

And when things came to such a pass, one of the eunuchs, who was on special terms with Mukhtaṣ Khān, reported to him what was happening. Mukhtaṣ Khān immediately went and informed Iqbāl Khān; and an hour had not yet elapsed when a man came to summon Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān. [1] Mukhtaṣ Khān hastened without any delay to wait on the Sulṭān; and Iqbāl Khān remained occupied with the affairs of state. Mukhtaṣ Khān, seeing that things were not as on previous occasions, [2] returned, and came to Iqbāl Khān; and they went away to their respective houses. Muḥāfiẓ Khān then reported to the Sulṭān that Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān had gone away to their houses, so that they might collect their retainers, and raise one of the Shāhzādas to the [3] *salṭanat*. He suggested that it would be advisable to go there and seize them; [4] and not defer what should be done today to tomorrow.

Couplet:

Time [5] takes off from the man,
Who to tomorrow delays today's work.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd believed the words of that [6] deceitful traitor, and advanced towards the houses of Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān. The latter fled with a hundred horsemen and foot soldiers, and came out of the fort on the side of [7] Qāḍīpūr, on the night of the 24th Rabī'-ul-thānī. They rode all night, and in the morning reached the village of [8] Sarābah, near the Narbada river. From that place

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[1] One MS. by mistake omits the whole sentence from مختص خان to مشغول بود.

[2] One of the MSS. has بر امده instead of برگشته.

[3] One of the MSS. has by mistake بطلب, instead of بسلطنت.

[4] One MS. omits the words from کار امروز to نیندازند.

[5] The word in the MS. and in the lith. ed. appears to be تبرا which may be derived from تبر to break off.

[6] One MS. omits the word مکار.

[7] One MS. and the lith. ed. have قاضی پور but the other MS. has غازیپور.

[8] Firishtah and Col. Briggs do not name the village. They narrate the facts of the rebellion of Mukhtaṣ Khān (whom they call Makhṣūṣ Khān) and Iqbāl Khān after the narrative of the rebellion of Muḥāfiẓ Khān and the raising

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they sent Naṣrat Khān, son of Iqbāl Khān, on the 25th of the month in the direction of the country of Asīr, to bring Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn. Early the next morning, Sulṭān Maḥmūd sat on the *masnad* of rule in the audience place; and conferring the title of Khwājah Jahān on Muḥāfiẓ Khān entrusted the office of the *vazārat* to him. He then conferred the titles of *Majlis-i-Karīm* on Afḍal Khān, and of Dastūr Khān on Jāwash Khān, and sent them to put down Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān.

When Naṣrat Khan, after traversing various stages, arrived in the presence of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, the latter in his great joy and happiness, started on the following day from the country styled "the Mumtāz", which is a name for the territory of Bījāgarh and Kharkūn; and in his great eagerness he traversed thirty *karōhs* in one day and night. It so happened, however, that the heat was so great, that fish were scorched in the depth of the sea, and fiery natured salamanders were drowned in their own sweat, and Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn fell ill and his condition became abnormal, and on the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-āwwal he accepted the summons of God.

Couplet:

There is the way of non-existence, which none who exists,
Will e'er the danger of traversing escape.

And some say that he was poisoned at the instigation of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Naṣrat Khān, dressed in blue (mourning) garments, and taking the corpse with him came to Sarābah, where the Khāns were assembled. When he arrived there, Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān, in great sorrow and distress, sent the dead body to the fort of Shādī-

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of Ṣāḥib Khān to the throne by the latter. According to Firishtah lith. ed. Iqbāl Khān and Makhṣūṣ Khān went themselves to Asīr, and held the umbrella over the head of Shihāb-ud-dīn; and after his death they raised the umbrella over the head of his son, and gave him the title of Sulṭān Hūshang. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 250) agrees generally with the lith. ed. of Firishtah; but he says, contrary to the other historians, that it was Medny Ray, who had acquired an undue influence over the Sooltan, who persuaded the latter that Yekbal and Mukhsoos Khan "were carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the King of the Deccan"; and at his instigation the Sooltan ordered the former to be put to death. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, also does not mention it, though it says that they fled to the Narbada. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has سرایہ Sarāiyah in the text-edition.

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ābād. They gave the title of Hūshang Shāh to [1] the adopted son of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, and held the umbrella over his head; and raising the dust of disturbance, started from that country towards the centre of the country of Mālwa.

[2] Couplet:

Jāmī! it is better that at this stage you adopt the view,
That from the deaths of others, you fear your own.

After the arrival of the dead body, the Sulṭān wept much, and deposited it in the earth. He carried out the customary rites of mourning, and gave alms to deserving people. After finishing them, he sent Niẓām Khān to reinforce Dastūr Khān. Niẓām Khān traversed the stages on wings of speed and joined him. Then joining their forces, they attacked Hūshang; and the latter fled, and took shelter in [3] the hills of Bahār Bābā Ḥājī.

While these things were happening, petitions came from Iqbāl Khan and Mukhtaṣ Khān, to the effect that, "Nothing has ever been done by these ancient hereditary slaves except rendering loyal service to your Majesty; and Muḥāfiẓ Khān, owing to his envy and ill-will, having spoken interested and malicious words has turned your noble heart against your old servants. They hope that the truth about the disloyalty and [4] wickedness of Muḥāfiẓ Khān and of his acts will be revealed to your just mind. They also believe that some of your other loyal servants, will, in their disinterestedness, attest in private

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[1] Both MSS. have متبنی, adopted son, but the lith. ed. has پسر, son. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, also has son.

[2] The meaning and appropriateness of the couplet are not very clear. Also the first word is either جامي, which is the name of the celebrated Persian Sūfī poet who was a native of Jām, or جای a place. I think Jāmī is better.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. has بکوهها گریختند fled to the hills. He goes on to say that after some time Iqbāl Khān and Makhṣuṣ Khān joined the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and were received with favour. Somewhat contrary to this, Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 250) says, that after some slight opposition, "the prince and his minister (apparently Yekbal Khan) threw themselves on the King's mercy." On the other hand, the Cambridge History of India, page 365, says that "Hūshang took refuge in Sehore, but the leaders convinced the king that they were loyal at heart."

[4] The phrase is حرام خواری حرامخور, in the MSS., and حرام زادگی in the lith. ed. In the text-edition it is نا دولتخواهی و حرام خواری.

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to the truth of these words." When the purport of these petitions became known to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, some of the Sulṭān's servants said that, "The object of Muḥāfiẓ Khān in making the insinuations was, that he should be able to act independently in carrying out the affairs of the state; and the turn of the *vazārat* would not come to him, if Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān were there. In fact, his whole energy had been devoted to this, that he might place a new face on the affairs; and having brought one of the sons of Nāṣir Shāh out of prison, he should assign the name of the Sulṭān to him; and should himself be the loosener and fastener (sole dictator) of all affairs."

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who had no caution and foresight in his acts, ordered that when Muḥāfiẓ Khān comes to make his salute, he should be seized, and kept under guard, and should, after investigation, be punished. When the adherents of Muḥāfiẓ Khān informed him of the truth of what had happened, he appeared in the precincts of the audience hall, with his retainers, on the following day, which was the 18th Jamādī-ul-āwwal. After a little while Sulṭān Maḥmūd summoned him to his private chamber. He went there, and gave harsh replies to his words. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in great anger and bravery, marched out with few followers from among his servants and a body of Abyssinians; and that wicked man fled out of the palace; and taking possession of the outer building raised the standard of revolt. He brought Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, son of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn; and besieged Maḥmūd Shāh in his palace. He was about to seize the latter, when he came out in the middle of the night, and started towards the town of Ujjain. From that place he summoned Dastūr Khān and the other *amīrs* to his presence, after giving them assurances of his favour. That very night when Sulṭān Maḥmūd started in his flight, Muḥāfiẓ Khān bestowed the title of [1] Sulṭān Maḥmūd on Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, and placed him on the throne. After some days, Dastūr Khān arrived in Ujjain; and after him, Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl

[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. say, that he received the title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. It shows a lack of imagination in Muḥāfiẓ Khān that he could not give him any other title. It must have been very confusing to have the same name for both the Sulṭāns. Firishtah and Col. Briggs do not appear to mention the title which was given to Ṣāḥib Khān. In fact he is always called Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān in the histories. The Cambridge History of India, page 365, says that Sāhib Khān was proclaimed king under the title of Mahmūd II.

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Khān joined the Sulṭān. Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, on hearing this news, summoned Ṣadr Khān and Afḍal Khān; and he [1] had engagements and promises with them confirmed by very strong oaths.

On the 5th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, he left the fort of Shadīābād in charge of [2] Mawadab Khān and marching to the town of Na'lcha, made it his camp; and with the concurrence of Ṣadr Khān, ordered that a third part of the wages of the soldiers should be paid to them in cash from the treasury, to enable them to make the necessary preparations for the march to Ujjain. Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched from Ujjain to Dībālpūr; and after a watch of the night, the commanders, who had their families in Mandū mounted their horses, and started for the camp of Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān. The next day Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched from Dībālpūr in the direction of Chandērī; and writing an account of what had happened, sent it to Bihjat Khān. The latter wrote in reply, "This slave is bound to obey him, who should have the capital city of Shādīābād in his possession." Sulṭān Maḥmūd on receiving this reply became amazed and anxious about his future. He halted in the village of Behishtpūr and held a consultation. Some of his adherents said, "We should take shelter in the fort of Ranthambhōr." The opinion of others was, that they should ask for help from Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī. Sulṭān Maḥmūd declared, "It appears in my mind that we should wrap up our feet in the skirt of patience; and should wait for the rising of the stars of good fortune; it appears that it is right to take shelter in the fort of Ranthambhōr for a time, as it is imaginable that we should have help and support. It appears improper, however, on my side, to ask for help from my equals." And cutting off the chain of hope from all created things, he waited for the appearance of what was in the womb of fate.

After a few days, Mēdinī Rāy, who was distinguished by great bravery and experience, came from his *thāna* and joined him. Bihjat

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[1] The readings are slightly different. One MS. has عهود و پیمان را بایمان غلاط موکد گردانید. This appears to be the best reading. The other MSS. have عهود را بپیمان غلاط موکد گردانید. This does not appear to be correct. The lith. ed. has عهد instead of عهود, and omits the را after پیمان, in the reading in the first MS.

[2] The name is مودب خان in one MS. and موذنخان in the other, and مودت خان in the lith. ed. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has خودن خان in the text-edition.

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Khān becoming aware of the impropriety of his (previous) acts, sent [1] Sharzah Khān, his son, to attend on the Sulṭān; and the latter, feeling that he was now more powerful, determined to march to Mandū. After some time news came that Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān was advancing towards Chandērī. When he encamped in the village [2] Shahrāī, the parties thought it advisable that they should arrange their troops the next morning, and await the blowing of the wind of victory and triumph. It so happened, that after the passing of one watch of the night, [3] Afḍal Khān mounted his horse, and came to Sulṭān Maḥmūd's camp; and a little more than half the army, acting in concert with him, also joined Sulṭān Maḥmūd's camp. Shahzāda Ṣāḥib Khān and Muḥāfiẓ Khān, in great terror and confusion, set fire to their camp, and fled. On the 4th day they arrived in Naṣratābād, and opened the hand of lavishness for squandering the treasures, and occupied themselves with guarding and arranging the fort.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd performed the rites of offering thanks to God, and advanced towards Shādīābād. When he arrived in the village of [4] Ṣirsiah, the adopted son of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn and his *amīrs*, who had fortified themselves in the foot-hills of Bahār Bābā Ḥājī,

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[1] The name is Sharzah Khān in both MSS. Col. Briggs calls him Shirza Khan, governor of Chandērī. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has Siddat Khān and the Cambridge History of India, page 366, has Shiddat Khān.

[2] The name of the village is شہرائی and سہرای in the MSS. and سہرانی in the lith. ed. The name does not appear in Firishtah or in Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India, though they all mention the battle which took place there. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted سہرای in the text-edition.

[3] Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs mentions the defection of Afḍal Khān from Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān's camp. The Cambridge History of India, page 366, mentions it, but its account differs in some particular from that in the text. In the first place, it says that the armies met in the evening. This is correct, if it means that the armies came near each other in the evening; but it certainly is not correct if it means that the armies engaged each other in the evening. Then it says, that Afzal Khān deserted, "taking half of the army with him." This is very indefinite, as it does not say half of what army he took with him. The Ṭabaqāt is quite definite, and I presume it is correct that he took all his own army and half of Malik's army.

[4] The village is called سرسیہ Sirsiah in both MSS., and سرسہ Sirsah in the lith. ed. It is not mentioned in either Firishtah or in Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

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came to Sulṭān Maḥmūd and obtained a promise of safety. Then by successive marches Sulṭān Maḥmūd encamped in the town of Sirsiah; and on the next day which was the [1] 7th of Ramaḍān in the year 917 A.H., he advanced to Shādiābād, the seat of the throne, with his army in battle array. On both sides the ranks were arrayed, and the field of slaughter was arranged. Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, acting with bravery, attacked [2] Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army. At this time an elephant advanced towards Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and he shot an arrow aiming at the breast of the *fīlbān* with such force, that it came out of the latter's back. At this time Mēdinī Rāy with a body of his Rājpūts utterly routed Ṣāḥib Khān's army, wounding the latter with their lances and *jamdhars* (a kind of dagger). The Shāhzāda being unable to withstand them fled; and some of his men took shelter in the fort; and [3] a number concealed themselves in the caverns, which are to be found in the neighbourhood of Mandū. Sulṭān Maḥmūd pursued them as far as the *Hauḍ-i-Khāṣ* (special reservoir), and encamped there.

The Shāhzāda occupied himself with the defence and other arrangements of the fort; and endeavoured day and night to secure it against attack. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, owing to his natural kindliness sent the following message to him, "As the relation of brotherhood is between us, and the observance of the relation of kinship is one of our duties, natural morality induces me that I should bestow on you whatever place you may ask for; and you may take away as much property as you can carry away, and may go away without any objection from me. So that for no reason whatever the blood of

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 366, gives November 28th (1512 ?) as the date of the battle.

[2] One MS. has فراوان حمله اورد, but the word فراوان does not occur in the other MS. or in the lith. ed.

[3] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have و گروهی در غارهای که در حوالی مندو واقع است مختفی شدند, with the difference that the MS. has by mistake از حوالی instead of در حوالی. The other MS. has و در کوهها و غارهای که در حوالی مندو واقع است مختفی شدند. The reading in the lith. ed. appears to me to be the most correct and I have accepted it. In the text-edition it is و گروهی در غارهای که در حوالی مندو واقع است - مختفی گشتند.

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Musalmāns may not be spilled." Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, being proud of the strength of the fort, did not agree. Sulṭān Maḥmūd then seized the environs of the fort, and made great efforts in carrying on the siege; till on the 16th Shawwāl of the afore-mentioned year (the troops) by the exertions and endeavours of Maulānā 'Imād-ud-dīn Khurāsānī and other brave soldiers entered the fort about the beginning of true dawn; and attacking the men in a bastion fought hand to hand with them; and in the winking of an eye mingled the blood of the followers and adherents of the Shāhzāda with the dust of wretchedness. The Shāhzāda and Muḥāfiẓ Khān taking with them a quantity of precious gems, fled by the path of the seven hundred steps; and on the 4th day joined the camp of Sulṭān Muẓaffar in [1] the town of Barōda, one of the dependencies of Gujrāt. Sulṭān Muẓaffar considering, the arrival of the Shāhzāda an honour, did not leave out a single minutia in the rites of hospitality. He promised that at the end of the rainy season he would take possession of the country of Mālwa, and divide it among the brothers.

From that place they went to Chāmpānīr. [2] One day the Shāhzāda happened to go to the house of Yādgār Mughul, who was celebrated as *Surkh Kulāh* (the red cap), and had come to Gujrāt, as an ambassador from Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafvī. There were high words among their servants, which ended in a scuffle. A report spread among the common people, that Yādgār Surkh Kulāh and his men had taken the Shāhzāda of Mandū as prisoner. Men belonging to the army of Gujrāt, coming in crowds, killed some of the retainers of Surkh Kulāh. The Shāhzāda, from shame and ignominy, turned his face towards the kingdom of Asīr, without taking leave of the Sulṭān. He with three hundred horsemen encamped at the village of [3] Lōrgāon, which is distinguished as the boundary of Asīr. Lōdhā the governor of the

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[1] Both the MSS. have در قصبه برودة بگجرات, but the lith. ed. has در قصبه برودة از توابع گجرات. I have adopted the latter reading. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has در قصبهٔ برودة گجرات in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. omits the word روزی and also the word بر before منزل.

[3] The name of the village is written as لورکانو, probably Lōrgāon, in the MS., and as نوگانو Naugāon in the lith. ed. It is not mentioned in either Firishtah or in Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India. In the text-edition it is پور کانو.

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town of Kandūyah, having received information of this, came with great quickness and attacked him. Ṣāḥib Ḵẖān fleeing from him sought shelter with the ruler of Ḳāwīl, which is in the Deccan. As affectionate relations existed between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and the ruler of Kāwīl, the latter kept himself back from helping the Shāhzāda, but allotted a few villages as a contribution towards his expenses.

After that, as disturbances disappeared from the kingdom, and disorder was changed into order, Sulṭān Maḥmūd took his place on the dais of peace and tranquillity. Governors and *thānadārs* and revenue officers went to the different divisions and districts for the organisation of the kingdom. Mēdinī Rāy wanted to become all powerful, and to remove the *amīrs* of Ghiyāth Shāh and Nāṣir Shāh out of the way; and in pursuance of this wicked purpose he began to speak ill of the *amīrs*; and in private he slandered everyone, till one day he submitted (to the Sulṭān), that Afḍal Ḵẖān and Iqbāl Ḵẖān had sent [1] letters to Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Ḵẖān, and wanted to re-awaken the disturbances which had been put to sleep. Sulṭān Maḥmūd imagining these interested words to be disinterested, ordered, that when Afḍal Ḵẖān and Iqbāl Ḵẖān should come to make their *salāms* they should be slain. On the following day, when they, in accordance with the usual custom, came to make their *salāms*, both of them were seized and torn joint from joint.

Sikandar Ḵẖān, the governor of [2] Satwās, and Fatḥ Jang Ḵẖān Shērwānī, seeing this audacity and violence of Mēdinī Rāy fled and went to their *jāgīrs*. Sikandar Ḵẖān rebelled and took possession

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[1] The word is written as مکاتیب, مکاتب, in the MSS.; and مکاتبات in the lith. ed. This last appears to me to be the best and I have retained it. In the text-edition it is مکاتیب.

[2] The name is written as سیواس Sēwās, and اواس Awās and اسواس Aswās, and ستواس Satwās in different places in the MSS. and the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. mentions Sikandar Ḵẖān, and his rebellion; but does not, as far as I can make out mention the name of his *jāgīr*. Col. Briggs in one place (vol. IV, p. 251) calls him "Sikundur Khan of Bhilsa"; but this is apparently a mistake, for it was Manṣūr Ḵẖān, who was sent against him, and not Sikandar Ḵẖān, who was a *jāgīrdār* of Bhīlsā. The Cambridge History of India, page 366, calls Sikandar Khān, governor of Satwās. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted سواس in the text-edition.

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of [1] the country from Kandūyah to Shahahābād, and drove out the revenue officers of the *Khālṣa*. Sulṭān Maḥmūd came down from the fort of Mandū, in order to put down this rebellion, on the 5th of the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the year 918 A.H.; and took up his residence in the *Jahān-numā* palace at Na'lcha. He entrusted the office of the *vazārat* to Mēdinī Rāy. He sent men to Bihjat Khān, governor of Chandērī, and other *amīrs*, and summoned them. Bihjat Khān in spite of the relationship of *Khānazādī* (being a slave by descent), fearing (what Mēdinī Rāy might do to him), wrote an excuse about the near approach of the rainy season. Sulṭān Maḥmūd affected to overlook this; and wrote to Manṣūr Khān, the feudatory of Bhīlsā to advance and put down Sikandar Khān. Manṣūr Khān collected his troops and advanced to attack Sikandar Khān; but when he arrived in the neighbourhood of the latter's country, his spies brought him the news, that Sikandar Khān had collected an immense army; and had also got the Rāys of Gōndwāna to join him. Manṣūr Khān halted there, reported the facts to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and asked for reinforcements. Mēdinī Rāy wrote in reply, that if he was guilty of procrastination and delay in seizing Sikandar Khān, he would become liable to suffer from the chastisement of the Sulṭān's wrath. Manṣūr Khān on receiving this [2] order, became amazed and anxious about his future; and returned and joined Bihjat Khān. [3] Sanjār Khān who had been nominated to reinforce Manṣūr Khān also went and joined the latter.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd on hearing these news started from the capital, came to Dhār, and performed the pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Kamāl-ud-dīn Mālwī. He then sent Mēdinī Rāy with a large army and fifty elephants, from the town of Dībālpūr, to put down Sikandar Khān; and himself went to Ujjain. Mēdinī Rāy, on arriving at

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[1] Firishtah lith. ed. describes the country as از کندوهه تا قصبه شها با باد but he does not say that Sikandar Khān took possession of it. He says that he had possession of it, در تصرف داشت. Col. Briggs on the contrary says, "He occupied the country lying between Kuhndwa and Shahabad"; and about the last-named place says in a footnote "probably Shahpoor". The Cambridge History of India does not mention what territory Sikandar Khān seized.

[2] The word is تحکم in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and حکم in the other MS.

[3] In text-edition it is تجار خان Tujjār Khān instead of سنجار خان.

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Satwās stretched his hand for plunder and devastation; and the unalloyed pleasure of Sikandar Khān having thus become disturbed, he, in his helplessness, sought the path of peace; and through the intervention of Ḥabīb Khān came to Mēdinī Rāy. The latter went to Ujjain, and obtained the pardon of Sikandar Khān's offences. Sulṭān Maḥmūd drew the pen of pardon across his offences and allotted (confirmed) his rank and *jāgīr*. Sulṭān Maḥmūd then marched from Ujjain and came to the town of [1] Āgar. There a petition or report came from the *dārōgha* (superintendent) of the fort of Shādīābād to the effect, that a body of low people had risen in revolt on the night of the 25th Ramaḍān; and had raised the umbrella, which they [2] had brought from the tomb of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, over the head of a man of obscure descent; and had stretched their hands to plunder the city; but that by the good fortune of His Majesty he (the *dārōgha*) had seized the head and ringleader of the mob; and the men had been punished. The Sulṭān sent an order containing expressions of favour and encouragement to the *dārōgha*; and himself went towards [3] Bahār Bābā Ḥājī.

From that place he sent a letter giving encouragement and promising favour to the Bihjat Khān by the hand of Bherōdās; but as his all-seeing eye was besmirched with the dust of misfortune, he sent an improper reply; and sent men to Kāwīl that they might bring Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, making him their leader. He also submitted a petition to Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī, to the purport, that Maḥmūd Shāh had entrusted the bridle of loosening and fastening and of defending and regulating the kingdom to the hands of *Kāfirs*; and had placed his foot of submission outside the path of the [4] Muṣṭafa (the chosen one, Muḥammad) to whom be the salutation; and has

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[1] See page 570 and note 1 on the same page. The Cambridge History of India, which does not mention the town at the place referred to on page 225, mentions it here (p. 367), and calls it Āgar.

[2] One MS. has اوردہ and the other برداشتہ after از قبر سلطان غیاث الدین. The lith. ed. has neither the one nor the other. I have inserted اوردہ. In the text-edition it is برداشتہ.

[3] See page 581.

[4] One MS. has by mistake مصطویہ instead of مصطفویہ and also has و سلم instead of السلام. The lith. ed. has التحیۃ و after السلام.

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made the followers of Islām wretched and miserable, and the *Kāfirs* and Rājpūts dear and honoured. [1] If a detachment of his victorious army should arrive in these parts, the public prayers would be read in the name of that *Bādshāh*, who is the asylum of the faith; and [2] his coin would be current in the country. When Bherōdās came and reported all this, Sulṭān Maḥmūd collected troops, and after one week marched from [3] Bahār; and encamped in the village of Shikārpūr. On the following day, he sent Mukhtaṣ Khān with a large army to Chandērī, in advance of himself.

[4] About this time news came that about the middle of Muḥarram-ul-ḥarām in the year 919 A.H., Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī had encamped in the town of Dhār, with a large army and five hundred elephants; and was occupying himself with hunting, in the environs of the village of Dilāwarah. Although [5] Rāy Pithōrā and the other *amīrs*, who were in the fort of Mandū, sent a message to him, in their distress and weakness, by some trustworthy men to the effect that at this time, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd was engaged in attending to the administration of his kingdom, his (*i.e.*, Sulṭān Muẓaffar's) intention of invading it appeared to be altogether remote from the rules of bravery and humanity. He did not at all listen to it with any idea of good will and acceptance; and sent Niẓām-ul-mulk Sulṭānī with a large army to the neighbourhood of Na'lcha. The latter arrived at the *Hauḍ-i-Rānī*

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[1] The facts of Bihjat Khān's sending for Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, and also asking Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī to send an army, and promising that the public prayers would be read in his name appear to be rather inconsistent; but Firishtah explains that if Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī would help to place Ṣāḥib Khān on the throne, the *Khuṭba* would be read in his name as the suzerain or overlord.

[2] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. has و سکه ایشان شایع خواهد شد, and the other has the same except that the words ایشانرا ساخت instead of ایشان شد while the lith. ed. has و سکه ایشانرا شایع سازد. I have adopted the first reading. In the text-edition the reading is the same except that ایشان را is used in place of و ایشان and ساخت instead of شد.

[3] I suppose this means Bahār Bābā Ḥājī.

[4] The inroad of Sulṭan Muẓaffar is only incidentally and briefly mentioned by Firishtah and Col. Briggs. The Cambridge History of India (p. 367) also mentions it, and adds that "Muzaffar was recalled to Gujarāt by domestic disturbances."

[5] Son of Mēdinī Rāy.

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(the Rānī's reservoir or tank), but returned from there. At the time of his return, a [1] body of men came down from the fort and attacked him. Niẓām-ul-mulk turned round and slew some of the men; and the others sought shelter in the fort. Sulṭān Maḥmūd on receiving this terrible news, became distressed in mind, and anxious and amazed; and did not know in what direction he should attempt first. Suddenly while he was extremely distressed, news arrived that Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī had turned back, and had gone back to Gujrāt by way of [2] Dahūd. Sulṭān Maḥmūd having performed the rites of offering thanks to God, placed the destruction of Bihjat Khān in the forefront of his energy.

After some days, news came that Sikandar Khān had again raised the standard of rebellion and a flag of violence; and had taken forcible possession of some villages belonging to the *Khālṣa* (*i.e.*, lands in direct possession of the Sulṭān). Sulṭān Maḥmūd deputed the governor of the town of [3] Kandūyah named Malik Lōdhā to punish him. [4] Malik Lōdhā advanced towards [5] Satwās. After the two sides had met, the dust of disturbance and warfare continued from morning till evening. In the end Sikandar Khān being unable to withstand him,

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[1] One MS. has جمعی, and the other صودم. The lith. ed. has neither, or any similar word.

[2] دهور in the text-edition.

[3] About Kandūyah see page 558 and note 6 on the same page. Firishtah has at this place حاکم کند وی و ملک بوده . Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 254) calls him "Mullik Lado, the governor of Kuhndwa." In another place Firishtah lith. ed. calls کند و هیر, کندویه. The Cambridge History of India, page 367, does not give the name of the governor, but calls him "a loyal officer who had endeavoured to reduce him to obedience."

[4] The Cambridge History of India, page 367, describes the incident in a single sentence, which owing to the necessity of too much compression or from error conveys ideas which are totally different from the facts, as narrated in the Ṭabaqāt and by Firishtah. The sentence (a part of which I have already quoted in the preceding note) is Sikandar Khān had defeated and slain a loyal officer who had endeavoured to reduce him to obedience. Malik Lōdhā was neither defeated nor slain by Sikandar Khān. On the other hand he defeated Sikandar Khān; and he was assassinated by a man probably a soldier in Sikandar Khān's army, who had a private grudge against him.

[5] سیواس in the text-edition here, but سواس earlier on, see note 2, page 587.

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turned his face in flight. Malik Lōdhā's troops pursued him, and were engaged in plundering. At this time, [1] a man whose family had been taken prisoner, came up to Malik Lōdhā, on the pretext of kissing his feet, and stabbing him in the side with a poisoned dagger destroyed the capital of his life. Sikandar Khān on hearing this [2] returned, and drove Malik Lōdhā's men before him; and took six elephants and many horses as booty; and returned triumphant and victorious to Satwās. When this news came to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he considered the destruction of Bihjat Khān of primary importance, and advanced towards Chandērī. On the way news was brought to him, that about the middle of Dhīl-ḥijjaī-ul-ḥarām, Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān had arrived at Chandērī from Gōndwāna; and Bihjat Khān and Manṣūr Khān had gone forward to meet him; and had proclaimed him as the Sulṭān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd halted at the village of [3] Sājanpūr, and occupied himself with collecting troops.

After some days news came that [4] Sa'īd Khān Lūdī and 'Imād-ul-mulk had encamped at a distance of five *karōhs* from Chandērī with the army of Dehlī from the side of Sulṭān Sikandar to reinforce Ṣāḥib Khān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd on hearing this news became extremely disheartened, and thought it advisable to [5] return to his own place (*i.e.*, I suppose Mandū). On the way, he summoned the *amīrs* to his presence; and got them to strengthen their promises and engagements by oaths. But in spite of their oaths and the renewal of their engagements, when a part of the night had passed, Ṣadr Khān and [6] Mukhtaṣ Khān, who were [7] truthful *amīrs*, fled towards Chandērī. Maḥmūd Shāh sent a body of men in pursuit; and himself encamped

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[1] Firishtah describes him as یکی از لشکریان سکندر خان که عیالش اسیر شده بود *i.e.*, one of Sikandar Khān's soldiers whose family had been made prisoner.

[2] One MS. omits by mistake the words from مردم ملک لودها to بستواس برگشت.

[3] The name is Sājanpūr and Sājan in the MSS., and Sijanpūr in the lith. ed. It is not mentioned by Firishtah or Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India. The latter says in the corresponding passage that Mahmūd "retired to Bhilsa and remained for some time in that neighbourhood."

[4] One MS. omits Khān after Sa'īd.

[5] One MS. has by mistake مقاومت instead of معاودت.

[6] One MS. has دیگراں instead of مختص خان, Mukhtaṣ Khān.

[7] The epithet truthful is probably used ironically.

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in the town of [1] Sirōnj. On the 1st of Ṣafar he passed through the inhabited part of the town of Bhīlsā; and encamped on the bank of the neighbouring river. When his army went past the gate of the town the agent of Manṣūr Khān, in concert with a body of the low or common people of the town, plundered those who had fallen behind. On hearing this news the spirit of the bravery and self-assertion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd came into motion; and he gave an order, so that in a moment his men seized the citadel, and slew that body of men of evil destiny. The citizens were plundered owing to the [2] wickedness of those men; and their wives and children became subject to the misery of slavery.

The Sulṭān having halted in those parts for some days for hunting. [3] Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān and Bihjat Khān, considering this delay to be a very great boon, sent Malik Maḥmūd with a large army towards Sārangpur. Jhujār Khān, the agent of the feudatory of Sārangpūr, fought with and defeated him. Malik Maḥmūd fled, and did not rest till he had arrived at Chandērī; and Jhujār Khān seized much booty, and returned to Sārangpūr. At the time when the detachment under Malik Maḥmūd returned fleeing, Sa'īd Khān Lūdī and 'Imād-ul-mulk sent this message to Bihjat Khān "The promise had been given, that when the [4] victorious Sikandarī troops should arrive in the [5] territory of Chandērī, the public prayers would be read in the great name of the Sikandar of the age (*i.e.*, Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī); and the *Dirahams*

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[1] The place is so called in the MSS., and also in the lith. ed. It is not mentioned by Firishtah or Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India.

[2] One MS. has by mistake سوخت instead of شومیت.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 367, omits the events between the proclamation of Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān as Sulṭan, and the sending of the force by the rebels to Sārangpūr. It mentions the latter event, but does not give the name of the commander of the force or that of the agent of the governor of the place who defeated him. Firishtah lith. ed. also mentions the incident and he gives the name of the commander of the fort as محمود نام شخص, *i.e.*, a man of the name of Maḥmūd; but does not give the name of the agent of the governor who defeated him. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 254, 255) calls the commander of the force "one Mahmood Khan" but says "he was alarmed at the approach of the King's army" and "fled disgracefully."

[4] One MS. has منصور but the other and the lith. ed. have منصورۂ.

[5] One MS. omits بخطۂ چندیری.

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and *Dīnārs* would be struck and [1] imprinted with the name of that sovereign; but up to the present day no sign of these things has shown itself." As they [2] did not get a reply such as they wanted, they marched from the village of Shahrāī, and halted at a place fourteen *karōhs* further back. From that place they sent a report of what had happened. Sulṭān Sikandar sent a *farmān* recalling them. When Sulṭān Sikandar's army, annoyed at what had happened, went towards Delhī, Sulṭān Maḥmūd being expectant of receiving the grace of God, planned a hunting excursion. At this time, one day in the course of the hunting a spy submitted a report, that Khwājah Jahān and Muḥāfiẓ Khān had marched away towards Shādiābād with a large army. Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned from the place where he received the report; and deputed Ḥabīb Khān and Fakhr-ul-mulk and [3] Hēmkaran to put down and crush Muḥāfiẓ Khān. Ḥabīb Khān and the other *amīrs* arrived at Na'lcha on the 16th Rabī'-ul-thānī. It so happened that Muḥāfiẓ Khān had arrived there three or four hours before them; and a battle having taken place, he, owing to the ill luck which always follows a rebel, was killed; and his head having been cut off, they returned with victory and triumph to their own camp. Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, on hearing this news was full of grief and sorrow; and shut the door of the entrance and exit of the Khāns before his face.

Bihjat Khān and Ṣadr Khān thought it advisable, that with the intervention of the learned men and Shaikhs, they should ask for the pardon of their own offences, and should pray for one out of the

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have ملوک instead of مسکوک, which is the correct word.

[2] One MS. has by mistake نه نوشتند instead of نشنیدند. Firishtah explains that public prayers were read in Sulṭān Sikandar's name in Chandērī, but as about forty thousand Rājpūts had assembled in Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, Sulṭān Sikandar recalled the force which he had sent, and which, according to Firishtah, consisted of twelve thousand horsemen.

[3] The name is written with slight variation in the MSS. and in the lith ed., but looks like Hamīkaran. Firishtah lith. ed. gives the name of Ḥabīb Khān and Fakhr-ul-mulk, and adds many of the Rājpūt *amīrs*. Hamīkaran or Hēmkaran was apparently one of them. Col. Briggs mentions the name of "Hubeeb Khan" alone. The Cambridge History of India, page 367, says briefly "an attempt of Muḥāfiz Khān to return to Māndū was defeated." همیکرن in the text-edition.

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many districts of the kingdom for Shāhzāda (Ṣāḥib Khān). They then went together to Ṣāḥib Khān and submitted these proposals to him. He said, "This has been recurring to my mind for a long time. I have been sorrowful and unhappy at the coming of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army; but praise be to God! that this danger has passed away." Bihjat Khān then, with the advice of the *amīrs*, sent Shaikh Aūliyā to the Sulṭān's camp; and prayed for the pardon of their offences; and asked for a place to help in the expenses of the Shāhzāda. [1] Sulṭān Maḥmūd, considering this to be one of the supernatural mercies and indubitable blessings, made over the fort of Rāīsīn and the villages of Bhīlsā and Dhamōnī to the Shāhzāda; and gave him for his immediate expenses [2] ten *lakhs* of *tankas* and also twelve elephants, and sent *farmāns* promising favour to Bihjat Khān and [3] the other *amīrs* and Khāns. He then gave permission to the emissaries of Bihjat Khān to return; and sent a body of his own servants with them. When Shaikh Aūliyā and the other emissaries arrived in the neighbourhood of Chandērī, Bihjat Khān sent his son Sharzah Khān to welcome them; and met them on their arrival with honour and respect. When he learned the purport of the *farmāns*, he sent the *farmān* for the government of Rāīsīn and Bhīlsā to Ṣāḥib Khān by the hand of Sharzah Khān; but kept the ten *lakhs* of *tankas* in cash and the twelve elephants with himself. Some strife-mongers said to Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān, that Bihjat Khān had determined that on the morning of the *'Īd-i-fiṭr* (the *'Īd* of the breaking of the fast) he would seize him and some of his immediate adherents in the *Nimāzgāh*; and [4] he had accordingly sent Shaikh

[1] One MS. omits Maḥmūd after Sulṭan.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. has تنکهٔ سیاه, and Col. Briggs has copper tangas. The Cambridge History of India, page 367, has, a substantial amount without further definition.

[3] There are slight variations in the readings. The reading I have adopted is that in the lith. ed. One MS. omits امرا, and the other has خوانین و امرا.

[4] The meaning is not clear. On the whole it appears that Bihjat Khān did all this, but why he should have strengthened the engagement with Shaikh Aūliyā or should have sent for some troops is not very clear, if he was arranging matters secretly to secure Ṣāḥib Khān on the day of the *'Id*. Firishtah does not make matters clearer, as he says that Ṣāḥib Khān betook himself to Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī immediately on hearing that Bihjat Khān wanted to make him a prisoner. Col. Briggs does not refer to the matter at all. The Cambridge History of India, page 367, says that "The retention of the money by Bihjat

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Aūliyā to the camp, and had strengthened the promises and engagements with oaths; and had sent for a body of troops. On hearing this news, a great fear and terror came on the Shāhzāda; and he spent all day in thought and anxiety; and on the night of the 9th Ramaḍān, he without thinking of his ultimate fate chose to tread an unknown path; and betook himself to Sulṭān Sikandar's army, which was on the frontier (of Mālwa). When this news reached Maḥmūd Shāh, he on the 19th Shawwāl came to Chandērī. [1] Bihjat Ḵẖān and the great men of the city hastened to welcome him, and made their excuses. Maḥmūd Shāh drew the line of pardon across the page of their offences and distinguished each one of them by conferring robes of honour and by giving rewards. He stayed there for some days, and having arranged the affairs of that neighbourhood went back to the capital city of Shādīābād.

Then at the wicked instigation and by the evil counsel of Mēdinī Rāy he struck the merciless sword at the *amīrs* and *sardārs*; and making each of them suspected and accused of offences not committed by them brought them into the place of punishment. Gradually things came to such a pass, that the disposition of Maḥmūd Shāh turned from all the *amīrs*, and in fact from all Musalmāns. He placed the mark of dismissal on the forehead of the old officers who had formed a faithful band, and had been entrusted for years, under the government of Ghiyāṯh Shāh and Nāṣir Shāh, with all matters of revenue; and appointed the helpers and confederates of Mēdinī Rāy in their places. Owing to these acts, most of the *amīrs*, *sardārs* and public servants became broken hearted, and holding the hands of their relatives and families chose to exile themselves from their country. The fort of Shādīābād, which had at one time been the home of learning and contained men of wisdom, and Shaikhs, became the residence of [2] *Kāfirs*. Things finally assumed such a shape, that all offices and

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Khān excited the apprehensions of Muhammad, who believed that he was about to be betrayed to his brother."

[1] I suppose that the Sulṭan and they all considered that the flight of Ṣāḥib Ḵẖān had offered them a very easy way out of many difficulties.

[2] The word is written as کاواران in the MSS. and کوران in the lith. ed. I cannot find any meaning of کاو or کور that would suit the context. The nearest meaning of کاو is a class of gipsies in India, and of کور the blind. In

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ports in the government of Maḥmūd Shāh, even down to those of a *darbān* (door-keeper) or *filbān*, (elephant-keeper) were given by Mēdinī Rāy to his own agents. There did not remain in the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd more than two hundred men belonging to the class of Musalmāns. And [1] even Musalmān and Saiyid women [2] were taken by the Rājpūts, and were turned into slave girls. They were taught the art of dancing, and were made to join the *akhāras* (dancing clubs). They even took possession of the singing women of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd although he saw the power and violence of the Rājpūts was powerless. And as the custom among the people of Hindūstān is, that when they send away one of their servants, or bid adieu to a guest, they give him *pān* (beetle leaf), Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent a vessel filled with *pān* made into packages for chewing to Mēdinī Rāy by the hand of Ārāish Khān; and gave him a message, that after that he had permission to leave (the Sulṭān's service); and he should go out of his (the Sulṭān's) kingdom. The Rājpūts replied, "We forty thousand horsemen have up to this day performed loyal and devoted service; and have never committed any fault. We have done praiseworthy service. We do not know what fault has been committed by us." When Ārāish Khān took this reply, the Rājpūts assembled in the house of Mēdinī Rāy, and determined that they should remove the Sulṭān; and place Rāy Rāyān, the son of Mēdinī Rāy, on the throne. Mēdinī Rāy said, "At the present moment the

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the corresponding passage in Firishtah, the word is کافران, which is all right and I have taken it. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted گواران or gipsies in the text-edition.

[1] Firishtah lith. ed. says that 'Alī Khān, one of the old *amīrs*, who was the governor of the city was exasperated by the domination and violence of the Rājpūts, and he assisted by the people of the city took possession of the fort when Sulṭān Maḥmūd had gone on a hunting excursion attended by his Rājpūt servants. When they returned they besieged the fort, and 'Alī Khān had to evacuate it. He was pursued and was seized and executed. This is mentioned also in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 256), but he changes the name of 'Alī Khan to Ghalib Khan. The Cambridge History of India does not mention these incidents.

[2] One MS. has شدند in place of شدهٔ, and then leaving out the following words as far as استیلای راجپوتان, substitutes for them سلطان محمود این امورا دیدهٔ بی طاقت شد.

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salṭanat of Mālwa is in reality in our possession. If, however, Maḥmūd Shāh does not remain as a buffer, Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gūjrāti will come galloping along and will seize the kingdom. Therefore we should, in every way that may be possible, endeavour to please our master."

Then Mēdinī Rāy with other Rājpūts waited on the Sulṭān, and standing in the place of those who prayed for pardon submitted, "It is not [1] concealed from your world-adorning wisdom, that from us (who are your) slaves, nothing [2] but loyalty and service has been shown. By the grace of God we slew with great torment Muḥāfiẓ Khān, who was a great enemy of the Sulṭān. Although man is steeped from head to foot with sins and offences, still no offence has been committed by us, which might throw dust over, and cause pain to Your Majesty's gracious mind; and even supposing that owing to human frailty a harsh deed should have been perpetuated by us, we hope that, with your innate generosity and natural inclination to forgive, you will grant us pardon for it; and after this, nothing will be done by us that would be contrary to your wishes and pleasure." Sulṭān Maḥmūd whether willingly or otherwise acted with politeness, and abandoned the idea of a conflict on this [3] condition, that he would make over all the posts in the different offices, according to previous custom, to the old Musalmān officers; that Mēdinī Rāy would not give his men any right of interfering in the affairs of state, and they should send out Musalmān women from their houses; and should shorten the arm of oppression. Mēdinī Rāy owing to the exigencies of the time accepted the conditions; and tried hard to please the Sulṭān. But [4] Sālbāhan, who was the *vazīr*, refused to obey, and refused to give up his wicked acts and evil practices.

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[1] One MS. has مختفی while the other and the lith. ed. have مخفی.

[2] Both MSS. have بعد, but the lith. ed. has بغیر.

[3] The same conditions are mentioned by Firishtah, lith. ed., but the word مالی is inserted after ملکی in it. Col. Briggs mentions them also with some variations. The Cambridge History of India (p. 368) mentions only one condition, *viz.*, that about the keeping of Muslim women by Rājputs as concubines, which it describes as the greatest offence in the eyes of the Muslims.

[4] The correct transliteration of the name as in the text is Sālbāhan; but the correct translation of the Sanskrit name is Sālibāhana. Col. Briggs transliliterates the name as Salb'han, but in a note has Salivahan. The Cambridge History of India, page 368, has Sālibāhan. In the text-edition it reads

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Sulṭān Maḥmūd with great bravery, in spite of the fact that he had not more than two hundred Musalmāns in his service, determined in consultation with some of his special adherents, that when he should [1] return from hunting, and Mēdinī Rāy and Sālbāhan should receive permission to go to their houses, they (*i.e.*, those adherents) should, at the time of their returning, cut them to pieces. The next day he went out hunting, leaving the men, who had been chosen for the work, at their places. Returning from the hunting, he went into his private chamber and gave permission to Mēdinī Rāy and Sālbāhan to go home. At this time those men came out of ambush, and wounded Mēdinī Rāy and Sālbāhan. The last named was killed on the spot; but as Mēdinī Rāy's wounds were not fatal, he was carried to his house. The Rājpūts on hearing this news, prepared themselves and collected in Mēdinī Rāy's house with the object of causing an injury to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The latter, on hearing this, with very great bravery and courage came out of the palace with only 16 Musalmān horsemen and a few foot soldiers in order, so to say, to suffer martyrdom; and prepared to fight. Some thousands of Rājpūts came forward and commenced an attack. One of the *Pūrabiya* Rājpūts, who was noted for his bravery, placed his foot firmly on the battlefield, and threw a weapon at the Sulṭān. The latter carried it and cut the assailant asunder. Another Rājpūt threw his javelin at the Sulṭān. The latter caught it on his sword; and cut him into two from his

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اما سالباهن پوربیہ سر از انقیاد پیچیدہ and there is no mention of who was the *vazīr*.

[1] Firishtah and Col. Briggs agree generally with the text, as to the attack on Mēdinī Rāy and Sālbāhan, the subsequent attack by the Rājpūts on the palace, and the Sulṭān's great bravery in repelling it. It appears, however, that the first attack on the palace was made without consulting or asking the permission of Mēdinī Rāy. They also say that although the Sulṭān was deficient in intelligence, he had no equal in bravery; and also that when the Rājpūts asked for Mēdinī Rāy's permission to make a second attack, (Col. Briggs says, they asked him to head it) he told them to desist from it. The Cambridge History of India, page 368, says, that the Rājputs "were defeated, chiefly owing to their fear of provoking the intervention of Muzaffar II of Gujarāt." This is certainly not correct. The Rājpūts were defeated in a fair fight, although the odds were very much in their favour. They were, however, forbidden by Mēdinī Rāy from making a second attack, for fear chiefly of provoking the intervention of Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujrāt, which is very different.

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waist. The Rājpūts on seeing this fled, and collected together, and wanted to advance in a great crowd to slay the Sulṭān.

When Mēdinī Rāy became acquainted with this resolution, he said, "Maḥmūd Shāh is my benefactor, if his men wounded me by his order, what business is it of yours? If the shadow of his greatness be not over our head, Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrāti would completely destroy us." The Rājpūts went back to their houses at the word of Mēdinī Rāy, and the tumult subsided. That night Mēdinī Rāy sent a humble message to the Sulṭān saying, "As during the whole of my life I have never done anything but wish for your welfare, and act faithfully to my salt, I have carried my life in safety from the wounds. If in reality, the affairs of the kingdom can be better regulated by my being put to death, I have no objection even to that." Maḥmūd Shāh said, "I have arrived at the conclusion, that Mēdinī Rāy is a loyal servant of mine. Owing to his great devotion to me, he kept the infuriated Rājpūts back yesterday from creating disorder and disturbance. I shall heal his wounded heart with the ointment of favour and graciousness."

After some days, when [1] Mēdinī Rāy's wounds had healed, he came with five hundred armed horsemen to make his *salām*; and thenceforward he came every day in the same way to make his *salām*. Maḥmūd Shāh, on account of his great courage and bravery, treated him in the same way as before, and reassuring him sent him to the office, so that he might attend to the affairs of state. When a considerable time elapsed with the Sulṭān acting with gentleness and courtesy; and he saw that there was nothing left to him of rule except the name, he in the months of the year 920 A.H., came out of the fort of Mandū on the pretext of going out hunting. He took with him [2] Rānī Kaniyā, who was the most beloved of his harem, [3] and the large body

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[1] There are variations in the readings. One MS. has زخم او مندمل گرد the other has میدنی رای in place of او. The lith. ed. has a different reading زخم او تبدیل بصحت کرد. In the text-edition it is مندمل گردید.

[2] The name is written in the MSS. as رانی کنیا and رانی کهارا in the lith. ed. See, however, note 2, page 302, from which it appears that she was called Rānī Kanākrā in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī.

[3] The sentence is left incomplete in the MSS., as well as in the lith. ed. In the corresponding passage, Firishtah has به بهانه شکار راجپوتانرا تردد بسیار فرمودة

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of Rājpūts, who used always to accompany him as his guard and always went about surrounding him. The Sulṭān said in private to the superintendent of the stables, who was an old servant of his, "I shall go out hunting tomorrow; and I shall make the Rājpūts run so much in pursuit of the game, that when they would arrive in the camp they would have no sense or power of movement left. When midnight should have passed, you should make [1] three very swift horses ready outside the camp; and should inform me." On the following day he went out hunting and when the evening came, and the Rājpūts went to sleep owing to much fatigue, the superintendent of the stables, in accordance with the orders, brought out three specially selected horses and informed him. Maḥmūd Shāh relying on the Divine aid and help went up to the horses, and all three of them turned to the open country, which was quite unknown to them. [2] After traversing many stages and passing many places, when they arrived in the town of Dahūd, which was on the boundary line of Gujrāt, Qaiṣar Khān, the *thānadār* of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gūjrātī, carried out the customs of welcoming him, and performed the rites of hospitality. He presented pavilions and all necessary articles; and wrote a report to Sulṭān Muẓaffar; and made him acquainted with the fact of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's arrival. When the news reached Sulṭān Muẓaffar at Chāmpānīr, he carried out the customs of offering thanks to God; and he sent Qaiṣar Khān and Tāj Khān and Qawām-ul-mulk and other great *amīrs* to welcome Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He also sent 'Irāqī horses and some elephants and articles of the *tōshakkhāna* (ward-robe), red curtains, articles of *farāshkhāna* and other equipages which are required by Sulṭāns. He himself advanced some stages to welcome the guests. Afterwards when the conjunction of the [3] two beneficent planets and the meeting

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ماندہ و خستہ کردہ بود, *i.e.*, on the pretext of hunting, he had given much work to the Rājpūts, and had made them tired and exhausted. The same idea is conveyed in the following sentences of the Ṭabaqāt.

[1] One MS. has سہ سراسپ, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. omit the word سر.

[2] For another account of the flight of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and of his reception by Sulṭān Muẓaffar, and the subsequent events, see the section about Gujrāt, page 302 onwards.

[3] Jupiter مشتری, and Venus زہرہ, *i.e.*, here the two Sulṭāns.

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of the two luminaries took place in one *majlis* and on one throne, Sulṭān Muẓaffar observing the customs of generosity and the rites of liberality made wise inquiries and presenting royal gifts placed (soothing) ointment on his wounded (spirit).

After some days, [1] Sulṭān Muẓaffar advanced into the country of Mālwa with a well-equipped army; and when he arrived near Dhār, Rāy Pithōrā strengthened the fort of Mandū, and busied himself with measures of guarding it. Mēdinī Rāy and Silhadī went to Chitōr with some thousands of Rājpūts, and sought the protection of Rānā Sānkā. Sulṭān Muẓaffar besieged the fort of Mandū, and distributed the batteries. After some days Rāy Pithōrā approached him with humility, and after asking for safety prayed for fourteen *parganas* for his own *jāgīr*. Sulṭān Muẓaffar in his great kindness granted his prayer. On the following day Pithōrā again sent a message saying, "As we have committed many evil deeds, and fear and alarm have come upon us, if you would retire with your army for a distance of three *karōhs*, we would take hold of the hands of our wives and children, come down from the fort, and surrender it to anyone whom you may order." Sulṭān Muẓaffar accepted the prayer of that deceitful band, and took up a position three *karōhs* behind his former station. Then it became clear, that Rāy Pithōrā was merely wasting time, and waiting for the arrival of [2] Mēdinī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā.

The Sulṭān then, acting with hostility and violence, returned (to his former camp); and surrounded the fort like the centre of a circle. At this time news was brought that Mēdinī Rāy and Silhadī had given large sums to Rānā Sānkā, and promising him more were bringing him with all the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood to aid and reinforce them, and they had arrived near the city of Ujjain. Sulṭan Muẓaffar sent Ā'ẓam Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, who was his nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law, and Fatḥ Khān and Qawām-ul-mulk to chastise and punish Mēdinī Rāy

[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not say what Mēdinī Rāy did to meet Sulṭān Muẓaffar, Firishtah and Col. Briggs do so in some detail. For another account of the siege and capture of Mandū as given in the history of the reign of Sulṭān Muẓaffar in the section of the Ṭabaqāt about Gujrāt, see pages 303, 304.

[2] In the text-edition it is رانا سانکا و میدنی راے instead of Mēdinī Rāy and Rānā Sānkā.

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and Rāṇā Sānkā; and devoted his energy to the capture of Mandū fort. It so happened that a man came and represented, "The hill (on which) the fort is built can be climbed by an easy path, and Rāy Pithōrā has got only a small number of men there. As tomorrow is the day of the *Holī* festival, the Rājpūts will be occupied in their houses with play and amusement. If on that day you return to your camp, after fighting at the other batteries, and after that send a detachment by that path and keep another detachment ready to help and reinforce it, it is possible that the fort would come into your possession."

Sulṭān Muẓaffar liked his advice, and strengthened him with promises of favour and reward. On the [1] 13th Ṣafar in the year 924 A.H., 1529 A.D., the soldiers of the Gujrāt army commenced to fight from the different directions, and made many brave assaults. The Rājpūts also exerted themselves almost beyond their power. The Gujrāt army beat the drum of retiring just before the afternoon, and returned to their batteries. The Rājpūt *sardārs* as they had made very great exertions, and as it was the day of the *Holī*, left a few men in the bastions and rested in their houses. When half the night had passed, Tāj Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk with a body of great warriors commenced to climb the hill along the agreed path, with that guide in front of them. Tāj Khān also ascended it by another path. 'Imād-ul-mulk, on arriving near the rampart, found that the Rājpūts were asleep, and had no knowledge of the coming of the enemy. Immediately his men made a ladder of [2] *farangī* lances, which enabled a body of them to climb to the top of the rampart. When these men saw, that the sleep of death had overpowered the Rājpūts, they very silently put their feet on the ground and opened the gate. When the gate was being opened, the Rājpūts came to the place. The warriors who were outside the gate made an onset and got inside the fort and cut some of the Rājpūts into pieces; and those who escaped the sword fled.

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[1] Firishtah does not give the date, but simply says in the beginning of the year 924 A.H. The date is not given in the section of the Cambridge History of India about Mālwa, but is given as "February 23rd, 1518, the day of the Hindu festival of the Holi", in the section about Gujarāt (p. 319).

[2] Both the MSS. have از نیزه‌های فرنگی, *i.e.*, of French or European lances I have not been able to find out what these special lances or spears were like.

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When this news reached Rāy Pithōrā, he sent Shādī Khān *Pūrabiya* with five hundred Rājpūts, in advance of himself, to put down 'Imād-ul-mulk. He himself followed Shādī Khān with some thousands of Rājpūts. The Gujrāt warriors coming within bow-shot pierced the men who were coming along in front of Shādī Khān with their arrows; and they on receiving those life-scorching wounds fled like wounded pigs. About this time Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī entered the fort by the same route. When the eyes of the garrison fell on Sulṭān Muẓaffar's standard, they returned to their houses and performed *jauhar*. (This is) a practice of the Rājpūts, that in times of discomfiture and distress, they set fire to their houses, and put their wives and children to death, and burn themselves. They call this practice *jauhar*. Hosts and crowds of Gujrātī warriors entered the houses and residences and committed a general massacre. It has been correctly ascertained, that during that night and a part of the following day nineteen thousand Rājpūts were slain; and so much booty and so many prisoners fell into the hands of the army of Gujrāt, that the [1] accountant of the age confessed his weakness and failure in computing them.

When with the strength of Divine help, the victory was attained; and the Rājpūts, who had been unfaithful to their salt, had received their reward, Sulṭān Maḥmūd came, and offering his congratulations, asked quickly, "What does the lord of the world order me?". Sulṭān Muẓaffar, in his [2] greatness said, "May the rule of Mālwa be of good omen to you." He left Sulṭān Maḥmūd in the fort of Shādiābad, and returned immediately to his camp. On the following day he raised the standard of departure from that station towards Ujjain with the object of punishing Rānā Sānkā. When he arrived at the fort of Dhār, they brought him the news, that 'Ādil Khān and the *amīrs* had not yet gone beyond the town of Dībālpūr Banhariya, when Rānā Sānkā, on hearing the capture of the fort, had fled and gone to his own country; and had traversed a distance of twenty-seven *karōhs*, taking Mēdinī Rāy and Silhadī with him. Sulṭān Muẓaffar, on hearing this news, carried out the practice of praising, and offering

[1] A figurative way of saying that the booty and prisoners were beyond computation. One MS. has by mistake روز instead of روزگار.

[2] One MS. has by mistake بندگی instead of بزرگی.

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thanks to God; and summoned ʿĀdil Ḵẖān and the *amīrs*. Sulṭān Maḥmūd waited on Sulṭān Muẓaffar at this station, and submitted; "If your Majesty would go to the fort of Shādīābād, and would exalt me by remaining there for one day:

Couplet;

On that side, your greatness would suffer no less,
On this side it would give me nobility great."

Sulṭān Muẓaffar left his camp at Dhār, and went himself to the fort of Shādīabād. Sulṭān Maḥmūd carried out all the duties of hospitality, and offered suitable tribute. After the *majlis* and the entertainments were over, Sulṭān Muẓaffar went over the buildings and the gardens and then went back to his camp. From there, accompanied by victory and triumph, he started on his journey to Gujrāt.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on account of his great affection and devotion, [1] attended on him for some stages. Sulṭān Muẓaffar then bade him farewell, and left Āṣaf Ḵẖān Gujrātī with some thousand horsemen to help and reinforce him; and [2] asked to be excused. Sulṭān Maḥmūd taking up his abode in the fort of Shādīābād, in concert with Āṣaf Ḵẖān, sent letters of encouragement and favour to the *amīrs*, *sardārs* and his own soldiers and summoned them. The *amīrs* and his own servants came to Mandū from the various places where they resided with happy and joyful steps; and when his army assembled round him, he, with the advice and concurrence of Āṣaf Ḵẖān, advanced to attack [3] Hēmkaran, who had fortified himself in the fort of Kākrūn, on behalf of Mēdinī Rāy. On becoming aware of

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[1] The words in one MS. are برسم متابعت همراه رفت. In the other MS. a word which looks like مشایعه is written in place of متابعت; the word is clearly مشایعت in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. مشایعت means willing, wishing, desiring. I consider متابعت the best reading, and have adopted it. In the text-edition مشایعه has been adopted.

[2] The words are عذر خواست in the MSS., and بدر خواست in the lith. ed. There are no corresponding words in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I do not know what reason there was for Sulṭān Muẓaffar for asking to be excused. I suppose it was a mere matter of courtesy.

[3] He was called Bhīm Karan in the Gujrāt section of the Ṭabaqāt, *vide* page 307 and note 1 on the same page. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has بیمکرن in the text-edition.

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this, Mēdinī Rāy said to Rānā Sānkā, "All that I have, is in the fort of Kākrūn. I came to you, praying for your help, with the object that you would deliver over the country of Mālwa to me, after thoroughly purifying it. But now things have come to this [1] pass, that they are taking away from me whatever I have." The [2] daring and boorishness of Rānā Sānkā having come into motion, he came out of the fort of Chitōr with some thousands of blood-thirsty Rājpūts, and advanced towards Kākrūn. When this news reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he owing to his great courage and bravery, abandoned the path of prudence and caution, and raising the siege of Kākrūn, advanced to meet Rānā Sānkā in battle. He marched most of the days, and it so happened that on the day on which the battle was to take place, he had traversed a very long distance, and had halted at a distance of seven *karōhs* from Rānā Sānkā. When this news reached the latter, he sent for his *amīrs*, and said, "It is best that we should attack the enemy at this very moment, for they have come a long way and have no strength to move or exert themselves. If we advance fast and quickly, they will have no time to [3] array their troops; and our work would be done with ease." All the Rāys and Rājpūts praised and attested to the correctness of this declaration; and they mounted and advanced with their troops in good order.

When they arrived near Sulṭān Maḥmūd's camp, [4] the troops of the latter came one by one or two by two (*i.e.*, in very small bands) into the battle, in the way which Rānā Sānkā had predicted; and were immediately made martyrs. Because they fought without being properly marshalled, thirty-two *sardārs* among the old and

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[1] One MS. has کاری رسیدہ while the other has کار بجای رسیدہ. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed. which is کار بجای رسید.

[2] The words in the MSS. are جمیت و جاهلیت. The words in the lith. ed. are عرق جمعیت . جمعیت is of course incorrect.

[3] Both MSS. have فوج راست کردن. I have adopted this, though the فوج اراستن of the lith. ed. is equally good, if not better.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. says, that Āṣaf Khān and the other *amīrs* said, that they should not engage the enemy that day, but Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, کہ از عقل بی بہرہ بود, *i.e.*, who was destitute of intelligence, did not accept their advice.

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trusted men became martyrs; and of the Gujrāt army, [1] Āṣaf Khān and five hundred horsemen drank the *sharbat* of martyrdom; and a great defeat fell on Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army. The latter, however, who was extremely brave and courageous, stood in the field of chivalry with two or three horsemen; and when the Rājpūt troops advanced against him, he gallopped on his gray horse, which was as swift as the wind and the lightning; and dived into the Rājpūt army, which was like a sea of swords and spears. He received a hundred and more wounds on his armour; and as he wore two suits of armour, fifty of those wounds passed through the inner armour and reached his body. In spite of his having received so many wounds, he did not turn his face from the enemy. When he fell off the back of his horse on the ground [2] the Rājpūts recognised him, and carried him to Rānā Sānkā. Every one of them poured forth their praises and eulogies; and offered to sacrifice themselves in his honour. Rānā Sānkā stood before him, with his arms crossed on his breast, and carried out the duties of service and attendance, and arranged for the treatment of his wounds. When the Sulṭān regained his health, Rānā [3] Sānkā prayed that he should be exalted by the Sulṭān by bestowing his crown on him. Sulṭān Maḥmūd made over the crown, decorated with pearls and other precious stones (*Yawāqīt*, which means both rubies and sapphires). [4] Rānā Sānkā then sent ten thousand Rājpūt horsemen with him, and sent him to Mandū; and himself went back to Chitōr.

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[1] It may be noted that in the section about Gujrāt, it was the son of Āṣaf Khān, and not Āṣaf Khān himself who was said to have been slain, *vide* page 307. In the corresponding passage here, Firishtah agrees with the Ṭabaqāt that Āṣaf Khān with five hundred Gujrātī horsemen was slain, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 263) says, as in the Guzerat section, that "Asuf Khan's son and almost the whole of the Guzeratties were killed."

[2] Firishtah also says that the Rājpūts recognised him, but one would have thought that, as he had fought with such bravery he would be the cynosure of all eyes, and there would be no necessity or difficulty for recognising him.

[3] This appears to be a rather extraordinary prayer, but Firishtah says that as on the day of the battle, all Sulṭān Maḥmūd's baggage had fallen into the hands of Rānā Sānkā and of the Rājpūts, and they did not find Sulṭān Ḥūshang's تاج مرصع among the other articles, he asked for it, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd got it and gave it to him. The Cambridge History of India, page 369, says the Rānā compelled Mahmūd "to surrender all his crown jewels."

[4] Both the MSS. and the lith. ed. say that Sulṭān Maḥmūd was sent to Mandū with an escort of ten thousand horsemen; but Firishtah lith. ed. and

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[1] It will not remain concealed from the minds of intelligent men, that Rānā Sānkā's act was on a higher level than that of Sulṭān Muẓaffar. The latter gave help to one who had sought shelter with him; but Rānā Sānkā having captured an enemy in battle gave him back his kingdom. No act similar to this wonderful one is known up to the present day. In short, on hearing this news, Sulṭān Muẓaffar sent a large force to reinforce Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and sending an affectionate letter applied ointment to the wounds of his heart; and showed great kindness towards him. The Gujrāt troops remained in Mālwa for a long time; but after the rule of Sulṭān Maḥmūd had acquired a certain amount of strength, the latter sent a letter to Sulṭān Muẓaffar, in which he renewed his protestations of gratitude; and prayed that, as his government had assumed a desirable aspect, Sulṭān Muẓaffar should recall his troops. The latter did so; but after the departure of the Gujrāt army, Sulṭān Maḥmūd's weakness became evident and patent. He was bereft of nearly the whole of his territory. Rānā Sānkā seized a portion with violence and tyranny; and Silhadī *Pūrabiya* brought the country from the boundary of Sārangpūr as far as Bhīlsā and Rāīsīn under his control, and became independent. Sikandar Khān was in possession in the neighbourhood of [2] Satwās and its dependencies. So that of the kingdom of Mālwa only a tenth part remained in the possession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and he remained with

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Col. Briggs reduce the number of the escort to one thousand horsemen; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 263, footnote) says (without giving any authority for making this statement), that Sooltan Mahmood was conveyed in the first instance to Chittoor, where the place of his confinement is still shown; but he was released on recovery from his wounds. In the same note Col. Briggs contrasts the chivalrous conducts of Hindoo princes, "in their behaviour to Mahomedans in general, with the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter" to the Hindoos. This is correct; but I do not know whether the story of Sulṭān Maḥmūd being taken to Chitōr, like the other story of Rānā Kōnbhā's defeating Maḥmūd of Gujrāt and Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and keeping the latter as a prisoner at Chitōr, has any foundation in fact.

[1] Niẓām-ud-dīn shows himself superior to all communal prejudice by this eulogy on Rānā Sānkā's conduct; but it appears to me that the latter rather marred his proceedings by demanding the surrender of the Mālwa Crown Jewels.

[2] The name is written سواس. and سواس in the MSS., and سيواس in the lith. ed.; but we have already found that the *jāgīr* of Sikandar Khān was Satwās.

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twenty thousand horsemen in [1] Jāwar. Although Rānā Sānkā possessed the power of taking possession of the entire country of Mālwa, still having the fear of Sulṭān Muẓaffar before his eyes he restrained himself, (*kashīdah 'inān būd*, which may literally be translated as: he kept a tight hold on his bridle).

It so happened that at this time, when Sulṭān Muẓaffar passed away, and the enemies (of Sulṭān Maḥmūd) acquired power and strength, the violence of Silhadī extended beyond all measure. So in the year 926 A.H. (1519 A.D.), Sulṭān Maḥmūd having collected [2] an army, advanced towards the country of Bhīlsā. [3] Silhadī marched to the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr, and fought with him. Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army was routed, but he himself stood firmly in the field of bravery with twenty horsemen; and coming within bow-shot fought with the greatest courage and boldness till some of the renowned warriors in Silhadī's army fell on the dust of destruction at his hands; and things came to such a pass that Silhadī escaped by flight. Sulṭān Maḥmūd pursued him for a part of the way, and separating (seizing) twenty-four elephants returned to Mandū. After that Silhadī came forward in a spirit of submission and friendliness, expressed his contritions, and sending some beautiful things and presents in the way of a tribute, asked for [4] pardon for his past conduct.

And during the year 932 A.H., 1525 A.D., Sulṭān Muẓaffar accepted the summons of the just God, and the business of the

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[1] The name is Jāwar in the MSS., and Khāwar in the lith. ed. I have not found it mentioned anywhere else. The Cambridge History of India, page 369, says that Mahmūd's authority now extended only to the neighbourhood of the capital. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has چادر in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. has با لشکری instead of لشکر.

[3] Firishtah's and Col. Briggs's (vol. IV, p. 264) accounts agree generally with the text; but they say that Sulṭān Maḥmūd rallied the few men who were with him, when Silhadī's troops were engaged in plundering, and after defeating the latter pursued them to Sārangpūr, and took possession of it, together with twenty-four elephants. Silhadī made no attempt to recover Sārangpūr and remained content with Bhīlsā and Rāīsīn.

[4] The word is written as استغفا and استغفای in the MS., and استغفار in the lith. ed. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed. In the text-edition it is استعفاء.

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government devolved on Sulṭān Bahādur. [1] Chānd Khān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar came to Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and the latter, as he was bound by ties of gratitude to Sulṭān Muẓaffar, showed the greatest respect to Chānd Khān, and left no minutiæ of friendliness and generosity unobserved. Raḍī-ul-mulk, who was one of the trusted *amīrs* of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, fled from Gujrāt, and waited on His Majesty Firdūs Makānī [2] Bābar *Bādshāh*; and devoted all his energies to the object, that the rule of Gujrāt might be transferred to Chānd Khān; and in order to carry out this purpose, he came from Āgra to Mandū; and after consulting with Chānd Khān went back to Āgra. When this news reached Sulṭān Bahādur, [3] he sent a letter to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, to the effect that it appeared strange that the ungrateful wretch, considering the affection and devotion, (which he owes to me), should desert me; and going to Chānd Khān should endeavour to create a disturbance. After some time Raḍī-ul-mulk again went to Mandū and then returned to Āgra. On this occasion Sulṭān Bahādur did not send any message at all, but prepared to chastise Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

As it had become clear to everybody that Sulṭān Maḥmūd would get no help or reinforcement from Gujrāt, and did not himself possess such a force that he would be able to meet an enemy with strength and power, Ratan Sēn, son of Rānā Sāṅkā advanced into Mālwa with great force. It happened also that at this time Sulṭān Bahādur arrived near the boundary of Mālwa with the object of punishing some of his refractory subjects, and chastising those disturbers of peace. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in his perplexity and distress, summoned Mu'īn Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, from Satwās, and Silhadī to his aid. When they waited on him, he conferred the title of *Masnad 'Ālī* on Mu'īn Khān,

[1] The Cambridge History of India, page 369, describes Sultān Mahmūd's conduct as characterised by incomprehensible folly and ingratitude. I cannot agree to the charge of ingratitude. He had reasons to be grateful to Sulṭān Muẓaffar, but he could not refuse to give an asylum to Chānd Khān without being accused of ingratitude. He should, however, have accepted Sulṭān Bahādur's accession, and should not have allowed Raḍī-ul-mulk to come to Mandū and intrigue against Sulṭān Bahādur; but by all accounts he was as weak mentally as he was brave in battle.

[2] One MS. has by mistake Humāyūn Bādshāh.

[3] There are various slight differences in the readings, and the meaning is not quite clear; but the reading and the translation I have adopted appear to be correct.

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and bestowed on him a red pavilion, which is specially reserved for a *Bādshāh*. He also gave some *parganas* to Silhadī, and tried to please him. Mu'īn Khān, who was really the son of an oil-seller but whom Sikandar Khān had adopted as a son, fled from Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and joined Sulṭān Bahādur in the village of Sanbal; and made the complaint of his benefactor, [1] a choice subject of talk in the *majlis*.

When this news reached Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he sent Daryā Khān to wait on Sulṭān Bahādur, with the following message, "The rights of nurture of your dynasty are incumbent on me; and as the distance between us has become less, I wish to appear in your presence, and offer my congratulations on your accession." His emissary disclosed by winks and jestures, that his master was abashed and ashamed, owing to his having given an asylum to Chānd Khān; and had not the hardihood to come. Sulṭān Bahādur comforted him, and said, "I have no sorrow about Chānd Khān; and will not trouble your master about making him over to me." He started from that place, and by successive marches arrived and encamped on the bank of the river [2] Karkhī. After five days Ratan Sēn, son of Rānā Sānkā, and Silhadī *Pūrabiya* waited on Sulṭān Bahādur at this station; and both of them made complaints about Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Ratan Sēn received permission from the same place; and went to Chitōr. Sulṭān Bahādur then marched from there and encamped in the village of [3] Sanbal; and waited for the arrival of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; but as the latter had come to know that repeated complaints had been made about him to Sulṭān Bahādur, he marched from Ujjain towards Satwās, on the pretext of chastising the servants of Sikandar Khān.

It so happened that while hunting he one day fell off his horse, and his right arm was broken and being now disabled and powerless he returned to the fort of Mandū; and commenced making preparation for defending it. Sulṭān Bahādur then by successive marches advanced towards Mandū. At every station servants of Sulṭān Maḥmūd

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[1] The actual words are تحفه مجلس گردانید.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. also has Karkhī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 267) has Gurchy, and says in a footnote "this is certainly a mistake."

[3] The MSS., which have سنبل some lines before this, have here, by mistake, سبله, سنبله. سنبله in the text-edition.

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separated from the latter and entered his service. In the town of Dhār, Sharzah Ḵẖān, who was a great *sardār*, also came and joined him, and when he arrived at the town of Na'lcha, he besieged the fort and distributed the batteries, and himself took up his residence in Muḥammadpūr. Sulṭān Maḥmūd fortified himself in the fort of Mandū with three thousand men, and every night he went over to inspect all the bastions, and then took his rest in the college of Sulṭān Ġẖiyāṯẖ-ud-dīn. But when he came to know that the men in the fort were hostile to him, and had obtained promises from Sulṭān Bahādur, he moved from the college and came to his palace. He then arranged things for a festive gathering, and occupied himself with play and pleasure. When his well-wishers spoke to him about this, and inquired whether it was the time for pleasure and enjoyment, he said, "As these are my [1] last breaths, I wish that they should pass with [2] joy and in the fulfilment of desires."

On the 9th of Sha'bān in [3] the year 937 A.H. (May 25th, 1528), at the time of the true dawn, the standards of state of Bahādur Shāh arose above the horizon of the fort of Mandū. At the same moment Chānd Ḵẖān, son of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, descended from the fort, and took the path of flight. Sulṭān Maḥmūd armed himself, and with a small body of followers met Sulṭān Bahādur; but finding that he had not the power to withstand him, and considering that the slaughter of the inmates of his harem should precede his own [4] death, [5] advanced towards the palace with about a thousand horsemen. His men leaving their horses (outside), entered the palaces; but Sulṭān Bahādur's troops had (already) surrounded them. Sulṭān Bahādur sent a message to the

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[1] The readings in the MSS. appear to be انفاس باز پسین اقبالش بارهلتن, and in the lith. ed. انفاس با سهن. None of these appear to be correct. The reading in the lith. ed. of Firishtah انفاس واپسین is correct and I have adopted it.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have طرب و شوق. Firishtah lith. ed. has the more commonplace عیش و عشرت.

[3] See note 5, page 353, as to the day. The date according to the Christian era is given by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 268) as May 20th, 1526 A.D.; but March 17th, 1531, is the date in the Cambridge History of India, page 369, of the capture of Mandū by Bahādur Shāh.

[4] One MS. has by mistake مردم instead of مردن.

[5] One MS. has by mistake خود instead of گردید. The other MS. has شد.

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effect that there was protection and safety for Sulṭān Maḥmūd and the inmates of his harem, and his *amīrs*; and no one would interfere with anybody's honour or property. Some of the men, who were specially near to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, kept him back from killing [1] the members of his family; and told him, that the *Bādshāh* of Gujrāt although he might be bad to him, his badness would be better than the goodness of others. (They also said), that there was a strong belief, that when he would go and meet Bahādur Shāh, the latter would again entrust the rule of the country to him. While this was going on, Sulṭān Bahādur had entered the palace of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and had taken up a position with his *amīrs* on the terrace of *La'l Maḥal*; and sent a man to summon Sulṭān Maḥmūd. [2] The latter left his *sardārs* in the palace and himself came [3] to Sulṭān Bahādur with only seven of his *sardārs*.

The Sulṭān, (that is Sulṭān Bahādur) showed him every respect and honour, and they embraced each other. After sitting down, Sulṭān Maḥmūd used [4] a little harsh language; and after that the two Sulṭāns remained silent till the end of the meeting. But it is narrated, that the effects of a change in Sulṭān Bahādur's disposition made its appearance. The words which were used in that *majlis* were these, [5] "I have given an assurance of safety to the Maḥmūd Shāhi *amīrs*. Let them go and settle down in their residences; to

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[1] One MS. has عیال, the other has no corresponding word; while the lith. ed. has صحل.

[2] One MS. leaves out Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and the lith. ed. Maḥmūd.

[3] One MS. has by mistake فرستاد instead of آمد ; and then adds also by mistake سلطان محمود بهادر آمد.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. has سلطان بهادر اندک درشتی کرده ساکن شد, but he adds further on :

و در بعضی نسخها بنظر آمد که چون سلطان محمود در تکلم درشتی نمود و شاه بهادر شاه گجراتی که در مقام عفو بود حکم حبس فرمود -

Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 268) says, "Bahadur Shah was disposed to treat him kindly, and even to restore to him his government; but the irritability of Sooltan Mahmood's temper and his pride combined hurried him away so far, that he abused Bahadur Shah grossly to his face." The Cambridge History of India is silent about the interview between the two Sulṭāns in both the sections about Gujarāt and Mālwa.

[5] One MS. omits by mistake the words from امان دادیم رفته.

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everyone who is in the harem of the Sulṭān, I have given assurance of safety." He then ordered the ushers and heralds to drive the people out of the palace; and after a moment, he left Āṣaf Khān, with one hundred *silāḥdars* (troopers) to guard Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and himself went inside the palace. On the next day, which was the 10th Sha'bān, Sulṭān Bahādur also gave the seven men, who had come with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, assurances of safety; and gave them permission to go away. On Friday the 12th Sha'bān, the public prayers were read in the name of Sulṭān Bahādur from the pulpits of the capital city of Shādiābad. On the night of Saturday chains were put on Sulṭān Maḥmūd's feet; and he and his seven sons, the eldest of whom had the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, were made over to Āṣaf Khān, and Iqbāl Khān so that they might be taken to the fort of Chāmpānīr, and kept there in imprisonment.

On the night of the *Shab-i-barāt* (the night consecrated to the memory of forefathers), which was the 14th of [1] Sha'bān, Rāy Singh, the headman of the [2] Māls made a night attack on the camp of Āṣaf Khān and Iqbāl Khān, with [3] two thousand Bhīls and Kolīs. Sulṭān Maḥmūd had at that very moment finished the prayers of the *Laylat-ul-barāt* (same as *Shab-i-barāt*), and placed his head on the pillow, when the noise and tumult commenced. When he woke up, he cut the chains on his feet. At this time, the guards made a martyr of him, as they were afraid that he might escape; and disturbances [4] might again appear in the country.

Couplet:

What [5] a dog's trick it is, of the evil doing sky,
That it makes the tigers the prey of dogs.

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[1] One MS. omits چهاردهم شعبان.

[2] Both MSS. have مالها. The lith. ed. has یانها. Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the name. The *Māls* is a local name of the hilly country. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has ملهیه باد Malhīahbād in the text-edition.

[3] One MS. has ۵۵ هزار ten thousand.

[4] The MSS. have incorrect readings. One has بمملکت پدید امد and the other has مملکت برید. In the text-edition it is در مملکت پدید اید.

[5] One MS. has the correct reading سگ بازی, the other has بازی سگ while the lith. ed. has تنگ بازوی.

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On the morning following that night Āṣaf Ḳhān and Iqbāl Ḳhān made preparations for putting him in a shroud and burying him; and buried him on the bank of the reservoir of Dahūd. His seven sons were kept in imprisonment in Chāmpānīr.

The [1] period of his reign was twenty years and six months and eleven days.

[2] An account of the rule of Sulṭān Bahādur.

After the death of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, the country of Mālwa came into the possession of Sulṭān Bahādur; and most of the *amīrs* of Sulṭān Muẓaffar came to him. As Silhadī *Pūrabiya* had entered the service before all the other *amīrs, sarkārs* of Ujjain and Sārangpūr and the fort of Rāīsīn were allotted to him as his *jāgīr*. After the rains, the Sulṭān went to [3] see Burhānpūr. Bhūpat the son of Silhadī was with him. As signs of turbulence and recusancy became apparent from the circumstances of Silhadī, the Sulṭān at the time of his return sent [4] Amīn Naṣīr to bring Silhadī to him, and he (Silhadī) passed the time by various tricks of delay; till in the town of Dhār he [5] was seized by the talons of fate, as has been written in the section about Gujrāt. Sulṭān Bahādur advanced towards Ujjain, in order to chastise

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[1] Both MSS. omit ایام.

[2] The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS., but one of the MSS. adds the word Gujrātī after Sulṭān Bahādur. The lith. ed. omits the word حکومت.

[3] One MS. omits بسیر.

[4] He is called ابن نصیر in both MSS. in this place; but about the various names by which he was called, and the result of his mission to summon Silhadī, see page 356 and note 2 on the same page, in the section about Gujrāt.

[5] The readings are somewhat different, and the meaning is not quite clear. One MS. has در قصبه دهار بحنگ قضا گرفتار شود. The other has the same reading but the word نحنگ is written as بچنگ. The lith. ed. has Hār instead of Dhār, which is of course incorrect; but otherwise agrees with the reading in the second MS. The corresponding passage in Firishtah بچنگ غضب سلطان بهادر گرفتار آمده is perhaps somewhat better. Silhadī was not killed at this time. It cannot therefore be said, that he was seized by the talons of destiny or fate. He certainly incurred the wrath of Sulṭān Bahādur; but جنگ غضب or the battle of wrath has hardly any meaning. چنگ غصب or talons of wrath is certainly better.

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all the *Pūrabiyas*. Silhadī's son fled from Ujjain; and went to Chitōr. Sulṭān Bahādur bestowed Ujjain on [1] Daryā Khān Mandōwālī; and advanced to Rāīsīn. On the way he left Ḥabīb Khān at Āshta; and Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, at Sārangpūr; and went and besieged the fort of Rāīsīn. When the period of the siege was protracted, and unknown images appeared on the pages of the world, Silhadī of evil destiny, after he had become a Musalmān performed *jauhar*, and met his death. This matter has been narrated in detail in the accounts of Sulṭān Bahādur in the section about Gujrāt. Sulṭān Bahādur, having entrusted Rāīsīn, and the neighbouring districts, to Sulṭān 'Ālam Kālpīwāl, returned to Gujrāt. He then left Ikhtiyār Khān in charge of the government of the fort of Mandū; and advanced towards Chāmpānīr.

In the year 940 A.H., 1533 A.D., he collected troops, and advanced to conquer Chitōr. [2] After besieging it, he, owing to certain matters, made an amicable settlement, and returned to Aḥmadābād. In the year 941 A.H., he again collected troops, and besieged Chitōr. After the conquest of Chitōr, he fled, in the neighbourhood of Mandisōr before His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī Humāyūn *Bādshāh*; and retired to Gujrāt, as has been narrated in its place.

An account of the rule of the deputies of His Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh.

When the country of Mālwa, and in fact the country of Gujrāt also came into the possession of the servants of the powerful Chaghtāī government, His Majesty, after the conquest of Gujrāt, left Mīrzā 'Askarī and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā in Gujrāt; and himself went to Mandū. After one year [3] Divine jealousy came into operation. The Mīrzās and all the *amīrs* abandoned Gujrāt without any war having taken place; and went towards Āgra. These events have been mentioned in their own place. His Majesty, Jinnat Āshīānī also, for reasons of

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[1] Firishtah calls him Daryā Khān Lūdī; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 270) has Budr Khan, having joined the preposition به to در and omitting یا.

[2] One MS. leaves out by mistake the words from و بعد از محاصرهٔ to به احمداباد سرگشت.

[3] The words are غیرت الٰہی Divine jealousy, or probably Divine wrath.

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state, left Mālwa; and went away to Āgra. For the period of one year the country of Mālwa was in the possession of the Chaghtāī rulers.

[1] An account of Mallū Khān, Qādir Shāh.

When owing to the death of Sulṭān Bahādur, there was disorder in the country of Gujrāt, and the country of Mālwa remained without a ruler: at about that time His Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī turned the bridle of departure from Āgra towards the country of Bangāla. [2] Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān gave himself, in concert with the *amīrs* of Mālwa, the title of Qādir Shāh. He brought the country, from the town of Bhīlsā to the vicinity of the Narbada river into his possession; and divided it among the old *amīrs*. Bhūpat Rāy and Pūran Mal, the sons of Silhadī came back from the territory of Chitōr, and took possession of the fort of Rāisīn, and its neighbourhood. The power and grandeur of Qādir Shāh increased day by day; and the *zamīndārs* of all the surrounding country acknowledged allegiance to him, and sent him tribute every year.

And gradually things came to such a pass, that [3] Shēr Khān Afghān, at the time when His Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī was engaged in trying to effect his destruction, sent a *farmān* to him from Bengal,

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[1] There are slight differences in the headings in the MS. One has ذکر ملو خان قادر شاہ and the other has ذکر قادر شاہ. The heading in the lith. ed. ذکر دلاور سلطان بہادر گجراتی ملو قادر شاہ is certainly incorrect.

[2] Firishtah, Col. Briggs and the Cambridge History of India all generally agree about Mallū Khān's rise to power, but Firishtah says زور اوردہ بعد یک سال از تصرف لشکر چغتائی براوردہ خود را سلطان قادر نامید and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 271) also says that "he retook all the country lying between the Nurbudda and the town of Bhilsa after a struggle of twelve months against the Dehly officers"; while the Cambridge History of India, page 369, says, he "reduced to obedience other fief-holders in Mālwa." As regards Bhūpat and Pūran Mal, Firishtah lith. ed. says, they came out of the fort of Jaipūr, and took possession of the fort of Rāisīn and that neighbourhood; and they admitted their allegiance to Qādir Shāh and sent him tributes. Col. Briggs agrees to the latter statement, but says they came marching from Chittoor. The Cambridge History of India does not say anything about them.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. describes him as Shēr Shāh Afghān Sūr; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 271) curiously calls him Sheer Shah, Poorby Afghan, King of Bēngal.

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[1] with his seal affixed to it, to the following purport; "As the Mughals have come into (invaded) the country of Bangāla, [2] I pray that following the path of sincerity, you should either yourself advance towards Āgra, or sending an army create a disturbance in the neighbourhood of that city so that the Mughals might return from this country." Qādir Khān also wrote a reply to the *farmān*; and sent it, after affixing his seal to it. Ṣaif Khān Dēhlavī, who was in his service, and always in an unceremonious way told him the truth without mincing matters, represented, "Shēr Khān has so many retainers, and such splendour, that it is permissible for him to affix his seal on the face (of a *farmān*)." Mallū Qādir Shāh said in reply, " [3] How does it matter. The great and holy God has now placed the bridle of the defence of this great country in the grasp of my power. If he does not observe the rules of courtesy, it is not necessary that I should show honour to him."

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have مهر بروی کرده. while the other MS. has مهر بروی کرده . Firishtah lith. ed. also has مهر بر روی او کرده which appears to me to be better than either of the other readings.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have از طریقه اخلاص مستدعی انست ; and I consider that my translation is correct. Firishtah lith. ed. has طریقه اخلاص مستدعی انست which I would translate as "the path of sincerity demands." In any case the language of the *farmān* does not, in my opinion, quite justify the statements in the Cambridge History of India, page 370, that the language used by Sher Khān was "too peremptory for the occasion." It should be stated however that Firishtah says that Qādir Shāh was angry, but it would appear that this was not on account of the language, but because Shēr Khān had sent a *farmān* and not a letter. According to Firishtah, Qādir Shāh said to his *munshī* "do thou also write a *farmān* and affix the seal to it." It is difficult to say whether the statement in the Cambridge History of India, that Qādir Shāh "returned an insolent reply" is correct. I do not know what the language of the reply was; but Shēr Shāh was angry, that the reply was in the shape of a *farmān*. It appears that Ṣaif Khān Dēhlavī who, was one of Qādir Shāh's courtiers, objected to the latter's sending a *farmān* in reply to Shēr Shāh; but Qādir Shāh thought himself to be in every way Shēr Shāh's equal. It appears also that communications from superiors and masters were sealed on the top or face of the paper. In this case both *farmāns* were sealed on the face of the paper, so that both Shēr Shāh and Qādir Shāh arrogated to themselves a superiority over the other.

[3] There is a slight difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have این چه دخل دارد. I have accepted this and have translated it in the text. The other MS. has این چه خلل دارد, *i.e.*, what harm is there in this.

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When Qādir Shāh's *farmān* came under Shēr Khān's eyes he removed the impression of the seal from the paper, and preserved it in the scabbard of his dagger; and said, "If the great God so wills, I shall ask him the reason of this rudeness in my presence."

The country of Mālwa remained in the possession of Qādir Shāh, till the time when Shēr Khān, after conquering and acquiring dominion over the country of Hindūstān, advanced to conquer Mālwa; and when by successive marches, by way of [1] Khīrār he arrived near Sārangpūr, Ṣaif Khān Dēhlavī who was a [2] servant and courtier of Qādir Shāh said, "The safest course is this, that as a mighty *Bādshāh* has come into the country and the strength to withstand him is lacking, you should go on the wings of speed and on the steps of eagerness, and meet him without giving (previous intimation)." Qādir Shāh considering this opinion to be right, went rapidly from Ujjain to Sārangpūr, and appeared in Shēr Khān's *darbār*. When the chamberlains informed Shēr Khān of his arrival, he summoned him to his presence, and distinguished him with special favours. He dressed him in a robe of honour; and asked him where he had taken up his quarters. Qādir Shāh [3] said in reply, "The abode of his slave is the dust of your threshold." Shēr Khān was pleased with this reply, and bestowed on him a red pavilion and an audience tent, and a special bedstead, and sleeping robe, and articles for the wardrobe. He halted for one day at Sārangpūr, and then advanced towards Ujjain. On the way he gave orders to [4] Shujā'at Khān, that he should keep special watch on the dear guest and should give to him from the government (stores) whatever he might require.

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[1] The name is Khīrār in one MS. and Khīrā in the other. It is Kharār in the lith. ed.

[2] Both MSS. omit the و between نوکر and مصاحب but as it is in the lith. ed., I have retained it.

[3] Firishtah does not credit Qādir Shāh with giving the poetic and polite reply attributed to him by Niẓām-ud-dīn. According to Firishtah he only said فلان جای, or such and such a place. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 272) says, he had a secret conference with Sheer Shah, which does not appear to be correct.

[4] One MS. has Shujā' Khān instead of Shujā'at Khān. The same MS. has by mistake از مهمات عزیز خود خبردار باشد. Shēr Shāh's language appears to have been ironical.

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When he arrived in the district of Ujjain, [1]Shēr Khān gave him as a matter of unconsidered hurry, the *sarkār* of Lakhnautī in exchange for the country of Mālwa. He also ordered that Qādir Shāh should send his family and dependants to Lakhnautī and should himself remain in attendance on him. Mallū Khān brought his family and children to the city of Ujjain, and took up his residence in a garden which was located between the camp and the city. One day he was going from his residence to wait upon Shēr Khān, when he saw, on the way, that a number of Mughals of Gwāliar were engaged in cutting earth with their spades, and working the earth in properly constructing the bastions of the fort which (Shēr Khān's officers) always built round his camp. Mallū Khān considered in his mind, "If I accompany Shēr Khān, he will of course order me to do similar earth work", and he determined on flight, and was engaged in thinking how he he should manage it. Shēr Khān, becoming cognizant of this, said to Shujā'at Khān "From some improper acts, which have been committed by Mallū, it has come into my mind, that I should chastise and punish him; but as he came and made his submission to me without being sent for, it was right that I should please him. Now that he has come to this place, do not say anything to him, so that he might go away." Mallū finding an opportunity fled. When Shēr Khān received this news, he sent a detachment in pursuit; and he mounted himself and after going a part of the way stopped; and the *amīrs* who had been sent in pursuit, went a part of the way, and then returned. Sikandar Khān Sawāsī lest he should also escape was made over to jailors.

Mallū Khān's rule was for six years.

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[1] Firishtah explains, that contrary to the expectation of Qādir Shāh Shēr Shāh, being tempted to keep Mālwa for himself gave him the *sarkār* Lakhnautī. I am not quite sure about the meaning of the expression, which is used by Niẓām-ud-dīn also; but I suppose it has the meaning I have given it in the text. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 272) says, Sheer Shah "conferred on him the district of Luknow as a residence". The MSS. also have سرکار لکھنوتی in place of سرکار لکھنو and the lith. ed. also has سرکار لکھنو in one place; but Firishtah lith. ed. has *sarkār* Lakhnautī, and the Cambridge History of India, page 370, has "the government of Bengal". In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted Lucknow.

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[1] They say that when Mallū Khān fled, Shēr Khān said this hemistich, and Shaikh 'Abd-ul-ḥaī, son of Shaikh Jamāl, who was one of his courtiers, said the second hemistich.

Couplet:

You see how Mallū the tricky slave behaved to me,
Did not the Prophet say, no good in stupid slave.

As this couplet is not destitute of wit, it has been inserted here.

[2] AN ACCOUNT OF SHUJĀ' KHĀN

When the country of Mālwa came into the possession of Shēr Khān, he halted for some days in the town of Ujjain, and occupied himself in arranging and regulating the affairs of that *Ṣūbah*. [3] He gave the towns of Ujjain and Sārangpūr to Shujā' Khān, who is generally known by the name of Sajāwal Khān, and entrusted the government of the whole country of Mālwa to him. He appointed Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī to Dhār and the neighbouring country. [4] Natū Khān was appointed to the sarkār of Hāndiyah and that neighbourhood. He then advanced towards the fort of Rantambhōr. After a few days news came that [5] Naṣīr Khān, the son of Sikandar Khān, brother of Sikandar Khān, who was in imprisonment had come forward to attack Natū Khān. Shujā' Khān collected his men and advanced

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[1] This anecdote and the couplet are also mentioned on page 169 of the second volume of the English translation in the history of Shīr Khān's reign.

[2] The heading is differently given. One MS. has ذکر حکومت شجاع خان. The other MS. omits the words حکومت; while the lith. ed. has ذکر شجاع خان به نیابت شیر شاه. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has ذکر شجاع خان or an account of Shuja' Khān.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 370, says, "And retired from Mālwa, leaving behind him as viceroy Hājī Khān and Shujā'at Khān as governor of Satwās." This statement agrees with that on page 168 of this volume; but the statement made in the Ṭabaqāt and by Firishtah at this place is different.

[4] بنو خان Banū Khān in the text-edition.

[5] The text is a translation of the reading in the MSS.; but the lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have نصیر خان بن سکندر خان محبوس بچنگ شجاعت خان. This may be the correct version, as there is no mention of what Natū Khān did to meet the attack. On the other hand even the lith. ed. (though not Firishtah) says that Shujā'at Khān advanced to Satwās and Hāndiyah, which he would not have done, if he had been attacked himself.

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towards Satwās and Hāndiyah. After the two sides had met, Naṣīr Khān entered into a compact with some of his [1] retainers and courtiers, that they should devote all their energies to seize Shujā' Khān alive, in retaliation for Sikandar Khān, so that the latter might perhaps in this way obtain his release. Then after the flames of slaughter and destruction had blazed up, Naṣīr Khān and some of his servants, gradually [2] with great patience, brought themselves close to where Shujā' Khān was, and seizing him by his collar, and the hair of his head went back towards their own army. In the meantime Mubārak Khān [3] Sarwānī coming to know of what had happened, betook himself to where Shujā' Khān was, and fighting bravely released him. He fought so hard, however, that one of his legs was severed below the knee joint; and he fell off from his horse. Naṣīr Khān's soldiers wanted to cut off his head from his body; but Rāja Rām Shāh of [4] Gwāliar, who was in the service of Shujā' Khān, in concert with some Rājpūts, advanced to help Mubārak Khān Sarwānī, and carried him off (from the field). [5] Naṣīr Khān did all that was required of him in the way of bravely exerting himself, but in the end victory and triumph showed their face to Shujā' Khān. Naṣīr Khān fled, and went into the country of Gōndwāna.

As Shujā' Khān had [6] six wounds on his face and his arms, they lifted him, and carried him victorious and triumphant, [7] to his own

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[1] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have نوکران مصاحب without any conjunction between the two words.

[2] The words in the MS. and in the lith. ed. are تحمل نمودہ, the meaning of which is not quite clear.

[3] The word is سروانی in one MS. and سرینی in the other and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has سروانی. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted سرینی Sirēnī.

[4] The word is گوالنری and گوالیار in the MS. and گوالیر in the lith. ed.

[5] One MS. omits by mistake the words from نصیر خان to روی نمودہ.

[6] One MS. has by mistake برای instead of بر روی. Firishtah has five or six wounds.

[7] The readings are somewhat obscure. The MSS. have بجا در اوردند, which has some meaning but which does not say to what place he was carried. The reading in the lith. ed. is در حضور او بردند *i.e.*, carried him into his presence; but this also leaves out the name of the person into whose presence he was carried. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has در چاہ در انداختہ بدایرہ بردند. This

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place. They had not yet bound up his wounds, when a letter came from Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī to the purport, that Mallū Khān had come from Bānswālah with a large force to attack him; and that a battle was a matter of today or tomorrow. Shujā' Khān seated himself that very day and in the condition in which he was in a *sukhāsan* and advanced to reinforce Ḥājī Khān; and with only the night intervening (*i.e.*, on the following morning) Shujā' Khān came up with one hundred and fifty horsemen in the vicinity of [1] Kūmlī Mawāsah. He awakened Ḥājī Khān from his sleep, and the same moment without any delay began [2] the battle, and defeated Mallū Khān. The latter fled in great distress and wretchedness, and went away to Gujrāt; and [3] did not again gird up his loins.

The power and splendour of Shujā' Khān increased day by day; and gradually he brought the whole of Mālwa into his possession. When Shēr Khān passed away in the neighbourhood of Kālinjar, and the duties of the *salṭanat* devolved on Islām Khān. The latter, although he was still displeased with Shujā' Khān, but as [4] Daulat Khān Ājiyālā, who was the adopted son of Shujā' Khān, was a great favourite

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would be perfectly clear if we knew what چاہ in this place means, or for what word it is printed by mistake. He could not very well have been thrown into a pit or a well, and then taken to his camp. It would be all right if چاہ meant some kind of conveyance, or the word was a misprint for some words which meant a conveyance of some kind. As it is, it makes confusion worse confounded. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has بلشکر گاہ *i.e.*, to the army camp, in the text-edition.

[1] The name is written with some little variation in the MSS. and the lith. ed. The MSS. have کومکی سواسہ and کومکی سراسہ; and the lith. ed. has کومکی سرادسہ. The name is not mentioned by Firishtah or by any other historians as far as I know. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has کومکي بذواسہ in the text-edition.

[2] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 273) says that Kadur Shah was defeated in a night attack, but this does not appear to be correct.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have باز کمر نہ بست, but the other MS. has باز کمر بست, which is of course incorrect.

[4] Firishtah calls him Daulat Khān without any suffix. He is called Daulat Khān Ajyāra in the Cambridge History of India, page 370, but on the next page the suffix is printed as Ajyūra instead of Ajyāra.

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of [1] Islām Khān, in order to please the son, did not withdraw the appearance of outward favour from the father; and showed him all esteem and regard; and placed the reins of the affairs of the entire country of Mālwa in the grasp of his powerful hand. This state of things continued till one day a man of the name of 'Uthmān Khān in a state of drunkenness came into Shujā' Khān's audience hall, and repeatedly spat on the carpets. When the *farrāsh* (the man who looks after carpets, etc.) forbade him, 'Uthmān jumped up, and struck the *farrāsh* with his fist. There was much noise. The *farrāsh* told Shujā' Khān what had happened. He ordered, "First, he was drunk, second, he came into the audience hall, and third, he struck the *farrāsh* with his fist." He said that both his hands should be cut off. 'Uthmān Khān came to [2] Gwāliar, and complained to Islām Khān. After some time, Shujā' Khān came to Gwāliar to attend on Islām Khān. One day 'Uthmān Khān went to wait on Islām Khān, and complained about what he had suffered. Islām Khān was angry with him, and said, "You also are an Afghān; go and have your revenge."

They say, that on hearing this news Shujā' Khān became aggrieved at [3] Islām Khān's proceedings; and spoke unseemly words. While these things were happening, one day one of Shujā' Khān's intimate friends came and informed him, that 'Uthmān Khān was sitting in a blacksmith's shop, and was sharpening his knife; and speaking absurd words. Shujā' Khān in his great pride was not restrained by these words, till one day when, riding on his *sukhāsan*, he went to the fort of Gwāliar, to offer his *salāms* to Islām Khān. When he came by the Hatiyāpōl gate, he saw that 'Uthmān Khān was seated in a shop

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[1] The name is written Aslīm Khān here in both MSS. and Aslam Khān in the lith. ed., but as he has been called Islām Khān in previous and succeeding passages, I have kept that spelling.

[2] This is apparently the Gwāliar in the Punjab hills. Firishtah calls it گوالیار که دار الملک سلیم شاه افغان سور بود.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have the name as Salīm Khān here, but I have retained Islām Khān. Firishtah lith. ed. says Shujā' Khān became angry and spoke unseemly words about Shēr Shāh. This can scarcely be correct, as he had no grievance against the latter. On the other hand, Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 274) says that Shooja Khan merely said, "Sulim Shah is a fool for his pains."

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[1]wrapped up in an old mantle. Shujā' Khān wanted to enquire from him about the matter on the way. But 'Uthmān Khān suddenly jumped up from the platform of the shop, and wounded Shujā' Khān. The *silāḥdārs*, or armed retainers, who were accompanying the *sukhāsan*, immediately seized him. They saw that he had an iron hand, rudely fashioned, which he had firmly fixed in the place of the severed hand; and with that badly fashioned hand, he had thrown [2]a dart. The *silāḥdārs* killed him on the spot; and turning back the *sukhāsan* of the [3]Khān took him to his residence. The wound was on his left side; but as 'Uthmān Khān's hand had no strength, it was only skin deep.

When Shujā' Khān was wounded, and 'Uthmān Khān got his deserts, there was a noise and tumult among the men in the camp. Islām Khān, on receiving the news, sent the great men and the chiefs of the state, to make enquiries. He wanted also to come and visit him. But Shujā' Khān had understood, that his sons and other near relations suspected that ('Uthmān's) audacity was due to the instigation and encouragement of Islām Khān. He, therefore, had regard to their [4]fearlessness, and did not approve of Islām Khān's coming to him, and sent the following message, "This slave is a slave of [5]your

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[1] The readings are different here and are all more or less unintelligible. One MS. has و خود را بکدر برهنه پیچیده. The lith. ed. has دست پیچیده. Firishtah lith. ed. has in the corresponding passage خود را بکهتر کهنه پیچیده and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 274) has "wrapt up in an old mantle." This latter would be all right, if کهتر meant a mantle, but I cannot find that it has this meaning. However, for want of anything better, I have adopted it.

[2] Here again the readings are somewhat different. Both MSS. and Firishtah lith. ed. have جعلی ضربی, while the lith. ed. has عملی حربی. The latter appears to be incorrect, but I cannot find any meaning of جعل which would suit the context. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 247) has, "With the blade of a sword." M. Hidayat Ḥosain has بآن دست ناقص جعلی ضربی انداخته, *i.e.*, struck a blow with his useless artificial hand, in the text-edition.

[3] One MS. has Shujā' before Khān.

[4] One MS. has by mistake بی انکه instead of بی باکی.

[5] The pronoun ایشان is in the third person, although شما is also used in the same sentence. There are also differences in the readings. One MS. has بنده و غلام پدر ایشان است, while the other MS. has که بنده غلام پدر ایشان است and the lith. ed. has که من بن غلام پدر ایشان. Shujā' Khān's message

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father, and has never excused himself from death or from being slain; he was among the thirty persons who first joined your father and planted the standard of your greatness, as is known to everybody. And even now if he carries his life in safety from this danger, he may be of use to you. This slave does not wish to give you so much trouble that you should come down from the fort and cover all this distance; and indeed these inquiries and favours have been the cause of much distinction to this slave, and have greatly exalted him."

As Shujā' Khān was one of the great pillars of Islām Khān's government, and had the rights derived from having performed much service, Islām Khān, in spite of the fact that he had understood from his words what he was saying (or rather, what he meant), waited patiently that day, but on the following day he went to enquire about him. This *faqīr* (the author) has heard from some men, who had relations of friendship with Shujā' Khān, and were [1] present in that *majlis*, that Fatḥ Khān, the uncle-in-law of the sons of Shēr Khān, who was so well known for his great strength that no one could seize and twist his hand by intertwining his fingers with his own, (this is a favourite test in India even now), when he saw Islām Khān enter Shujā' Khān's pavilion alone, wanted to remove him out of the way, and held a consultation in this matter by signs and gestures with Miyān Bāyazīd, son of Shujā' Khān, who afterwards assumed the title of Bāz Bahādur; and Miyān Bāyazīd also concurred with him in this matter. Shujā' Khān, becoming aware of this, sent Fatḥ Khān away to collect the things required for the tribute (which had to be placed before Islām Khān); and after a moment said farewell to Islām Khān. He told the latter distinctly that after this, he should not take the trouble to come again, for he said, "This slave apprehends lest the rights acquired by long service be destroyed; and the standard of greatness, which has been raised by enduring so much trouble and difficulty, be brought down at once."

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to Islām Khān as given by Firishtah agrees generally with that in the text, but according to Firishtah, Shujā' Khān was one of the six and thirty and (not five and thirty) men who planted the standard of Salīm Shāh's (or Shēr Shah's) greatness.

[1] One MS. has by mistake حاجی instead of حاضر.

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After some days, when [1] Shujā' Khān bathed, and alms and charity were distributed to deserving people; he one day mounted his horse and went to make his *salām* to Islām Khān. The latter bestowed one hundred and one horses and one hundred and one packages of various stuffs of Bangāla as rewards to the Khān. But as Shujā' Khān found out from his manner and behaviour, that these cajolries were filled with enmity, he passed the day in any way that was possible, and then coming back to his quarters spoke to his servants, that they should load his camp equipages. The people of the city thought that as that camping ground had become dirty, he wanted to remove to another place. But when all his men had loaded up everything he armed himself, and then ordered that they should beat the drum of departure. He then mounted his horse, and took the road to Sārangpūr. Islām Khān, on seeing this, became angry, and detached a body of soldiers to pursue him; and collecting his army he himself also advanced towards Sārangpūr. On arrival at that place Shujā' Khān commenced to equip his men; and when he heard that Islām Khān was coming, some of his men tried to [2] persuade him to fight with the latter. He, however, said, "Islām Khān is the son of my late master and benefactor; I shall never fight with him; and I shall not allow that any one of my people should have such an intention in his mind." After the arrival of Islām Khān in the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr, Shujā' Khān came out of the city, and sending the families and dependants of his men in advance, went away in the direction of Bānswālah.

Islām Khān took possession of Mālwa, and leaving 'Īsā Khān Sūr with twenty-two thousand horsemen in the town of Ujjain, returned to Gwāliar. Shujā' Khān, although he had the power and the necessary force, never caused any damage to the country of Mālwa. As Islām Khān (at this time) advanced towards Lāhōre, on account of the rebellion of the Niyāzīs, Daulat Khān Ajiyālā, who was a favourite of Islām Khān, and an adopted son of Shujā' Khān, prayed for the pardon of the guilt of the latter. Shujā' Khān then came and rendered

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[1] Apparently in those days, people did not bathe when they were ill or had a wound.

[2] The word is جدل in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but it is جدال in the other MS.; the latter reading is adopted in the text-edition.

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homage to Islām Khān, who drew the pen of forgiveness across the page of his offences; and bestowed Sārangpūr, and the country of Rāīsīn, and some other *Maḥals* (estates) on him. He also gave him one hundred and one horses and much stuff and a gold ewer and basin, and granted him permission to return. When Shujā' Khān went to his *jāgīr*, and Islām Khān, after a considerable time, passed away by natural death; and the *salṭanat* was settled on Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī; the latter, [1] either on account of ancient acquaintance, or on account of the relationship of his being the husband of one of his wife's sisters, conferred the entire country of Mālwa permanently on him. Shujā' Khān then conferred the government of Ujjain and the *parganas* in its neighbourhood on Daulat Khān Ajiyālā; and Rāīsīn and Bhīlsā on his youngest son [2] Malik Muṣṭafā, who was (afterwards) appointed to accompany Rāja Bīr Bal and Ḥakīm Abū-ul Fatḥ in the Yūsuf Zaī expedition and was killed there. He gave the government of Hāndiyah and Āshta to Miyān Bāyazīd; and himself took up his residence in Sārangpūr. When a long time had passed in this way, and disorders took place in the *salṭanat* of Dehlī, and everyone became independent in the corner in which he was, Shujā' Khān passed away by a natural death. [3] The period of the government of Shujā' Khān was 12 years.

[4] An account of Baz Bahādur, son of Shujā' Khān.

After the death of Shujā' Khān, Bāyazīd, his eldest son, betook himself to Sārangpūr, and took possession of all his father's property and retainers. As Daulat Khān Ājiyālā, owing to the proximity of

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[1] One MS. omits the first چه and substitutes بجهت for the second. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has نسبت سابق اسلاف. I find that one of the meanings of اسلاف in the dictionary is "the husbands of a man's wife's sisters." I have taken the word to mean this in this passage.

[2] ملک مصطفی in the text-edition. The clause corresponding to "who was (afterwards) appointed to accompany ..... and was killed there" is omitted in the text-edition.

[3] According to Firishtah he died in 962 A.H. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 275) gives 1554 A.D. as the corresponding year, but the Cambridge History of India, page 371, places his death in 1555, after Humāyūn had regained the empire.

[4] One MS. omits بن شجاع خاں.

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his position to Islām Khān, was [1] respected and honoured by all men, and every one was desirous of him (*i.e.*, of his rule), Miyān Bāyazīd gave encouragement and made promises of favour to a number of men, and sent his mother to Daulat Khān, so that she might bring about some amicable arrangement. In the end they came to this decision, that [2] Daulat Khān should be in possession of the *sarkārs* Ujjain and Mandū and some other states; and Sārangpūr and the *Khālṣa Maḥals* of Shujā' Khān (*i.e.*, the estates which he held in his own possession, without the intervention of *jāgīrdārs*), and the *sarkārs* of Hāndiyah and Kōtlī Bīrāh and the country of Bhīlwārah should belong to Miyān Bāyazīd; and the *sarkārs* of Rāīsīn and Bhīlsā and other *Maḥals*, which were situated in that neighbourhood, should be in the possession of Malik Muṣṭafā. After that Miyān Bāyazīd, intending to act treacherously, went towards Ujjain, and told people that he was going to wait on Miyān Daulat Khān to condole with him. Daulat Khān, whose death was imminent, was unconscious of the (intended) treachery, and was killed. His head was sent to Sārangpūr, and was suspended from one of the gates.

After that he took possession of most of the territory of Mālwa. He had the royal umbrella raised over his head, and gave himself the title of Bāz Bahādur Shāh. After arranging the affairs of that side he advanced towards Rāīsīn. Malik Muṣṭafā, who was distinguished by much courage and strength, met him and after some warfare was defeated. Bāz Bahādur then entrusted (the government of) Rāīsīn and Bhīlsā to his own men, and advanced towards [3] Kadrūlā. As

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[1] One MS. has مشهور by mistake instead of معزز.

[2] The distribution given above appears in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. The only difference is that one MS. has کونکی پراه while the other has کو مکمی ; and the lith. ed. has کوملی را همه پهلوار instead of کو تلی بیراه و ولایت بیپهلواره. Firishtah *lith.* ed. has a somewhat different distribution. According to him Daulat Khān and Malik Muṣṭafā got the territory mentioned against their names in the text; but Miyān Bāyazīd had Sārangpūr and Sīwās (Satwās) and Sirōhī and Barāhima and Bhīlwārah and the *Khālṣa Maḥāl* of Shujā' Khān. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 275) has practically the same distribution.

[3] The name is کدر والا and کرورا الا in the MSS. The lith. ed. has باز گذاشت instead of متوجه کدروالا گشت. The name کد روالا is, however, written further on. The name is not quite legible in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but looks like کد کروالله. Two or three lines further down the name is distinctly کروالله.

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that place was in the occupation of a band of Miyānas (Miyāna Afghāns) and he did not meet with such treatment from them as he desired he slew a number of [1] their *sardārs*, who were accompanying him, by throwing them into wells; and then advanced to fight the rest of that band. They fortified themselves, and did not show themselves at all backward in fighting with him. Fatḥ Khān the uncle-in-law of Bāz Bahādur, some account of whom has been given before, received a cannon [2] ball here and was killed. In the end Bāz Bahādur took possession of Kadrūlā, and came back to Sārangpūr.

After sometime, he advanced with a well-equipped army, with the object of conquering *Garh* Katinkah. When he arrived in that country, Rānī Durgāwatī, who was the wife of the Rāja of Katinkah, and after his death ruled the country, collected the *Kōndwān* and commenced a battle at the head of the *Ghātī* (pass). As the Rānī's infantry were more numerous than ants and locusts, they surrounded the men from all sides of the *Ghātī*. Bāz Bahādur in distress and dismay took the path of flight, and all his suite and equipages fell into the Rānī's hands. Many of his best men [3] remained there. He himself, with very great trouble, betook himself to Sārangpūr, and began to repair the damages and losses in his army.

As he had undergone much hardship, he now desired that he should spend some days in pleasure. He collected musicians and singers from every place where they were, and occupied himself all day and night in (sensual) pleasure and enjoyment.

[4] Then in the months of the year [5] 967 A.H., when the desire

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The place is not mentioned by Col. Briggs, but it is called Kelwāra in the Cambridge History of India, page 371. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted کدوارہ.

[1] Firishtah and Col. Briggs do not say that it was the *sardārs* or *Miyānas* who were thrown into the well. Firishtah says و چون بعضی سرداران او سلوک ناهمواری نمودند; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 277) says, "Having met with opposition from some of his officers", etc.

[2] The word is توپ in the text, and گلولہ in Firishtah lith. ed.

[3] Firishtah explains اکثر بقتل آمدند *i.e.*, most of these men were slain.

[4] The sentence begins with تا انکہ, but as it would hardly be possible to begin a paragraph with "Till in the, etc." I have begun it with "Then, etc.".

[5] The MSS. have سبع و سبعین و تسعمائہ, *i.e.*, 977 A.H. which is incorrect. Firishtah lith. ed. has ثمان و ستین و تسعمائہ, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 278)

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of conquering Mālwa found a place in the head, which touched the sky, of His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, may God perpetuate the shadow of his kindness over the people! he sent Adham Khan and Pīr Muḥammad Khān and Ṣādiq Khān [1] and Qiyā Khān and Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī and his son 'Ādil Muḥammad, and Muḥib 'Alī Khān and a number of others from among his servants to effect it. The great *amīrs* advanced towards Sārangpūr by successive marches. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of [2] Kaitūr, which is one *farsukh* from Sārangpūr, Bāz Bahādur rose from the company of the singing women, and marched forward to fight with brave men. Although a large number of Afghāns, who had performed many feats of arms and seen much fighting, were collected together in his service, yet as good fortune was not his guide, he fled after [3] a little fighting; and that country came into the possession of the servants of the triumphant greatness (*i.e.*, the empire of Akbar). The details of this battle, [4] and the remaining battles, which took place in Mālwa, have been narrated, distinctly and in detail, in the history of His Majesty, the Khalīfā-i-Ilāhī. May God perpetuate His benevolence and favour on the people and may God prolong the days of his life to the day of resurrection!

Bāz Bahādur had a wife Rūpmatī by name, [5] who loved him and was enamoured of him; and in the verses which he composed in the Hindī language he often inserted her name. He had a great passion for the society of women and the company of musicians.

He ruled in the country of Mālwa for a period of sixteen years. After his flight from the country of Mālwa he went to Gujrāt. He next

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has in the latter end of the year 968 A.H., 1560 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 371, has 1561.

[1] One MS. omits Qiyā Khān.

[2] The name is written as كيتور in one MS. and the lith. ed., and كنور in the other MS. Firishtah does not give the name of the place, but says, when the Mughal army got to one *karōh* from Sārangpūr; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 278) has "within a short distance of his capital, when he collected his troops around Sarungpoor, but they had hardly time to join, before the Moguls were within two miles of the place."

[3] One MS. omits the word اندک.

[4] The same MS. omits the conjunction و and.

[5] It is not quite clear whether the author means that Rūpmatī loved Bāz Bahādur and was enamoured of him, or *vice versa*.

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went to the Rānā, who was the ruler of the fort of Kōnbhalmīr and Chitōr from Gujrāt; and from there, he went and waited on His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, and was enrolled in the band of his servants. He remained in that service for several years, till he surrendered the deposit of his life. The country of Mālwa is up to the present day in the possession of the Viceroys of this daily increasing power.

SECTION IX. [1] THE SECTION ABOUT THE SULṬĀNS OF KASHMĪR.

From the year [2] 747 A.H. to the year 995 A.H., 249 years [3] was the period of the rule of the Muslamān Sulṭāns in the country of Kashmīr. [4] The beginning was from Āl-i-Ṭāhir.

[5] Let it not remain concealed that the country of Kashmīr was always in the possession of Rājas, who ruled [6] one after another, till the year 750 A.H., which was in the time of the rule of [7] Rāja Sirdēv

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[1] The heading in the text is that in the lith. ed. The headings in the MSS. are طبقه حکام سلاطین نفر and طبقه حکام کسمیر بقر, which are both incorrect.

[2] As regards the chronology of the Musalmān Kings of Kashmīr, see page 100 of *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV (1885), where Mr. C. J. Rogers working back from 795 A.H., the date of the death of Kutub-ud-Dīn, places the accession of Shams-ud-Dīn or Shāh Mīr in 743 A.H. This differs from the year in the text by four years.

[3] The words from مدت to ال طاهر do not occur in one MS. The other MS. and the lith. ed. have them with slight variations. I have adopted the words in the first MS., but in the text-edition the last sentence (see note 4 below) is omitted.

[4] This sentence is written as ابتداء از ال طاهر in one MS. It is not to be found in any other MS. or the text-edition.

[5] In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain inserts the heading ذکر حکومت سلطان شمس الدین آل طاهر above this line and not a page or so later as in the translation.

[6] One MS. has by mistake از پی ام instead of از پی یکدیگر.

[7] The name is written as سردیو Sirdēv and سردیوا Sirdēvā in the MS. and سیردیو in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has سیهدیو Siah Dev. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 451) has Sena Dew, and the Cambridge History of India, page 277, has Sinha Deva. According to Jonarāja's Chronicle, line 129, Rājā Siṃhadeva died in his 77th year after reigning for fourteen years and three days less than six months and was succeeded by his brother Sūhadeva. It was in

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a man of the name of [1] Shāh Mīr, who described his ancestry as follows: Shāh Mīr, son of Ṭāhir Āl, son of [2] Karshāshab, son of Nēkrūz, and referred the end (or rather the beginning) of his ancestry to Arjun, who was of the Pāṇḍus; and the history of the Pāṇḍus is mentioned in the Mahābhārat, which has been translated by the order of His

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his reign, that many people came from distant countries in quest of service. سودیو in the text-edition.

[1] The name is شاہ میر Shāh Mīr in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. It is Shah Meer in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 451), but it is شاہ میرزا Shāh Mīrzā in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and in the Cambridge History of India. In the books in the somewhat imposing list of the Bibliography, page 650, to Chapter xii of the Cambridge History of India, vol. III, which deals with the history of the kingdom of Kashmir, there is only one mention of the name of the man; and this is on page 130 of the Introduction in Sir Aurel Stein's translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. I (1900). In this place he is called Shāh Mīr, so it is difficult to find where Sir Wolseley Haig, who compiled the account in the Cambridge History of India got his authority for calling him Shāh Mīrzā. In the *J.R.A.S.*, vol. L (1918, pp. 451–468) there is a paper called "the Chronology and genealogy of the Muhammadan kings of Kashmir", which is also mentioned in the Bibliography and which is also written by the same author, Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig. In this paper he says, "My materials chiefly consist of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Colonel Jarrat's excellent translation of the Āīn-i-Akbarī, and Firishtah's history." But as regards Firishtah he says that he "is little more than a copyist of Niẓām-al-dīn Aḥmad" and yet he has adopted the Shāh Mīrzā of Firishtah in preference to the Shāh Mīr of Niẓām-ud-dīn. It may be mentioned that very probably there are MSS. of Firishtah, in which the man is called Shāh Mīr, for Col. Briggs, as remarked above, calls him Shah Meer.

In Jonarāja's Chronicle, already referred to in the preceding note, the name occurs in line 137 and in different lines further down. It is there written as **शहमेर**, so that Shāh Mīr is in every way more correct than Shāh Mīrzā. I cannot find anything distinct about his being a descendant of Arjuna, but one of his ancestors is called (l. 132) Pārtha who was like another Pārtha (a name of Arjuna) **पार्थोऽन्य इव पार्थः** . It is also stated that it had been said there that the descendants of Kuru Śāha would rule the empire of Kashmīr (l. 135).

[2] The ancestory given in the text is given with slight differences in Firishtah and also by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 452); but the latter in a footnote says "it is surprising that a person of Ferishta's sagacity should have overlooked the evident absurdity of the pedigree." The Cambridge History of India, page 277, describes him as "an adventurer from Swāt"; and Firishtah says he came in the dress of a *faqīr*. In the text-edition بن ال شاشب has been retained between طاهروال and بن کرشاشب .

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Majesty, the Khalīfā-i-Ilāhī, and has been called the *Razm Nāma*, who came and became a servant of the Rāja; and having served him for a considerable period, acquired some credit. When Rāja Sirdēv died, [1] his son Rāja Rañjan made Shāh Mīr his *vazīr*; and left the charge of the work of the government with him. He also entrusted the guardianship of his son who had the name of [2] Chandar to him. When Rāja Rañjan died, [3] Rāja Adwan or (Aūdan) who was a relation of his came from Qandahār, and sat on the seat of authority; and made Shāh Mīr, who was still the guardian of Chandar, son of Rāja Rañjan, his *vakīl* (representative or agent). He placed reliance on his two sons, one of whom was named [4] Jamshīd, and the other 'Alī Shēr;

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[1] The name is راجه رنجن in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and راجه رنجنه in the other MS. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 452) calls him Raja Runjun the son and successor of Raja Sena Dew. The Cambridge History of India, page 277, however, says that the authority of Sinha Deva was overthrown and he was slain by Rainchan, a Tibetan, who had been in his service. This is correct, for according to Jonarāja, line 147 *et. seq.*, the *Bhoṭṭa* (which is the name uniformly given to the Tibetan inhabitants of the Indus region) Riñcana usurped the throne of Kashmīr. See also page 408 of Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II. The name should be spelt as Rinchan and not Rainchan, as in the Cambridge History of India. He is said to have reigned for three years and eleven days less than two months.

[2] The name is written as چندر in both MSS. but it is in the lith. ed. It is also **हैदर** in Jonarāja, line 221. I do not know whether it is a transformation of the Musalmān name of Haidar or an indigenous name.

[3] The name is written as راجه اودن or راجه اودن in the MS. and the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 452) calls him Anund Dew. The Cambridge History of India, page 277, has Udayana Deva. Col. Briggs says he came from Kashghar, and the Cambridge History of India says he had found an asylum in Kishtwār, which appears from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrat's translation, vol. II, p. 310, footnote 7) to have been situated in "the Kashmīr state latitude 33° 18′ 37″ north, longitude 75° 48′ east, near the left bank of the Chenab." Qandahār from which he is said, according to the text to have come must be taken to mean here and elsewhere the ancient Gandhāra and not the modern Qandahār.

He is called Udayanadeva in Jonarāja, line 223. He, however, appears to have been a mere figure-head, who acted entirely as Koṭā Dēvī, who possessed all the power, ordered him. See line 226:—**धीरिवासौत्तदा कोटा देवी सर्व्वाधिकारिणी। राजा देह इवात्यर्थं तदादिष्टं समाचरत्।**

[4] Jonarāja calls them **ज्यशेर** and **अक्षेश्वर**, but elsewhere Jamshīd is called **जंसर**. He also says that Udayanadeva gratified them by giving them the government of Kramarājya and other districts.

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and made them men of authority. Shāh Mīr had two other sons also, one called [1] Shēr Āshāmak, and the other named Hindāl; and they also aspired to greatness.

When Shāh Mīr and his sons became powerful and turbulent, Rāja Adwan Dēv was annoyed with them in connection with certain matters, and forbade them to come to his house. Shāh Mīr and his sons, having taken possession of all the *parganas* of Kashmīr, made most of the servants of the Rāja join them, and they acquired fresh strength and power day by day. Rāja Adwan also became weaker till in the year [2] 747 A.H. he passed away, and his widow [3] Kōpā Dēvī took his place, so that she might rule with absolute power. She sent a message to Shāh Mīr, to raise Chandar, son of Rāja Rañjan to power. Shāh Mīr did not agree with this, and did not obey her. So she advanced with a large army, but was taken prisoner; and the purport of the hemistich:

When death to the prey has come, it to the hunter goes,

became apparent. [4] After that she accepted Shāh Mīr for her husband and became converted to Islām. They passed one day and night together. The next day Shāh Mīr seized and imprisoned her; and having raised the standard of the empire, and having had the public

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[1] The name is written differently and not very legibly. It is شیر آسا and شیر اسامک in MS. and شیر شاہ in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has سر اشامک. The name is not mentioned by Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India (at this place), but further on is referred as Shīrāshāmak.

[2] Firishtah also gives the same year; but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 453) has 727 A.H., 1326 A.D. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the year.

[3] The name is written کوپا دیوی and کویا دیوی in the MSS., and کوبا دیوی in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has کوتاہ دیو. Col. Briggs (p. 453) has Rany Kowla Devy and the Cambridge History of India (p. 277) has Kota Devī. Gopā and Kōwlā (Kamalā) have some meanings in Sanskrit but Kota has none. Gopā Devī, it will be remembered, was the name of the wife of prince Siddhārtha, or the Gautama Buddha, and it is quite probable that it should have been the name of the queen of Rājā Udayana. As it happens however, the name is Koṭā Devī in Jonarāja, line 214, etc.

[4] There are variations in the readings. I have adopted that in the lith. ed. These in the MSS. are defective. One is کہ شاہ میر را قبول کردہ بشوہری و the other is شاہ میر را بشوہری قبول کردہ اسلام اورد اسلام اورد.

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prayers read and the coins struck in his own name, gave himself the title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn. As the commencement of the appearance of the Ḥanafī religion in the country of Kashmīr was from his time, the beginning of the section about Kashmīr has been made from that time.

[1] An account of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn.

In short, when Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn attained to sovereignty, he discontinued all [2] the customs of oppression and tyranny, which had continued from preceding ruler. Having assured his mind from (the attempts of) the enemy, he rebuilt anew the whole kingdom of Kashmīr, which had been devastated by slaughter and rapine of [3] Diljū; and gave a written assurance to the *ra'iyats* that he would not take from them a larger revenue than [4] the sixth part of the produce.

Verses:

The standard of the *Bādshāh*, the cherisher of the faith,
Cast its mighty shadow over all the world;
The messengers of the sky conveyed
The news of his justice to countries all.
The body of disturbance became weak and thin,
The house of oppression into ruin fell.

As the acclamation of the bravery and the good name of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn became noised about in all directions, he occupied himself in the work of the government according to the rites of the parties,

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[1] The heading in the text is that of one MS. The other MS. omits the heading altogether. The lith. ed. inserts حکومت after ذکر.

[2] Firishtah and Col. Briggs agree generally. The Cambridge History of India (p. 277) is rather eloquent about the atrocities and tyranny of the Hindu rulers. They were very probably bad enough, but the Cambridge History of India does not give any authority for its diatribe: and is altogether silent about the plunder and slaughter by Diljū which was the chief cause of the exactions and tyranny of the Rājas.

[3] Like the Ṭabaqāt Firishtah calls him the *Mīr Bakhshī* (or pay-master general) of Qandahār, but Col. Briggs calls him the chief of Kashghar. He is called Daljū in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrat, vol. II, p. 387, note 1) and Zuljū by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 98).

[4] The Ṣaṣṭhāṃśa of the ancient Hindu kings.

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and seized a body of the [1] Lūn tribe who had become hostile to him in Kishtwār and meted out punishment to them.

They say that Diljū was the *Mīr Bakhshī* (pay-master general) of Qandahār. He came with all the army to Kashmīr, and turned the whole of the country upside down; and Rāja Sirdēv, having collected a large sum of money as assessment from his subjects, sent it as a tribute to Diljū; and then secluded himself in a corner; and this ruined the entire country of Kashmīr. And as Diljū could not stay there owing to excessive cold, he returned to Qandahār.

After he had acquired stability and firmness, he left all affairs to Jamshīd and 'Alī Shēr, his two sons, and occupied himself with repose and worship, and [2] he passed away. The period of his reign was three years.

An account of Sulṭān Jamshīd, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn.

When Sulṭān [3] Shams-ud-dīn accepted the summons of the just God; and Sulṭān Jamshīd ascended the throne with the concurrence of the chief men of the state, he always took every precaution (to guard himself) from 'Alī Shēr, who during their father's lifetime had

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[1] These are the old Lavanyas, for an account of whom see Stein's *Rajātaraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 306.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. and the Cambridge History of India, page 377, say he reigned for 3 years. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 454) makes it 23 years by mistake. According to Jonarāja the exact period was three years and five days (see l. 315).

Firishtah mentions here a matter of some social and official importance which I have thought it necessary to note. He remarks از مردم دو طائفه را کلان ساخت یکی چک و دیگری باکری ، و قرار داد که امرا و سپاهی انملک اکثر ازین دو فرقه باشند which may be translated as, among the people (of Kashmīr) he made two communities great, one *Chak* and the other *Bākrī*; he decided that the *amīrs* and the soldiers of that country should be (selected) chiefly from these two classes. This is also mentioned by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 99) who, however, transliterates the names as Chakks and Mākarīs.

I find that the Chaks were called the Cakreśas or Cakras in the Kashmīr Chronicles. Kājī Chak, who was the first of Chaks to rise to some eminence, was mentioned as Kāñcana Cakreśa and elsewhere Kāca Cakra. I am not so sure about the name of the Mākrīs in the Chronicles but they were probably the *Margeśa*.

[3] One MS. omits the name Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn.

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acted jointly with him in all affairs. In fact, the two were always trying to effect the destruction of each other. When Jamshīd's soldiers collected round 'Alī Shēr, and raising him on the throne sat down at [1] Walīpūr, which is a famous city, Jamshīd marched against them with his army and summoned them in the first instance with mildness and courtesy, and tried to have an amicable settlement. 'Alī Shēr turning his head from the proposals of peace, marched on wings of speed, and made a night attack on Jamshīd's army, and defeated it. When Sulṭān Jamshīd after suffering the defeat, heard that Walīpūr was unoccupied (by 'Alī Shēr's troops), he, with the intention of devastating it, advanced towards it. 'Alī Shēr's soldiers, who had orders to guard and defend it, met him in battle; but most of them were slain. In the meantime, when 'Alī Shēr, [2] after his victory arrived in those parts, Sulṭān Jamshīd seeing, that he had not the strength to meet him, fled to the country of [3] Kamrāj; and

[1] The name cannot be made out distinctly in either the MS. or in the lith. ed.; but appears to be ولی پور Walīpūr or ونی پور Wanīpūr. Firishtah lith. ed. has Madnīpūr; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 455) has Mednypoor; but I cannot find either Walīpūr or Mednīpūr as the name of any well-known city in Kashmīr. Probably Utpalapura is meant (see Jonarāja, l. 323), or Avantīpura (see Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 460). In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has دنی پور Danīpūr.

[2] Both MSS. have فتح نمود, and I have adopted it; but the lith. ed. has بفتح و فیروزی خود.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have کراج. Firishtah has کمراج; and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 455) has Gujraj. I find Kamrāj and Kamrāz mentioned in Stein's *Rājtaraṅgiṇī*. Kamrāj, is Abū-l-Faẓl's Western half of the Kingdom (pp. 436, 494) and Kamrāz or the territorial division the old Kramarājya and consisting of 18 *parganas* (p. 494).

Madava Rājya I find is written in Sanskrit as **मारव-राज्य**. It appears that according to the general prevailing notion Maraz comprises the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Srīnagar, and Kamrāz those below. In Akbar's time the old *parganas* of Uttar Lolau Hamal and Mach'pur were embodied in the *tauzī pargaṇa* of Kamrāz (see Jarrat's *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 371). In Moorcraft's and Baron Hügel's list, the *pargaṇa* Kamrāz includes Uttar Hamal and Mach'pur. Owing to frequent changes of *pargaṇa* divisions, the extent of the *pargaṇa* Kamraz has also varied from time to time (*vide* Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 436, note 2). I have inserted Kamrāj in the text instead of Karāj. Haig does not mention Kamrāj either in the Cambridge History of India or in his paper in the *J.R.A.S.*, vol. L (1918).

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his *vazīr* Sirāj, who had the defence of Srīnagar in his charge, summoned 'Alī Shēr from the city of [1] Uchh and made Srīnagar over to him. Jamshīd, after this catastrophy [2] did not again gird up his loins; and after ruling for [3] one year and two months passed away.

[4] An account of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn.

When Sulṭān Jamshīd passed away, his [5] younger brother, who had the name of 'Alī Shēr, assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn and sat on the throne. He conferred full powers on his younger brother Shēr Āshāmak. In the beginning of his reign there was great plenty; [6] but towards the end there was a great famine, and an immense number of people perished. [7] He got hold of a body of Rasturīs, who had become hostile to him and had gone away to Kishtawār, by various devices, and bringing them into Kashmīr imprisoned them. He raised the standard of his power and laid the foundation of [8] a city, which he called after his own name, near Yeḥiyypūr. Among the rules

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[1] The name is اوچه in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but اجودیه in the other MS. Neither Firishtah nor Col. Briggs mentions the place, I cannot find anything about Uchh or Ayodhyā.

[2] The readings are somewhat different. One MS. has کمر نبست, the other has apparently by mistake کمر بست, while the lith. ed. has کمتر زیست, *i.e.*, lived for a short time. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has کمر نه بسته. I have adopted کمر نه بست.

[3] Jonarāja makes this period one year and ten months (l. 338).

[4] The heading in the MS. is as I have it in the text. The lith. ed. has در ذکر حکومت سلطان علاء الدین.

[5] One MS. and the lith. ed. have کهترش but the other MS. has کهتر.

[6] One MS. has by mistake شدند for شد after فراوانی بسیار; and omits the sentence from و در اخر to تلف شدند. The famine is mentioned by Jonarāja (l. 358).

[7] Firishtah also says this but does not mention the name of the tribe. I cannot identify it in Jonarāja.

[8] I cannot identify the name of the city which appears to be یحیی پور Yeḥiyypūr in the MS. and یحیی پور which may be anything in the lith. ed. Jonarāja, however, says the Sulṭān built a bridge near Sūyyapura (see l. 340), probably a printer's mistake for Sūryapura, and made Jayāpīḍapura his capital (l. 357).

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promulgated by him was one, that an unchaste woman should [1] not inherit her husband's property.

The period of his rule was [2] twelve years and eight months and thirteen days.

An account of Sulṭān [3] Shihāb-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn.

When Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn had traversed the stages of life, his younger brother, who had the name of Shēr Āshāmak attained to the *salṭanat* after him. He was a man of resolution and bravery, and had pleasant manners and morals. [4] Any day on which a report of a victory did not come from some direction, that day he did not [5] count as one of the days in his life, and on such a day marks of pain appeared on his [6] countenance. He made over the demarcated country to the old *māliks* (owners); and marched with his army to the banks of the river Sind. [7] They say that when the ruler of that country came and

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[1] Both the MSS. have ارث نبرد. The lith. ed. has ارث نگیرد. This is better and I have retained it.

[2] This agrees with Jonarāja (l. 359).

[3] He is called शाहावदीन by Jonarāja, so that whatever the correct pronunciation of the name might be there can be no doubt as to what he was called. *Shirasama*, as has been pointed out, means a little milk-drinker, and was probably a childish nickname.

[4] This fact is mentioned even more emphatically by Jonarāja, who says that any moment in which he did not gain a victory he counted as lost for nothing, and who further expatiates on his ambition for victory, and his numerous expeditions, which were as dear to him as a young wife is to an old man, and which neither cold nor heat nor evening nor night nor hunger nor thirst could interfere with. Neither a fawn-eyed fair one, nor the pleasures of wine nor the moonlight could charm his mind like a military expedition. No river was difficult to cross, nor any mountain difficult to climb nor any desert impossible to traverse (lines 365 to 368).

[5] دانست in the text-edition.

[6] The word is بشرهٔ which means the outer skin, the surface, and also humanity and constitution. Probably the word complexion would best express the meaning.

[7] According to Jonarāja his first expedition was towards the north, and he entered Udabhāṇḍapura (Waihand or Und) on the Indus, the capital of Gandhāra (l. 372, etc.). It appears to me that when Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah speak of the residents of Qandahār being in terror of him they refer

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engaged him in battle, he was defeated; and the residents of Qandahār and Ghaznīn were always in terror of him. He marched as far as [1] Āshtnagar, which is now known as [2] Āshnagar and [3] Peshāwar; and slew an immense number of his enemies. He had gone as far as the [4] foot-hills of the Hindūkush, (but) on account of the hardships of the road, he, after undergoing much privations, returned. He then made an encampment on the bank of the river Sutlej. The Rāja of [5] Nagarkōt, who had ravaged some of the estates appertaining to Dehlī, and was returning, rendered homage to the Sulṭān on the way; and having surrendered to him the whole of the vast quantity of the booty which he had seized, made his submission to him. The ruler of [6] Tibet also waited on him, and prayed that the Sulṭān's army might not cause any injury to his territories.

After he had conquered all the surrounding countries he took up his abode in his capital. He made his younger brother, whose name

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not to the present Qandahār, which was far away. As Udabhāṇḍapura was the capital of Gandhāra, they may very well have called it Qandahār. The ruler of Sindhu (Sind) gave his daughter in marriage to him (l. 374). In line 377 Gajinīpurī (Ghaznīn) is mentioned as being frightened on hearing the lion-like roars of the lion-king's army. Then he marched southwards and refreshed his tired horses by (bathing them in the cooling) waters of the *Satadrū* or Sutlej (l. 382).

[1] The name looks like باشت نكر and اشت نكر in the MSS. and the lith. ed. has شب نكر. Firishtah lith. ed. has اسپ نكر and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 458) has Ashnuggur.

[2] The name here looks like باش نفر and هاش نعر in the MSS., and باش نفر in the lith. ed. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has اش نفر. Col. Briggs does not give the more recent name. I have not been able to identify the place.

[3] The name is written as برشا در and بشاور in the MSS., and as پرشا در in the lith. ed.

[4] I have not been able to find anything about his marching to the Hindūkush mountains in Jonarāja.

[5] The encounter with the Rājā of Nagarkōt appears to be referred to in the somewhat curious lines (383, etc.) according to which the Rājā Udakpati is said to have pillaged Ḍhillī (ढिल्ली), which may be a misprint for दिल्ली, but I have not been able to find any account anywhere in Jonarāja of Rājā Udakpati or any connection between him and Nagarkoṭ.

[6] The MSS. have طبت, and تبت and the lith. ed. has طبلت. Firishtah has تبت كوچك, little Tibet.

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was Hindāl, his heir; and he banished [1] Ḥasan and his brother, who were both his legitimate sons, towards Dehlī, at the dictation of another wife of his who had ill-feeling with their mother.

He founded two cities called [2] Lachmīnagar and Shihābpūr; and then passed away.

The period of his rule was twenty years.

[3] An account of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, son of Shams-ud-dīn.

When Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn rolled up the bed of his life, his brother, who was named Hindāl, succeeded him on the throne. He was possessed of pleasant manners and morals; and made very good arrangements for compliance of his orders. He sent a [4] *sardār* of the name of Loār for the conquest of the fort of Loharkōt, which was in the possession of some of the *amīrs* of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn. After several great battle had taken place between the two sides, the *sardār*

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[1] Firishtah calls them Ḥasan Khān and 'Alī Khān. There is no mention, anywhere, of the reason for their banishment. Jonarāja (l. 438) says:

रागी तद्दोषवादिन्या तया देव्या प्रबोधितः।
व्यवासयत् स्वदेशात् स राजपुत्त्रान् परानिव॥

[2] I cannot find anything about Lachmīnagar or Shihābpūr; in the text-edition the former is لچهمی نگر Lajhmīnagar.

[3] The heading in both MSS. is as I have in the text. The heading in the lith. ed. is ذکر حکومت هندال بن شمس الدین. The name Quṭb-ud-dīn has been transformed by Jonarāja to कुम्भदीन, Kumbhadīna (l. 462).

[4] The readings here are somewhat different and obscure. One MS. has لوار نام سرداری را. This I consider the best reading and have adopted it. The other MS. has بوداو نام سرذاری را and the lith. ed. has سرداری را (indistinct). Firishtah lith. ed. has در اخر سلطنت سرداری را which cannot be correct, as this is stated in the beginning of the account of the reign. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 460) following Firishtah says, "In the latter part of his reign he deputed an officer." The Cambridge History of India, page 278, says, "A rebellion of some of his predecessor's officers obliged him to send an expedition which was successful, for the recovery of the fortress of Lokarkot." I can find no authority for the statement that the expedition was successful. Both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah say that the commander sent by Quṭb-ud-dīn was slain.

As to the position, etc. of the fort of Loharkōt (Loharakoṭṭa) or the castle of Lohara which the expedition was sent to conquer, see *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 293. بوداو Būdāō is the name of the *sardār* in the text-edition.

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was slain. And he sent for his nephew Ḥasan, son of Shihāb-ud-dīn, from Dehlī; and wanted to make him his heir and successor; but envious people made him repent of this decision and incited him [1] to seize him. One of the *amīrs* of the Sulṭān, who was named [2] Rāy Rāwal, informed Ḥasan of this; and [3] he fled to Loharkōṭ with Ḥasan by way of Kashmīr. After that the *zamīndārs* seized both of them; and sent them to the Sulṭān. Rāy Rāwal was executed, and Ḥasan was cast into prison.

In the later years of his life two sons were born to the Sulṭān. One was called [4] Sīkār and the other Haibat Khān. Both these sons were young when the Sulṭān [5] passed away from the world.

The period of his rule was fifteen years and five months.

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have بر گرفتن او to seize him; but the other MS. has بر کشتن او to slay him, which appears to be a mistake; this, however, has been adopted in the text-edition.

[2] The name is written as رای راول in one MS. In the other MS. and in the lith. ed. it is روی راول. Firishtah lith. ed. has by mistake رای ول را. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 460) has Ray Rawul. The Cambridge History of India, page 278, does not mention his name, but calls him a Hindu courtier. Both Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah say that the Sulṭān attempted to seize Ḥasan at the instigation of envious people. Col. Briggs (*loc. cit.*), however, says, "He became so popular as to excite the King's jealousy"; while the Cambridge History of India says his "impatience exceeded his gratitude, and he conspired with a Hindu courtier against his patron."

[3] There are slight differences in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have و با حسن از راه کسمیر فرار شده بلوهر کوه رفت. With this difference that the lith. ed. has نموده in place of شده; this is adopted in the text-edition. The other MS. omits the first word, from which it would appear that Ḥasan alone fled to Loharkōṭ, but this is not correct as this MS. as well as the other and the lith. ed. also say that the *zamīndārs* seized both of them and sent them to the Sulṭān.

[4] The name is سکار, and سیکار in the MSS. and سکا in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has شکار. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 461) has Sugga and the Cambridge History of India, page 279, Sakār or Sankār. It appears from Jonarāja, line 531, that he was called Śrīṅgāra and (not Sikandar, as suggested by Haig on p. 454 of the *J.R.A.S.*, vol. L, 1918), of which Sikar, etc., are corruptions. The other was named Haibat Khān according to the MS., etc.; and Haibata according to Jonarāja, line 533.

[5] Firishtah lith. ed. gives 796 A.H., as the year of his death, while Col. Briggs has 799 A.H., 1396 A.D. The Cambridge History of India, page 279,

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[1]An account of Sulṭān Sikandar, the iconoclast, the son of Quṭb-ud-dīn, the son of Shams-ud-dīn, who had the name of Sīkār.

In concert with the *vazīrs* and *amīrs* he sat in his father's place; and [2] taking up the management of affairs into his own hands,

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has 1394. Fīrishtah also says that Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī came to Srīnagar in the reign of Quṭb-ud-dīn; was received with great honour and respect; and many people of the country became his true disciples. Firishtah also says that, according to Mirza Haidar Dughlat's book, he remained in Kashmīr for a little more than forty days, and then went back to his cherished native place; but Firishtah thinks that the great Khānqā, which was built by him in Srīnagar, could not have been completed in forty days, and, therefore, if he remained there for only forty days its foundations alone might have been laid down in his presence and it must have been completed after his departure.

The statement of Firishtah about Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's stay does not appear to be correct. From the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias & Denison Ross, 1895, pp. 432, 433) it appears, that he was expelled from Persia by Timur and it appears from Mr. Beale's account (*Oriental Biog. Dictionary*, p. 238) that he came with seven hundred Saiyids to Kashmīr in 1380, and died in Pakhli in 1386. Mirza Haider Dughlāt in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, however, says that Kutb-ud-din died in less than forty days, which is somewhat ambiguous, but which really probably means that he died less than forty days after the arrival of the Saiyid.

[1] The heading in the MSS. is as I have in the text. That in the lith. ed. is different; it is ذکر حکومت سلطان سکندر که سکا نام داشت. The Sanskritised form of the name as given by Jonarāja is शैकन्धर (l. 539).

[2] According to Firishtah, however, Sikandar's mother acted as the regent in the early part of his reign. I cannot find the mother's name in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 462) calls her Soorut Rany, and the Cambridge History of India, page 279, Sūra. According to Jonarāja, however, see lines 539, 543, her correct name appears to have been Subhaṭā or Śobhā. She is called Subhaṭā Devī or Śrī Śobhā Mahādevī. She appears to have been an extremely stern, if not a cruel woman; for finding that her son-in-law Muḥammad Shāh (called साहपुत्र महम्मद in l. 540 in Jonarāja), was against her son, she caused him and his wife, her own daughter, to be murdered. At her instigation also, probably Rāy Mādarī, a leading nobleman caused prince Haibat Khān, Sikandar's younger brother, to be poisoned. The name of the nobleman is Rāy Mādarī (with slight variations) in the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and also in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 462) has "the prime minister Ray Makry" and the Cambridge History of India, page 279, has Rāi Madārī, which however is incorrect, the correct transliteration being Rāy Mādarī. I cannot find any name in Jonarāja which

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[1] sent Rāy Mādarī, the *vazīr* who possessed much power to Tibet. He conquered that country, and having collected a large army rebelled against his master. There was a battle in the neighbourhood of [2] Bhimbar; Rāy Mādarī was defeated and captured and thrown into prison, where he killed himself. Immense armies collected round the Sulṭān, and all the surrounding countries were conquered by him.

At this time, when His Majesty, the Lord of the Conjunctions, Amir Tīmūr sent [3] an elephant for the Sulṭān the latter was very

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has any resemblance to Rāy Mādarī. There are two ministers mentioned by him called Uddaka and Sāhaka (l. 539); and it was Uddaka who killed Muḥammad Shāh and his wife (l. 540), and poisoned Haibat Khān (l. 543), and afterwards killed his colleague Sāhaka (l. 545).

[1] According to Firishtah Sikandar and Rāy Mādarī distrusted each other. Rāy Mādarī, becoming aware of Sikandar's feeling towards him, suggested that he might be allowed to march to conquer little Tibet, his object being that he might in this way be safe from the fire of Sikandar's anger; and Sikandar agreed, as he hoped that Rāy Mādarī might be slain in the war. Accordingly Rāy Mādarī invaded Tibet, and gradually conquered the whole country. Having in this way become very powerful, he rebelled against Sikandar. The latter marched against him and a battle took place near the boundary of the two countries. Rāy Mādarī was defeated and fled, but he later fell into the hand of Sikandar's troops. He was thrown into prison; and after a time killed himself by taking poison. Jonarāja, however, says he cut his own throat निजयैव कृपाणाय स्वगलच्छेदमाचरत्, line 554. روی نادری in the text-edition is apparently a misprint.

[2] The name of the place where the battle took place is written as بنبر Binbar in one MS. In the other it is not very legible but looks like جز سر Jazsar. In the lith. ed. it is written as بنبر. It is not mentioned by Firishtah or any other historians as far as I have seen, except Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 463), who calls it, "the town of Nere". The battle, the flight of Rāy Mādarī or Uddaka and his capture are mentioned by Jonarāja (l. 549 and the following lines), but I cannot discover the name of the place where the battle took place. پھینر in the text-edition.

[3] The MSS. do not give the number of the elephants, they are very imperfect. One has فیل برای فرستاد without any mention of the person for whom it or they were sent. The other is better; it has و فیل برای سلطان فرستاد. The lith. ed. has و فیلی برای سلطان فرستاد, from which it would appear only one elephant was sent. Firishtah however says Tīmūr sent his emissaries with two elephants. Jonarāja also says that Tīmūr, whom he describes curiously enough as खेच्चराज,

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proud of this fact, and sent a petition to the Lord of the Conjunctions, containing expressions of his devotion and service. He also wrote that he would wait upon His Majesty, whenever he might be ordered to do so. He sent back the ambassadors after showing them very great favours. When (the expression of) the relation of this attachment and service was reported to the Lord of the Conjunctions, the latter declared his friendship for him, and sent a robe of honour of gold embroidery with a horse and a jewelled saddle; and ordered

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sent two elephants to the King of Kashmīr, being afraid of the latter. The whole passage (lines 559, 560) is so curious that I have thought it best to quote it:

तदैव दीनाभरणामपाल्लकतया युताम्।
म्लेच्छराजो व्यधात् डिल्लीं विधवामिव लुण्ठयन्॥
ततः प्रत्याव्रजन् म्लेच्छराजः कश्मीरभूपतेः।
शङ्कमानो गजेन्द्रौ द्वावुपायनमचीकरत्॥

In another place Dehli was spelt as ढिल्ली and here it is spelt as डिल्ली; and the comparison of Dehli with a widow, who being without a ruler had only poor and wretched ornaments; and a great world-conquerer Tīmūr being afraid of the King of Kashmīr are extremely curious. I have looked in Jonarāja for further references to Tīmūr but have not been able to find them.

Firishtah and Col. Briggs's account of the correspondence between Tīmūr and Sulṭān Sikandar agrees with that in the text; but they increase the amount of the tribute, which Tīmūr's *vazīrs* had stated would be required, to three thousand horses and one hundred thousand *'Alāī ashrafīs*. The Cambridge History of India, page 279, does not say that Tīmūr sent any elephant to Sikandar; but it says (following the Ẓafarnāma) that his grandson Rustam and Mu'tamad Zain-ud-din who had been sent to Sikandar from Dehlī as envoys (with what object does not appear) arrived and joined Tīmūr's camp near Jammū. They reported that they had been well received, and had been sent back with Maulānā Nūr-ud-dīn as the envoy of Sikandar. The latter was informed by Tīmūr's courtiers that Sikandar would be required to send thirty thousand horses and one hundred thousand golden *Dirhams*. This is perfectly correct, but the Ẓafarnāma does not use the word *Dirham* but the words صد هزار درست زر. It is difficult to say which of these various accounts is correct. It may be noted that it is said in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrat, vol. II, p. 387) that Sikandar on his way to Taimūr's camp, heard that it was reported in the camp, that he was bringing a present of a thousand horses; and concerned at the untruthfulness of this report he went back and sent his excuses. In Rodger's account (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 101) it is said that Sikandar was informed by some of Taimūr's servants, that he must give at least three thousand horses and one hundred thousand *ashrafīs*.

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that when the great standard should return from Dehlī towards the Punjāb, he should come and wait upon him. In accordance with this order, Sulṭān Sikandar started with much tribute to attend on him when His Majesty was advancing towards the Punjāb from the Siwālik hills. On the way he heard that some of the *amīrs* of the Lord of the Conjunctions had said, that it was proper that Sulṭān Sikandar should bring a thousand horses as his tribute. The Sulṭān became distressed in his mind on hearing this news, and turned back and sent a petition, that as a tribute fit for the offering had not been got together, his departure has been postponed for a few days. His Majesty, on becoming aware of the circumstances, reprimanded the men who had said that Sulṭān Sikandar should present a thousand horses as a tribute; and having shown favour to the emissaries of Sulṭān Sikandar told them that the *vazīrs* had made an altogether unreasonable demand, and the Sulṭān should come and wait upon His Majesty without any anxiety. When the Sulṭān heard this news from the ambassadors he came out of Kashmīr with great pleasure with the determination to wait on His Majesty; but when he passed Bāramūla, he heard that His Majesty the Lord of the Conjunctions had crossed the river Sind, and had proceeded towards Samarqand. He then sent his ambassadors with much tribute to wait upon His Majesty, and turned back towards Kashmīr.

And as he was extremely liberal, the learned men of 'Irāq and Khurāsān and Māwarā'-un-nahr came with hopeful faces to his threshold; and the Islāmic religion became prevalent in Kashmīr.

Verses:

His noble spirit such generosity proclaimed
That even to the hopeless despair forbidden became.
When Islām such resplendence gained
His door the sacred shrine of high and low became.

Among the learned men he showed very great honour, to [1] Saiyid Muḥammad, who was the chief of the wise men (of the age); and

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[1] It is not quite clear who this man was. Was he Mīr Muḥammad the son of Sayyid Ali Hamadāni, who led a batch of five hundred Sayyids into

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made complete arrangement for breaking images and pulling down the temples of the *Kāfirs*. Among the temples there was a great one at [1] Baḥrārah, which was dedicated to Mahādēv. The Sulṭān had it demolished. Although they dug under it, and went down up to the water, they could not find its end. They also pulled down another temple which was at [2] Jakdar, and (when they did so) great flames burst out, which the Sulṭān (himself) saw. (It is said that) [3] Rāja Lalitādat Devharah had built it outside the sacred city

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Kashmir in 1381, following his father who had led seven hundred the year before after the expulsion of the Sayyids by Timur? (See note 2, p. 432 of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Elias & Denison Ross).

[1] The MSS. have بحرارة Baḥrārah, and بجوارة Bajwārah, and the lith. ed. has حرارة without any dots so that they may be many different names. Firishtah lith. ed. has باغ بحر آرا and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 465) has Punjhuzara. There is a great deal in Jonarāja about the breaking of images, but I have not been able to find any mention of the demolition of the temples.

[2] The MSS. have جکدر Jakdar and the lith. ed. has جکت Jakat. Firishtah lith. ed. has صقدای او را که جگدیو بود which Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 465) has translated, "the temple dedicated to Jug Dew". According to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrat, vol. II, p. 364, note 3), this temple was at Parihāsapura, pronounced by the Kashmiris as Poruspūr. It was the ancient Parihāsapura which was built by Lalitāditya who reigned A.D. 723–760. It was, writes General Cunningham, situated on the river bank of the Jhelum near the present village of Sumbal." The Cambridge History of India does not give the name of the temple. سن پور Sanpūr is the name of the place in the text-edition.

[3] The name is written as المنادات and المدات in the MS. and الهادت in the lith. ed. Firishtah also has للنادت. Col. Briggs has "Raja Bulnat"; and Mr. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 101) has Lilitāwat. The king referred to may be Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who according to the Chinese Annals of the T'ang Dynasty sent an embassay to China in the reign of the Hiuen Tsiang, A.D. 713–755. He did not live 1,100 years before the Iconoclast 1393–1450 A.D., but his name is the nearest I can get to Lilitāwat. Firishtah lith. ed. in the corresponding passage has راجه للنادت پیش از ظهور اسلام دیو پرة در غایت عظمت و استحکام در ترس پور ساخته بود. This does not throw much light on the matter except for the similarities of the name of the Rājā to that of Lalitāditya. The name Taraspūr is apparently a mistake for Paraspūr or Parihāsapura (see end of the preceding note).

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of Dārāpūr; and had learnt from astrologers, that after one thousand and one hundred years, a *Bādshāh* of the name of Sikandar would demolish it and would break up the image of Mercury, which was in it. This matter he had caused to be engraved on a plate of copper, which he had put into a casket and had caused it to be buried under the edifice. At the time of demolishing it the inscription was discovered. The Sulṭān said, "Would that they had left this inscription on the face of the building, so that I should not have issued the order for its demolition." [1] All spirituous liquors and duties were entirely abolished in his kingdom.

In his old age he suffered from a burning fever. He sent for [2] Mīrān Khān, Shāhī Khān and Muḥammad Khān who were his three sons, and gave them testamentary directions. He conferred the title of 'Alī Shāh on Mīrān Khān and bestowed the kingdom on him.

The period of his rule was twenty-two years and nine months and six days.

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[1] The MSS. have شراب و تمغا. The lith. ed. has و شراب قطعاً which is incorrect. Firishtah lith. ed. has و از ولایت او از هیچکس خواه کافر و خواه مسلمان تمغا نگیرند. It was natural that as zealous, not to say a bigoted Musalmān, Sulṭān Sikandar should have gone in for a dry Kashmīr, but his reason for the abolition of the *Tamaghā* cannot be so easily understood; nor the exact nature of the tax which he abolished. Col. Briggs translates *Tamaghā* as export duties. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the prohibition of the use of spirituous liquor, or the abolition of the *Tamaghā*; Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 102) mentions that Sikandar prohibited the use of wine but says nothing of the abolition of the *Tamaghā*. The word, as I have said elsewhere, means a stand or a seat; and I suppose it came to mean a tax because the payment of taxes was denoted by the affixing of a stamp.

[2] The names of the sons are as I have them in the text in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed has Mīr Khān as the name of the eldest, but the names of the other two are as in the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 466) has Ameer Khan and Shady Khan as the names of the two elder sons. The Cambridge History of India, page 280, has Nūr Khān as the name of the eldest, and Shāhī Khān of the second. Jonarāja, line 584, gives the names मेरखान, शाहिखान and महम्मदखान and they are described as प्रत्यक्षा इव धर्म्मार्थकामाः काममनोरमाः; and their mother is called मेरदेवी (l. 585); so Mīr Khān of Firishtah appears to be correct. He appears to have had another son called पिरुज, Piruja or Fīrūz by another queen Śobhā Devī (l. 586).

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN 'ALĪ SHĀH, SON OF SULṬĀN SIKANDAR BUTSHIKAN, WHO HAD THE NAME OF MĪRĀN KHĀN.

In spite of the fact that he was young,[2] his greatness and an awe of him having found place in men's hearts, the people of the country were obedient to him. In the early years he left the management of affairs to [3] Siyah Bhat, who having become a Musalmān had been the *vazīr* of Sulṭān Sikandar. During the period of four years in which he was the *vazīr*, he perpetrated various kinds of oppressions and tyranny on the people. Most of the Hindūs left the country, and some killed themselves. When Siyah Bhat died of a [4] hectic fever, the Sulṭān selected his younger brother Shāhī Khān, who was famous for his bravery and intelligence, for the post of *vazīr*; and the latter took charge of all affairs. After that the Sulṭān made [5] Shāhī Khān his *locum tenens* and directing his [6] younger brother Muḥammad Khān to obey him, left Kashmīr with the object of [7] travelling about; and went to the Rāja of Jammū, who was his father-in-law.

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[1] The headings are slightly different in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. omits the word *Butshikan*. The lith. ed. inserts the word حکومت before the name of Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh. One MS. omits the که before Mīrān Khān. The lith. ed. substitutes و او for که. In the text-edition the heading ends with سکندر بت شکن.

[2] According to Firishtah the grandeur was of Sulṭān Sikandar, and the awe was felt for him, and not for the young prince.

[3] The name is سه بهت and سنّه بهت in the MS. and سه بهت in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has به بهت. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 467) has Seeva Dew Bhut. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 103) has Syah But; and the Cambridge History of India, page 280, has Sinha Bhat.

[4] In the text-edition he is stated to have died of مرض دق or tuberculosis.

[5] One MS. rather unnecessarily and tautologically inserts که بشجاعت موسوم بود.

[6] One MS. has برادر خورد تر را.

[7] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have بر سر راجه جمو که خسر او بود رفت Firishtah explains further by saying that he went to the Rāja of Jammū to bid him farewell برای وداع. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 467) has "of travelling in foreign countries". In all these there is no mention of a pilgrimage; but the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Jarrat, vol. II, page 387, says that 'Ali Shāh set out for Ḥijāz; and Haig (*J.R.A.S.*., vol. L, 1918, p. 455) says he "resolved to perform the pilgrimage to Makkah"; and the Cambridge History of India,

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At this time some interested persons made him repentant of his having made Shāhī Khān his successor. The Rājas of Jammū and Rājaurī, having gone to support 'Alī Shāh, he again brought Kashmīr into his possession, Shāhī Khān retired from Kashmīr to Sīālkōt. During this time Jasrat Khōkhar, who had been seized by the Lord of the Conjunctions (Tīmūr), but after His Majesty's death had fled

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page 280, says, desired "in an access of religious zeal to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca." Jonarāja also supports this, for although Mecca or Ḥijāz is not specifically mentioned, the anxiety of 'Alī Shāh for **तीर्थानुसरण**, and **तीर्थार्थमुत्कण्ठा** are mentioned in lines 693 and 699; and in line 704 it is said **निर्बन्धनेति जल्पन् स तीर्थार्थं धरणीपतिः। युवराजं दृढाङ्राज्यभारमग्राहयच्चिरात्।** His enthusiasm for pilgrimage, however, appears to have been very short-lived, for it appears from line 708 that the privations and the probable small result of the pilgrimage soon removed all his enthusiasm for it and the king of Madra (Jammū) took him back to Kashmīr (l. 710). The new king Shāhī Khān was displeased at his brother's return; and followed by the *ṭhākurs* he went away from Kashmīr (l. 714). Then we come to Jasrat called Jasratha by Jonarāja (l. 730). And in line 734, we read of the march of 'Alī Shāh against Jasrat, but it is said that his enterprise was censured by his army, which was astonished at his own poverty. Afterwards when he came to a place called Mudgaravyāla, (l. 738), a messenger came from the Rājā of Madra telling him not to begin the war with the Khokhars, although there were great warriors in his army, as he (the Madrarāja) alone knew the **खुःखुराणां रणच्छलम्**. Then 'Alī Shāh was defeated. There is no mention, however, of *Kabandhas* or headless bodies. Zain-ul-'ābidīn (**त्रौजैनोल्लाभदीन**) entered first the hearts of the inhabitants and then the capital. **पौराणां प्राक् मनः पश्चाद्राजधानीं व्यशिश्रियत्** (l. 751).

As to the general history of 'Alī Shāh's reign Firishtah agrees generally with the Ṭabaqāt, but he says that the Rāja of Jammū and Rājaurī reproved 'Alī Shāh about his making Shāhī Khān his heir, and he repented of what he had done; and they sent troops with him to attack Shāhī Khān. The latter went to Sīālkōt, and sought the help of Jasrat Shaikha Khokhar. Then there was a battle. There is no mention of any headless body. 'Alī Shāh was defeated, as his troops were fatigued after the long, rapid march, and the enemy did not give them any time to rest and recover. As to 'Alī Shāh Firishtah says that according to one account, he fell alive in Jasrat's hands, and according to another, Shāhī Khān pursued him, and drove him out of the kingdom.

The Cambridge History of India, page 280, adds nothing new; but according to it, the final battle took place near the Tattakutī pass. I have not been able to find anything about this pass. There is a Tatakulī pass, which is almost due east to the entrance of the Lohara Valley, but it cannot be identified with the Tattakutī pass.

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from Samarqand, coming to the Punjāb had acquired great power. Shāhī Khān joined [1] Jasrat Khōkhar and having obtained reinforcements from him, brought them to attack 'Alī Shāh. The latter advanced against Jasrat with an immense army, and a great battle took place and many were killed on both sides. They say that certain headless bodies had risen up and had moved about in the battlefield. It is a fixed belief among the Indians, that in any battle, in which ten thousand are slain, a headless body, which is called the *Kabandh* in [2] Hindī, rises and moves about. In the end 'Alī Shāh having no strength (to continue the fight) fled; and Shāhī Khān entered Kashmīr in pursuit of him. The men in the city rejoiced at his coming.

The period of the rule of 'Alī Shāh was six years and nine months

[3] An account of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Butshikan, which is another name for Shāhī Khān

Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, after his brother sought a place on the throne of the empire. [4] Jasrat Khōkhar aided by the Sulṭān's power brought the whole of the Punjāb into his possession, although he could not conquer Dehlī. Tibet and the whole country which is situated on the bank of the river Sind came into the Sulṭān's possession. [5] He made Muḥammad Khān, his younger brother, a councillor and left the decision of all affairs to his judgement. He himself took great pains for ascertaining the truth in all cases and disputes. He cultivated the society of all classes. He had acquired much learning and skill in arts; and in his assemblies men of intellect, both Hindūs

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[1] جسرتہ in the text-edition here is apparently a misprint for جسرت.

[2] One MS. has هندی and the other has هندوی. The lith. ed. has neither the one nor the other. کیندہ Kēndah in the text-edition.

[3] The name of Zain-ul-'ābidīn appears to have been too much for the writers of the MSS. One calls him Sulṭān Zain-ud-dīn, and the other Sulṭān Al-ābidīn. The lith. ed. has the name correctly, but it inserts the words ذکر حکومت before Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn.

[4] The relation between Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn and Jasrat is somewhat differently expressed by Jonarāja (l. 760), वसन्त इव कामस्य भूपतेरभवत् सदा। खुःखुराधिपतिस्तस्य भृत्येष्वप्यधिकप्रियः।

[5] This is rather finely described by Jonarāja, who says:

भोगे सखा नये मन्त्री विवेक्ता शास्त्रनिर्णये। श्रीमद्दम्मदखानोऽभूत् काश्मीरेन्द्रस्य सोदरः। (l. 758).

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and Musalmāns, were always present. In the science and art of music he had very great skill. No other ruler of Kashmīr had the success which he had in settling and increasing the population, in expanding the cultivation, and in excavating canals and water courses.

Couplet:

To every one does not come that with the cloud of his resolution,
He can keep the young plants of his time verdant and green.

Wherever a robbery took place in his kingdom, there was a mulct or fine fixed from the chief men of that village; and for this reason robberies and thefts became completely unknown. In his time the writing of the rates of the prices of different commodities was ordered. These were engraved on thin copper plates and were left in all cities, [1] to indicate that all customs of tyranny had been rooted out in the kingdom of Kashmīr; and (to point out) [2] that whoever came after him and did not act according to his practices, God and he would know (the effect of such conduct).

On the prayer of [3] Srī Bhat, who in the science of medicine was unrivalled in the age, and had received various kinds of favours from

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[1] This is the translation of the passage as it is found in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but it is not at all clear how the fixing of the prices of commodities would remove all tyrannical customs. It appears to me that some words have been omitted here. Firishtah in the corresponding passage, has in addition to the fixing of prices, about which, however, the meaning of what Firishtah says is not at all clear, for what he says about it is و نرخ نویسی که در زمان او شده بود در عهد سلطان سابق نبود دور کرد; I cannot make out the meaning of the last two words. However, Firishtah goes on to say و قداعد و ضوابط خود را بر تختههای مس کند و در هرشهری و دیهی گذاشت تا رسوم ظلم از ولایت کشمیر بر افتاد. This has some meaning, but even the leaving of the rules and regulations of government engraved on copper plates in every city and village would hardly be sufficient to eradicate all customs of tyranny and oppression.

[2] This somewhat cryptic adjuration to his successors is thus expressed by Firishtah گویند بر تختههای مس نوشته بود که هر که بیاید و بدین دستور کار نکند بلعنت خدا گرفتار باد.

[3] The name is سری پت in the MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and سری پت in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The name does not appear to be mentioned by Col. Briggs or in the Cambridge History of India. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 103) calls him Srī Bihut. His correct name according to Jonarāja (l. 823) was शिवभट्ट Śiva Bhaṭṭa.

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the Sulṭān, other Brahmans, who during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar had, on the accusation of Siyah Bhat been banished, came back and took up their quarters in the temples, and places which had been allotted to them; and stipends were granted to them. The Sulṭān took an agreement from Brahmans, that they would not [1] act in contravention of what was written in their books. After that he revived all their customs, such as the making of sectarian march, and [2] the burning of women with their (dead) husbands, etc., which Sulṭān Sikandar had abolished.

He also excused the *ra'īyats* from paying all fines [3] and tributes, and all payments of grain (*i.e.*, in kind). He issued an order that merchants bringing commodities from different directions should not hide them; and refraining from all wicked storing (cornering?) should sell them at a small profit. He released all persons who had been imprisoned in previous reigns. [4] He allowed the treasuries of all countries, which were conquered, to be plundered; and assessed the revenue on them on the same scale as that of (the country round) the capital. He chastised the turbulent people, and kept a watch over them according to the necessary standard.

He showed favour to *faqīrs* and the aged and helpless; and did not permit that they should perish. He never looked at the face of a strange woman or at another's wealth with an avaricious and dishonest eye. In kindness to the *ra'īyats*, he increased the length of the [5] yard

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[1] Both MSS. have نقل نکنند. The lith. ed. has فعل نکنند. The meaning of course as Firishtah has it تخلف ننمایند. I do not know that نقل نکردن conveys this meaning; فعل نکردن may do so; but عمل کردن is better. I have, however, retained فعل نکنند. In the text-edition it is نقل نکند.

[2] In this matter Sulṭān Sikandar was very much ahead of his time. Neither Akbar nor any other emperor ordered this and it was not till Lord William Bentinck's time that the practice of *Sati* was abolished.

[3] This is too vague. All fines were not abolished. As we have seen, the Sulṭān established one for putting down thefts and robberies. Firishtah is a little more definite. According to him پیشکش و جرمانه و دیگر مصادرات که شقداران از رعایای گرفرتند بر انداخت. Even this is not precise; but if Firishtah is correct, it was the fines, etc., imposed by the provincial governors which were abolished.

[4] The meaning of this is obscure. Firishtah makes it clear by saying که انرا بر عساکر قسمت می‌نمود, that is, he distributed it among the troops.

[5] Only جریب in the text-edition.

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measure and of the chain beyond what had been customary. The necessary amounts for the Sulṭān's household expenditure were provided for from the produce of the copper mines which had been discovered, and where miners were always working. As in the time of Sulṭān Sikandar images of gold, silver, copper and other metal had been melted down, and the metal had been coined, and there was depreciation of those coins, an order was passed that coins should be struck of pure copper that was produced from the mines, and should be made current.

The Sulṭān was so pleasant and affable in his ways, that when he was annoyed with anyone, and externed him from his kingdom, he did it in such a way that a man did not know, for what reason the Sulṭān had become annoyed with him; and it was the same in the case of anyone [1] who was the subject of a bad augury. People lived in his reign in anyway, and followed any religion that they wished. Most of the Brahmans, who had become Muslmāns in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar apostatized again, and none of the (Musalmāns) learned men had any power or hold over them. [2] He brought a canal near the Mārān hill, and founded a city there, the populated portion of which extended over five *karōhs*. He also founded other cities, and settling learned and wise men and also poor men in them, was always careful to enquire about their condition. He did not try to hoard treasure, but in fact whatever came into his hand was spent on useful objects.

Couplet:

As the cash of life thou cans't not keep,
Why over other cash should'st thou keep guard.

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[1] The words are و در باب هرکه تفاول بد برآمد همچنان میشد the meaning of which is not at all clear. In the text-edition تفاول بد می راند is a better reading.

[2] I have not been able to identify the Mārān hill. Firishtah also has کوہ ماران; but Col. Briggs does not appear to mention it. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 103) refers to this where he says, "The king brought a canal from the mountain; and built a city five *koss* in circumference." The Cambridge History of India, page 281, says "he founded a city, bridged rivers, restored temples and conveyed water for the irrigation of the land", but neither it nor Rodgers makes any attempt to identify the locality. Jonarāja mentions Mandaragiri (l. 858) as a locality where he made the waters, which had hitherto been useless, useful and fruitful; and Nandaśaila (l. 860) as a hill from which he brought down a canal; but I have not been able to find out anything more about these places.

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And in his time, a man of the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad was born, who was both a poet and a wise man. He could compose extempore verses in any form and meter he wished. He also immediately and without any consideration solved any literary difficulty that was propounded to him. The Sulṭān showed honour to the learned men of Islām, and said, "They are my preceptors." He also showed honour to *Yogīs* on account of their poverty and austerity; and he did not look at the defects of any community. As he had great intelligence he immediately solved every difficult problem, in the solution of which other men were unsuccessful. Among such problems (there was the case of) a woman who had a grudge against one of her servants, and having killed one of her own children, threw the body into the servant's house. Early the next morning, when the accusation fell upon the latter, she went to the Sulṭān praying for justice. The *vazīrs*, after much enquiry, confessed their inability to find out the truth of the matter. The Sulṭān himself turned his attention to its decision. He first of all summoned the servant, who had been accused, to his private chamber; and there threatened her in various ways, and left no stone unturned in the matter. As the woman was innocent of the act she made no confession of any kind. At last the Sulṭān said, "If you become naked, and in the presence of men go to your own house, that might be a proof of your innocence." The woman cast her head down in shame, and said, "For me it is better to die than to act in this way. I consent to my punishment, but I cannot consent to behave in this way."

The Sulṭān then withdrew his hand from her, and sending for the other woman, who was making the accusation, said, "If you are honest in making this complaint make yourself naked in the presence of men." The woman [1] without any hesitation wanted to become naked. The Sulṭān told her not to do so, and said, "The [2] guilt of this act is yours, you made a false accusation against your servant;" and after they had struck her a few strokes, she confessed her guilt.

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[1] The reading in one MS. and in the lith. ed. is as I have it in the text, except that the last word in the lith. ed. is شدن and not شوند.

[2] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. say that جرم این کار اوست. I think the first word should be مجرم. In the text-edition جرم is retained.

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The Sulṭān did not direct thieves and robbers to be executed, but he ordered that they should work every day with chains on their feet on public buildings, and should be supplied with their food. He also forbade all hunting, so that animals might not be killed. He did not eat any meat in the month of Ramaḍān; and, owing to his munificence, many performers of vocal and instrumental music came from various places to Kashmīr. Among these was Mullā 'Ūdī, who was one of the [1] poor pupils of Khwājah 'Abd-ul-qādir and came from Khurāsān. He played on the *'Ūd* (some instrument like a lute or a harp or a lyre) in such a way that it was a source of great pleasure to the Sulṭān; and he was exalted with various favours. Mullā Jamīl Ḥāfiẓ, who was unrivalled in versification as also in elocution, also received great favours from the Sulṭān. [2] His drawings (*naqshhāī*) are celebrated to this day in Kashmīr; and [3] Ḥabīb a maker of fire-works or of guns, who (first) manufactured muskets in Kashmīr, lived in his reign, and had no rival in his art. The Sulṭān in concert with him wrote a book containing questions and answers; this work is of very great value. There were many dancers, [4] rope-dancers and *natwahs* (actors ?) in his time. There had also been men in Kashmīr who sang one tune in twelve different modes or variations.

At certain times, when the Sulṭān wished to be gay and cheerful, he ordered that [5] *Rubābs* and *Bīns* and other musical instruments

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[1] The words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are كه از شاگرد ان بيواسطه. One of the meanings of بيواسطه in the dictionary is "without means". Firishtah in the corresponding passage omits the word بيواسطه.

[2] Rodgers (p. 104) translates this sentence as "his name is a proverb in Kashmir for excellence in poetry." The word about which I am doubtful is *naqsh*, which ordinarily means a drawing. I wonder whether it means a tune here. The word occurs again a few lines further down, where one *naqsh* is said to have been rendered in twelve modes or forms.

[3] The name is written as حبيب Ḥabīb in both MSS., and as حلب Ḥalb in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has جب Jab, and Rodgers also has Jab.

[4] The word is بازان ريسمان in the Ṭabaqāt, and بازان طناب in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Rodgers has "acrobats". The next word is نتوهها in one MS., and نتوها in the other and بيوها in the lith. ed. There is no corresponding word in Firishtah; and I cannot find نتوة or نتو in the dictionary. It may be that نتوة or نتو is a corruption of the Sanskrit नट, an actor.

[5] A *Rubāb* is four-stringed instrument in the form of a shortnecked guitar, but having a surface of parchment instead of wood. I cannot find بين *bīn*

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should be made of gold and adorned with gems. There was a very intelligent man of the name of [1] Sahūm, who composed verses in the dialect of Kashmīr, and in the [2] sciences and literature of India was the leader of the age. He wrote a book called [3] *Zain Ḥarb* in which he narrated all the events of the Sulṭān's reign in detail. He had memorised the whole of the *Shāhnāma*; and he wrote a book called [4] *Mānik* in the science of music, and dedicated it to the Sulṭān; and owing to this received many favours. The Sulṭān was himself

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in the dictionary, but the name is a form of Sanskrit *Vīṇā*, also a stringed instrument. Firishtah has طنبور *Ṭanbūr* instead, which is a kind of lute or guitar with a long neck. Rodgers does not mention any of these instruments.

[1] The name is سهوم in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and سيوم in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has سوم. Rodgers (p. 104) has *Dasūm*, but I think this is a mistake. He has changed the conjunction و into ڈ and has prefixed it to the name سوم. It is ستوم in the text-edition. Neither Col. Briggs nor the Cambridge History of India gives the names of the various artists, though the latter mentions some of their achievements. Jonarāja, however, gives accounts of other achievements of the Sulṭān. Jonarāja died in the reign of Zain-ul-'ābidīn; and his work was continued by his pupil Śrīvara. I have not, however, been able to find any mention of these matters in their works. I have already noted the appointment of the Sulṭān's brother Muḥammad Khān to be his chief minister. See page 652 of the text and note 5 on the same page. He appointed Tilakācārya to a high appointment (l. 822). He conquered Gandhār, Sindhu and Madra (l. 828). He ordered the release of Māladeva, the Rājā of Madra, who had been defeated and taken prisoner by Jasrat, the Khokhar (l. 829). He also defeated the Rājā of Rājapurī and the king of Udabhāṇḍapura (Waihand or Und), and Bhauṭṭabhūmi (little Tibet) (lines 830-2). I need not give further particulars.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have علوم but the other has علم.

[3] The name is زين حرم in both MSS.; and دين حرم in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is زين حوب; and Rodgers has Zain Harab. I have adopted Zain Ḥarab on the supposition that it means the war(s) of Zain.

[4] The name of the book is بانک Bānak in one MS. and the lith. ed., and مانک, which may be Mābak or Mānik or Māyak as there is no dot above or below the third letter, in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has something different, *viz.*, و بودی بت که شاهنامهٔ فردوسی تمام یاد داشتی زین نام کتابی در علم موسیقی بنام شاه برداخته بحضور شاه خواندند so that according to him it was not Sahūm but Būdī But (Buddhi Bhaṭṭa ?) who wrote the treatises on music, and it was called Zain and not Mānik. مامک Māmik has been adopted in the text-edition.

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acquainted with Persian, Indian, Tibetan and other languages; and many books in the Arabic and Persian languages were translated by his orders into the *Hindvī* language; and the [1] *Mahābhārat* which is a most famous book, and the book called *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which is the name of a history of the *Bādshāhs* of Kashmīr, were translated into Persian by his order.

The pardoned (late) Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd sent 'Arab horses and Bactrian camels from Khurāsān as presents to the Sulṭān. The latter was highly pleased at this, and in reply sent donkeyloads of saffron, [2] paper, musk, shawls and cups of glass or crystal and other wonderful products of Kashmīr for the acceptance of the *Khāqān* (sovereign) who has since attained to Divine mercy. Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī sent the finest things of their respective kingdoms, and strengthened the relations of affection. The rulers of Mecca, the revered, and of Egypt and Gīlān and other countries also sent fine and beautiful presents, and maintained similar relations. The *Bādshāh* of Sind sent many equipages and other [3] things [4] with one of his servants, with an ode in praise of the Sulṭān. The latter was highly pleased on reading the ode. When Dūngar Sēn, the Rāja of Gwāliar, came to know the Sulṭān's great love for the science of music and singing, he sent two or three valuable treatises

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[1] The MSS. are very imperfect here. One of them leaves out the entire passage from ترجمه کردند to و کتاب مهابارت. The other omits the words مشهور است و کتاب. The lith. ed. is more correct, but it and the second MS. both call the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the Rājatarngī and describe it as a history of the *Bādshāhs* of Hind or India. Firishtah has Rājtaraṅgiṇī and calls it the history of the *Bādshāhs* of Kashmīr.

[2] The word is variously written. In the MSS. it is قناس, and قطاس. In the lith. ed. it looks like قطاس. I cannot find any meaning of any of these words except "paper", which might be sent as a present. Rodgers (p. 105) translates the word as "pepper".

[3] The lith. ed. has اسپان horses after اشیای; but as neither MS. has the word I have omitted it.

[4] The MSS. and the lith. ed. appear to be imperfect here. The MSS. have بمصحوب قصیدهٔ, and the lith. ed. has بمصحوب یکی باو قصیدهٔ; neither of which makes sense. I think the correct reading should be بمصحوب یکی از ملازمان خود با قصیدهٔ; and I have interpolated the necessary words, which have been adopted in the text-edition.

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on these sciences; and his son Rāja [1] Gōp Singh also after him kept the relations of sincerity and attachment intact. The Rāja of Tibet got hold of [2] two wonderful animals of an elegant shape, which are called *Hans* in the language of the people of India, from the place called Mānsarwar, the water of which is subject to no change, and sent them to the Sulṭān. The latter was exceedingly pleased on seeing them. Among their other characteristics one was, that when milk mixed with water was placed before them, they separated the milk from water with their beaks and drank it and pure water was left behind.

The Sulṭān, in the beginning of his reign, made Muḥammad, his brother, his successor, and left all affairs in his charge. After his death he confided in his son Ḥaider in his place, and left all affairs in his charge. He also distinguished his two foster brothers, named Mas'ūd and [3] Shēr, by great proximity to his person; but in the end they fell out, and Shēr killed Mas'ūd, who was his younger brother, and in retaliation the Sulṭān had him executed.

The Sulṭān had [4] three sons, one, Ādam Khān, who was the eldest, but who always appeared wretched in the eyes of the Sulṭān, and Ḥājī Khān, and Bahrām Khān; he was the youngest of all, but had an extensive *jāgīr*. And he conferred the title of [5] Daryā Khān on a

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[1] The name is differently written. One MS. has کوب نند while the other has کوت سیۂ, and the lith. ed. has کوب سیۂ. The name can, I think, be only Gōp Singh or Kōb Sing. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted کوت سن.

[2] Firishtah says the animals were called *rājhans* by the people of India, and the place, where they were obtained, was the *ḥauḍ* called *Sarwar* and not *mauḍa* called Mānsarwar.

[3] One MS. calls the elder foster brother ما سیر Masēr by mistake, while further down it calls him شیر Shēr.

[4] According to Jonarāja he had four sons by the daughter of the king of Madra, named respectively आदाम खान, हैब्या खान, अस्सुरय खान and बहेराम खान (lines 855 and 856), of whom only the 1st, 2nd and 4th are named in the Persian histories. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Śrīvara (1st taraṅga, line 56) he is said, however, to have had only three sons, whose names are somewhat differently written, *viz.*, आदम खान, हाज्य खान and बहराम खान।

[5] The MSS. have اوریا and با دریا instead of قادریا. The lith. ed. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have ملا دریا Mullā Daryā.

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man of unknown descent called Mullā Daryā, and placed him in charge of all affairs, and occupied himself with pleasure and enjoyment.

[1] When Srī Bhat, who was the *vazīr*, departed from the world, the Sulṭān dedicated, in memory of him, one *krōr* of the gold of Kashmīr, which is equivalent to four hundred *ashrafīs* or gold mohurs, to his sons.

The Sulṭān was an adept in the (occult) sciences of the *Yogīs*; and men had seen [2] his spirit leaving his body which is called [3] *Sīmiyā*.

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[1] Shiva Bhatta, see note 3, page 653. I have translated this passage as it is found in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has, however, a different version, and Col. Briggs another, while Mr. Rodgers has a third and from it draws an inference which does not appear to be quite justified. The passage is not well connected with the context, and it is, therefore, difficult to judge whether Niẓam-ud-dīn's or Firishtah's version is more likely to be correct. In the Ṭabaqāt it occurs just after the mention of the Sulṭān's sons, but there can be no doubt that the man, who died and for the good of whose soul the money was paid, was Srī Bhat or Siva Bhatta, the *vazīr*. In Firishtah also the passage occurs immediately after the mention of the Sulṭān's sons; but here the person for the good of whose soul the gift is made is شیرود کوکه or شیر دو کوکه, *i.e.* the Sulṭān's foster brother Shērūd or Shērdō, though earlier he had been called Shēr. The foster brothers and their mutual quarrel and the execution of one of them had been mentioned by Niẓam-ud-dīn and Firishtah before the mention of the Sulṭān's sons. Then the amount of the gift is یک کرور زر کشمیری که چهار صد اشرفی باشد. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 470, 471) calls the foster brother Sheeroo and the amount, 400 *seers* of solid gold. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 105) follows Firishtah and makes the amount a kror pieces of gold, 400 camel loads. I think Firishtah is right as to the person for the good of whose soul the gift was made, for the *vazīr* had not done anything for which his soul would require such a heavy ransom. As to the amount of the gift it would be useless to enter into any calculations, without knowing even approximately the weight of the value of the *zar*. Rodgers's assumption is that the Sulṭān was extremely rich, and a sum of four hundred gold pieces would not be too high a sum for his gift for the salvation of his foster brother's soul. Four hundred camel loads of gold would of course be another matter.

[2] The words are ضلع بدن in the lith. ed. and صلح بدن in one MS. In the other MS. they are rather indistinct. The other word, which is apparently the name given to it in the language of *Yogīs*, is written as سمیا and سیمیا in the MS. and هما in the lith. ed. The same word occurs again, where it is called علم سیمیا in one MS., سیمیاء in the other and علم سیمیان in the lith. ed. The word is not to be found in Firishtah, where, however, the *Yogī* is said to have said that he knew a science by which he could take the Sulṭān's illness on himself, so that the Sulṭān would recover completely.

[3] See the preceding note.

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They say that on one occasion the Sulṭān became so ill that he was about to die; and people washed their hands (*i.e.*, despaired) of his recovery. At this time a Yogī appeared in Kashmīr; and said "I know the science of [1] the transmigration of life; and excepting that there is no other treatment for the Sulṭān, who has contracted an extremely severe disease. The treatment is that I should separate my soul (or life) from my body, and should put it into the Sulṭān's body." The Sulṭān's attendants, considering this a great boon, took the Yogī with one disciple of his to the bedside of the Sulṭān, and left them there by [2] themselves. The Yogī bringing out his soul out of his body, by a [3] science, which he knew, put it into the Sulṭān's body after the latter's soul or life had become separated (from his body). He had previously instructed his disciple, to take his body, which would become lifeless, to the [4] *Āsan*, which is the name of the dwelling-place of Yogīs, and to [5] guard it. When the disciple came out, carrying the body of the Yogī, the Sulṭān's attendants hastened to the latter's side, and found him healthy in body; and they rejoiced exceedingly.

After some time [6] the sons of the Sulṭān becoming hostile to one another rose in conflict among themselves. Ādam Khān, who was the

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[1] See note 2, page 661.

[2] One MS. has پنهان concealed, instead of تنها alone or here by themselves.

[3] One MS. has به عملی, the other MS. and the lith. ed. have نه عملی. I prefer the first reading.

[4] The word is آسن in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. I wonder, however, whether it is not a mistake for آسرم.

[5] Firishtah has something of an anti-climax, where he says از اسیب سگ و گربه و دیگر جانوران نگاه میداشته باش, *i.e.*, and guard it from injury by dogs, cats and other animals. Firishtah also tries to explain the *Yogī's* power and says that the *Yogīs* by their mental exercises probably acquire such powers; and gives instances of similar cures effected by descendants of His Holiness Khwājah Muḥammad Ḥusain Pārsā; and says that the two cases may probably be placed in the same category but ends with the pious ejaculation of و الله اعلم بالصواب God knows the best!

[6] It appears that they were misled by evil advices. See lines 60–64 of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (canto I). It also appears that the Zain-ul-'ābidīn being afraid of some catastrophe (यथाग्रङ्कु स्वपः पापं) sent Ādam Khān towards little Tibet (मुट्टमार्गेण) (l. 71).

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eldest, left Kashmīr; and with a great army invaded the country of (little) Tibet. He conquered the whole of that country; and brought an immense quantity of booty to the Sulṭān; and became the recipient of favours. [1] Ḥājī Khān, under the Sulṭān's orders, marched to attack Lōharkōt. Owing to the intemperate behaviour of Ḥājī Khān, the Sulṭān always kept Ādam Khān near him. At last, at the instigation of some of the people of Lōharkōt, Ḥājī Khān advanced towards Kashmīr (*i.e.*, the capital). Although the Sulṭān sent written and verbal messages to him that he should not come, they had no effect. Having no other alternative the Sulṭān left the city with the intention of engaging him in battle and encamped in the plain of [2] Pallaśilā. Although Ḥājī Khān repented of his conduct, yet

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[1] Lines 82, 83 say that when Ādam Khān returned after conquering the Bhuttas, Ḥājī Khān marched to the Lōhāra mountain (Lohkote according to Col. Briggs, vol. IV, p. 471), by the Sulṭān's order, and as the latter knew that two knives could not be placed in one sheath, he ordered their coming and going. Śrīvara then describes the way in which Ḥājī Khān's adherents incited him to return to Kashmīr (lines 85–108); and in line 110 he says that the king quickly left the city with his army on hearing of his son's approach.

[2] The name of the place is written in the MS. as يلهل Yelhal, and سهل which may be anything; and تليل Tilīl in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has بليل Balīl. In the text-edition it is پلپسل. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 471) has Buleel and Rodgers has Pulpul. Śrīvara Paṇḍit calls the place where the two armies met and whence the Sulṭān sent a Brahmin as ambassador to Ḥājī Khān, पल्लशिलास्थान (l. 117), but where that was I cannot find out, except that if it was on the route between Srīnagar and Lōhārkōt, it was somewhere to the east of the former place, and probably near the Pīr Panjāl range. The ambassador's message and speech are also given at some length (lines 119–128) and ending with the threat, "Your commanders would be slain like sparrows!" Ḥājī Khān's adherents were of course angry but he said that he would go and fall at his father's feet, and whether he was pleased or angry he could do to him whatever he liked (line 132 *et seq*). His adherents, however, adjured him to go on with what he had begun. They said, "Let us fight, if we are victorious, you get the kingdom. If we die, you die; wait only till we fight; if we are slain, do as you think proper." Hearing these words Ḥājī Khān was sunk in a sea of thought (l. 142). The Sulṭān on hearing what the ambassador had to say, ordered his army to begin the battle. After the battle had gone on for the whole day, Ḥājī Khān turned back (l. 164).

It appears, however, from the end of the first *taraṅga* of Śrīvara's poem, that he calls it the मल्लशिलायुद्धवर्णनम्। So the name of the battle-field was

at the instigation of adventure-seeking men, he arrayed his army and marched to the field; and the battle went on from morning till evening. In the end, the army of Ḥājī Khān was defeated. Many deeds of bravery were performed by Ādam Khān in the battle. Ḥājī Khān fled towards [1] Hīrpūr and Ādam Khān hastened in pursuit and tried to seize him; but the Sulṭān did not allow him to do so. Ḥājī Khān came from Hīrpūr to [2] Bhimbar; and occupied himself with the treatment of the wounded. After the victory, the Sulṭān returned to Kashmīr and ordered [3] the erection of a high minaret of the heads of his enemies and had the men belonging to Ḥājī Khān's army, who had been taken prisoners, put to death. He also inflicted great tortures on their families and descendants. On account of this most people separated from Ḥājī Khān, and came to Ādam Khān.

Mallaśilā, but whether Pallaśilā and Mallaśilā are two places or whether Pallaśilā is a mistake for Mallaśilā or *vice versa*, I cannot make out.

[1] The name is written as ناشير پور and جود بيرة in the MSS. and نيشر پور in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has هيرة پور and this has been adopted in the text-edition, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 472) has Heerpoor. Both Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India say Hājī Khān fled to Bhimbar, but according to the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, he came to Bhimbar from the place mentioned in this passage. In Śrīvara, I, line 166, mention is made (apparently) of Ādam Khān's ferocity in the neighbourhood of Śūrapura. It appears that Hirpur (Hīrpūr) or Hurapor is the modern name of Śūrapura which is often described as the entrance station to Kashmir. I think, therefore, I will not be far wrong in calling the place Hīrpūr.

[2] The name is ببز in one MS. and بنير in the other and نير in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. نبر is adopted by M. Hidayat Ḥosain in the text-edition. It looks like بنير Banīr or Nābīr in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 472) has Nere. Rodgers has Bhimbar and so has the Cambridge History of India. Śrīvara in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (1st *taraṅga*, l. 169) says **म्लेच्छखानः सानुतापश्चित्रदेशे क्षितिं व्यधात्।** I cannot find out where Citradeśa was.

[3] As regards this, see Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 1st *taraṅga*, lines 171–174. It appears that **कारुणिक** or merciful Sulṭān was **दुःखित**, and he was thoroughly dissatisfied with himself and his servants; it is not therefore likely that he should make a minaret of the heads of the slain, who are described as the **सङ्ग्रामसम्भवबीरेन्द्र**; though I cannot make out what the **सुखागार** was, that he made of the rows of the heads of the warriors who were killed in the battle. Was it a rest chamber, a sort of Valhalla? But even in that case the rows of heads would be a grisly decoration.

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[1] After that Ādam Khān ruled (the country) with full authority for six years. Later on there was a [2] terrible famine in the country of Kashmīr, so that a large number of men died of hunger. Owing to this the Sulṭān became very sorrowful, and distributed most of the grain in the royal treasuries (granaries) among the people; and reduced the land revenue in some places to one quarter, and in others to one-seventh (of the fixed amount). And [3] Ādam Khān having acquired

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[1] Firishtah says Ādam Khān was at this time declared to be the Sulṭān's successor, and he ruled for six years. Col. Briggs and Rodgers also say that he was made the heir to the throne. The Cambridge History of India does not say distinctly that he was declared to be the heir to the throne, but it says that he participated for six years largely in the administration of the kingdom. Śrīvara (I, l. 182) says **यौवराज्ये सुखं तद्वद्बुभुजे षण्मासः समाः.**

[2] The famine is described at some length by Śrīvara, I, lines 184–213; in fact the whole of the 2nd canto of the 1st *taraṅga* which is called **षड्विंशवर्षे दुर्भिक्षवर्णनम्** is a description of the famine which occurred in the 26th year of the reign. He mentions the fact that the Sulṭān fed the people with his own paddy, *i.e.*, with the paddy in the royal granaries, but he does not appear to mention the reduction of the various demands.

There were, according to Śrīvara, heavy rains and great floods after the famine, though this is not mentioned by the Musalmān historians. The heavy clouds frightened the people as enemies are frightened by showers of arrow (I, l. 217), and the *Vitastā* (the Jhelum), the *Ledarī* (the Lidar river), the *Sindhu* a tributary of the *Vitastā*, which flows into the latter at Prayāg or the *Vitastā-Sindhu-Saṅgama*, a place of considerable sanctity and the Kṣiptikā (the canal in Srīnagar, now the Kutakul) and other rivers submerged the villages on their banks as if in a terrible rivalry of one another (I, *l.* 221). According to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Dennison Ross, p. 223) flows from the Zoji pass down towards the Jhelum and was called the Lar. Stein does not give any modern name for it, but says the two Sinds are distinguished by the Indus being called the Buḍ Sind. He also says that the valley of the other Sind forms the district of Lar. The merciful Sulṭān went round in a boat inspecting the damage caused by the rains and he greatly sympathised with the people in their privations (I, lines 239, 240). After that everyone was happy with a full harvest (I, l. 243).

[3] How he acquired the power is not quite clear. Firishtah does not give any information, but he only says he acquired the power to plunder and ravage دست بتاراج یافته. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 472) says "At this time he deputed Adhum Khan with a force to march and attack the fort of Gujraj", which is not at all correct. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 106) begins with, "In his government of Kamrāj" Ādam Khān was very oppressive, but he does not say

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power in the country of Kamrāj, committed [1] various acts of oppression. And [2] many people came to the Sulṭān, and complained against him. He refused to receive all *farmāns* which were sent by the Sulṭān; and finally collecting a large army marched to attack the Sulṭān; and [3] halted at Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr. The Sulṭān acting on the purport of the couplet;

Couplet:

Attack not an army, larger than on your own,
For [4] on a lancet thou canst not strike thy fist.

satisfied him by [5] various devices and sent him back to the country of Kamrāj; and [6] sent for Ḥājī Khān with great quickness.

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that the Sulṭān appointed Ādam Khān to that government. The Cambridge History of India, page 283, says "After the famine Ādam Khān was entrusted with the government of the Kamrāj district". But it appears from I, line 273 of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, that his mind having become vitiated on account of his jealousy of his younger brother, he suddenly attacked the country; and from I, line 278, that one day being excited by the intoxication of being the Yuvarāja (heir to the kingdom) he went to the Kramarājya.

[1] One MS. omits by mistake the words from بسیار مردم و to نمودند.

[2] His and his followers' atrocious acts are described by Śrīvara in I, lines 280–290; and it is said in line 291 that when the king's messenger told his followers not to commit such oppression, they replied, "Let the king, if he is vexed, go on crying."

[3] Śrīvara says in I, line 293, that having collected and equipped his forces at Kuddadenapura (Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr) he came to attack the Sulṭān's forces at Jainanagara. Firishtah also mentions Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr. I cannot however find anything about its situation. About Jainanagara or rather *J(Z)ainanagarī*, it appears from Jonarāja, line 871, that Zain-ul-'ābidin carried the canal called Jainagaṅgā on which his new town Jainanagarī was built (see the notes on pp. 111 and 112 of Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. I) as far as Raṇasvāmin. This *J(Z)ainanagarī* was not far from the capital.

[4] The reading in the MSS. which I have accepted is زدن مشت بر نیشتر. The lith. ed. has زد انگشت بر نیشتر.

[5] I cannot find out what these devices were. Śrīvara (I, l. 297) also has मन्त्रयुक्तिभिः, *i.e.*, by politic measures.

[6] Śrīvara mentions the sending of the letter to Hājī Khān in I, lines 299-300. The letter contained a rather piteous appeal. यच मत्प्राणसन्देहे गतिर्नान्या त्वया विना ।

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Ādam Khān on arriving in Kamrāj advanced from there without any delay, and attacked [1] Suyyapūr. The governor of the place, who had held that position from before the time of the Sulṭān, came out and engaged him, and was slain; and the whole of [2] the city was destroyed. The Sulṭān hearing this news, sent a great army to attack Ādam Khān; and there was [3] a great battle. Many were killed in both the armies, and Ādam Khān was defeated. When the bridge which had been erected at Suyyapūr across the river Bihat (Vitastā or Jhelum) broke down, [4] about three hundred of the chief men on Ādam Khān's side were drowned, as they were crossing the river in their flight.

Ādam Khān crossed the river and saw a place (for resting) on that bank. The Sulṭān came out of the capital, and coming towards Suyyapūr, comforted the *ra'īyats*. At this time Ḥājī Khān, in compliance with the *farmān* which had been sent to him, arrived by way of [5] Punch to the vicinity of [6] Bāramūlā. The Sulṭān sent his

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[1] Suyyapura, the modern Sōpur, the chief place in *pargana* Zainagīr, which lies a short distance from the point where the *Vitastā* leaves the Wular Lake سر سویہ پور is adopted by M. Hidayat Hosain in the text.

[2] Both MSS. have تمام شہر بغادت رفت but the lith. ed. has تمام شہر و ولایت بغادت رفت. I have omitted the words و ولایت.

[3] Śrīvara does not, as far as I can make out, mention the attack of Suyyapura by Ādam Khān, and the latter's battle with the governor of the place; but he mentions the battle between the Sulṭān's and Ādam Khān's armies (I, lines 304–306).

[4] This is also mentioned by Śrīvara (I, l. 308).

[5] The name of the place is سچ and مچ without any dots in the MSS. They cannot, therefore, be pronounced or translated with any certainty. In the lith. ed. it is بنجہ Banjah and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is پنجہ Panjah or Punjah, and this has been followed in the text-edition. Neither Col. Briggs nor Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India mentions the place, and I cannot find any place like Banja or Punja near Bāramūlā. In I, line 322, Śrīvara says that Ḥājī Khān arrived at this time at Parṇotsa, which (corresponding to the modern Punch, or Pruṇts, the Kashmiri form) seems to have been included in Lohara and have been situated in the lower valley of the Tēhī (Tauṣī, *vide* Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 433). Punch is sufficiently like Punjah which is the name of the place in Firishtah. I have accepted Punch.

[6] This agrees exactly with Śrīvara (I, l. 323), Bāramūlā being called Varāhamūla. The name is derived from the ancient Tīrtha of Viṣṇu Ādi Varāha

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youngest son Bahrām to welcome him. [1] A great affection grew up between the two brothers. Ādam Khān fled from the place where he was, and went to the Nīlāb (the Indus) by way of [2] Shāhbang. The Sulṭān taking Ḥājī Khān with him returned to the capital, and made the latter his heir and successor. The latter girded up his loins in devotion to his father, and left no *minutiæ* in his service unobserved. He recommended his own servants, who had been his companions and friends [3] during his travels in India, for all the high appointments in the government; and obtained these for them from the Sulṭān; and allotted to them fine *jāgīrs*. The Sulṭān gave him a jewelled gold belt from the Sulṭān; and was [4] always pleased with him.

(the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu) who was worshipped there evidently since early times (see Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 482).

[1] Compare Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, line 324.

[2] The name looks like شاہ صنک Shāh Mank and شاہ بیک Shāh Bīk in the MSS. and شاہ نیک Shāh Nīk in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has شاہزہ Shāhzah and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 473) has Shahabad. In the text-edition it is شاہ صنگ. Rodgers says the Sulṭān with the aid of Ḥājī Khān drove Ādam Khān out of the valley, without mentioning the name of any place and the Cambridge History of India, page 283, says Ādam Khān "fled to the Indus". It appears from Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, line 326, that he **शाहिभङ्गपथा सिन्धुं समुत्तीर्य बलान्वितः। प्राप सिन्धुपतेर्देशम्,** *i.e.*, crossing the Sindhu by way of Śāhībhaṅga arrived with his army in the country of the Lord of the Sindhu. It should be noted that the first Sindhu is not the Indus, but a tributary of the *Vitastā* and the second Sindhu is the Indus or the *Nīla*. The Śāhībhaṅga of Śrīvara appears to be identical with the large village of Shādīpūr which is opposite to the junction of the *Vitastā* and the *Sindhu*. Shādīpūr appears to be an abbreviation of Shihāb-ud-dīnpūr, but when and why it got the name of Shāhband or Śāhībhaṅga is not clear.

[3] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. has که از سفر هند, باو رفاقت کرده بودند, while the other has که از سفر هند باد رفاقت کرده بودند, while the lith. ed. has که در سفر و حضر باو رفاقت کرده بودند. The readings in the MS. are manifestly incorrect, but if the mistakes are corrected, they would mean, who were his companions and friends in his travels in India. The reading in the lith. ed. is more correct, but I cannot find any meaning of حضر.

[4] Śrīvara describes at some length (I, lines 336–387) the various pleasant journeys of the Sulṭān and his son through the flower-adorned country, with musical and other entertainments and calls the canto, which is the fourth in his first *taraṅga*, the **पुष्पलीलावर्णन**, *i.e.*, the description of the flower

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[1] At last Ḥājī Khān contracted dysentery owing to constant drinking, and there was great confusion in the government. The

carnival. Then he adds another (the fifth) canto (I, lines 387–494), which he calls the **क्रमसरोयात्रावर्णन**, in the course of which he describes the Sulṭān's visit to the Kramasaras, now called the Kaonsar Nag a mountain lake two miles long situated at the foot of the highest of the three snowy peaks (15523 feet) and which is connected with the Indian deluge story, and the peak to which *Viṣṇu* in his fish *avatāra* had bound the ship (*nau*) into which *Durgā* had converted herself to save the seeds of the beans from destruction (see Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 393). Then he has another canto (the sixth), which he calls the **चिचोपचयश्रिल्पवर्णन**, which runs from line 495 to line 527. In this he first describes the excavation of the new lake called the Jainasaras near Padmapura, now called Pāmpūr, the chief place of the Vihi *pargana*, and the erection of a palace on its bank; and then describes the different presents sent to the Sulṭān by various princes; and finally the advent of artists and artisans who introduced various beautiful kinds of silk weaving. He next mentions the arrival of a **रज्जुभ्रमणश्रिल्पज्ञ यवन**, a Yavana rope-dancer (l. 528). After all this prosperity and advance came a period of adversity, line 534 *et seq*. There was hail, a comet made its appearance and continued to shine for two months, then the dogs were always whining, and there were eclipses of the sun and the moon both in the course of a fortnight. Then came the news (l. 576) of the death of his nephew, Śrī Kyāmdena, lord of Sindhu, who was like a son to him, and who was killed in battle by Ebbarāhima. Śrī Kyamdena may be Ekrām-ud-dīn and Ebbarāhima was certainly Ibrāhīm; but I have not been able to find out who they were. According to Śrīvara (I, l. 581) Zain-ul-'ābidīn was at this time remembering his departed friends, servants, and companions whom he loved like his own life, he knew himself like an elephant who had gone astray from the herd (**स्वतीनान् बान्धवान् भृत्यान् सखीन् प्राणसमान् स्मरन्। स्वात्मानमविदद्राजा यूथभ्रष्टमिव द्विपम्**).

[1] Firishtah's account is somewhat different. He says the Sulṭān was displeased with Ḥājī Khān on account of the latter's excessive drinking, and his not listening to the Sulṭān's admonitions; and the Sulṭān himself began to suffer from dysentery; and as the Sulṭān was displeased with Ḥājī Khān, the work of government remained unattended to. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 43), however, agrees with the Ṭabaqāt, and says that Ḥājī Khān and not the Sulṭān "was seized with a bloody flux" *i.e.*, had an attack of dysentery. Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India, however, follow Firishtah. The former says, "The king was seized with dysentery, and the latter more vaguely, "the king fell sick". A reference to Śrīvara (I, l. 582) shows distinctly that the Ṭabaqāt and not Firishtah is correct. It is said there that **राज्यखानस्य रक्तजं। अस्वास्थ्यमुदभून्नित्यं मद्यपानातिसेवनात्**. The Sulṭān's admonitions are given in lines 585–599. In line 600 it is said that Ḥājī Khān promised not to drink again

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[1] *amīrs* secretly sent for Ādam Khān. He came according to their suggestion; and saw the Sulṭān. The latter was [2] displeased at his coming, and was annoyed with the *amīrs*. In the end the brothers mutually agreed, and Ādam Khān was honoured. After some time, the weakness of old age overwhelmed the Sulṭān, and [3] besides that he became ill. The [4] *amīrs* and the *vazīrs* all in concert submitted to him that if the duties of the government be entrusted to one of the Sulṭānzādas, this would be the cause of peace and good government in the country. The [5] Sulṭān did not show any favour to this suggestion, and did not select any of his sons for the duties of the *salṭanat*. Mischief-makers then intervened, and held various meetings. Bahrām Khān acting treacherously and speaking in a [6] mischief-making way made the two grown-up brothers hostile to each other. [7] Ādam Khān, becoming suspicious, went and took up his residence in Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr. When the Sulṭān became extremely feeble, the *amīrs* [8] taking precautions against all disturbances did not allow his sons to come and enquire about his health; and sometimes they seated the Sulṭān with some trouble at an elevated spot; and had drums

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except by his father's orders; but going back to his own house he continued to drink (see l. 603).

[1] See Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, line 604 मन्त्रिणः । आदमखानमानिन्युर्गूढलेखै-र्दिगन्तरात् ।

[2] There is a slight difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have از امدن او بد برد ; while the other MS. has از امدن او بد امد Firishtah in the corresponding passage says سلطان املا التفات باو نمی کرد. Śrīvara in I, line 606, says प्रवेशेऽस्य ततोपेक्षो नृपोऽभवत् ।

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have و بیماری علاوه ان گردید. This appears to me somewhat imperfect.

[4] This is somewhat differently stated by Śrīvara in I, lines 626-27: तत्समक्षं बभ्रा ये,पि तत्समङ्गाद्बभाषिरे । राजन्नुत्साद्यते देशो राज्यलुब्धैः सुतैस्तव । एकस्यैव निजं राज्यं किं नार्पयसि यो हितः ।

[5] Śrīvara in I, lines 630–33, says that the Sulṭān pointed out the bad qualities of his sons, and declared that he would not bestow the kingdom on any of them; but गते मयि बलं यस्य स प्राप्नोत्विति मे मतम्, *i.e.*, after my death let him who has the strength get it.

[6] One MS. has نفاق امیز but the other and the lith. ed. have نفاق.

[7] This is mentioned by Śrīvara in I, lines 685–689.

[8] One MS. omits فتنه by mistake.

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beaten to inform the people that the Sulṭān had recovered. By this plan they managed to keep the country on its feet (*i.e.*, safe from disturbances). At last when the Sulṭān's illness became very serious, and he remained unconscious for a whole day and night, one night [1] Ādam Khān came alone from Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr to see him, and left his army outside the city, so that it may keep watch on Ḥājī Khān and other enemies. On that night Ḥasan Kachhī, who was one of the great *amīrs*, had taken the promise of allegiance to Ḥājī Khān from the *amīrs* in the audience hall of the Sulṭān. On the following day the *amīrs* got Ādam Khān out of Kashmīr by some plan; and summoned Ḥājī Khān with great promptitude. [2] Ḥājī Khān came in compliance of the summons of the *amīrs*, and took possession of all the horses in the Sulṭān's stables, and a large army collected round him; but on account of apprehensions of disturbances and the treachery of his enemy, [3] he did not go inside the palace.

When Ādam Khān heard this news he became frightened; and retired to Hindūstān by way of [4] Nāwīl. Many of his retainers

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[1] Firishtah's account is slightly different. According to him Ādam Khān left his soldiers in the environs of the city and he himself passed the night in the audience chamber of the Sulṭān. Ḥasan Khān Kachhī also took the promise of allegiance to Ḥājī Khān from the *amīrs* that same night in the audience chamber. The account of the behaviour of the three princes and of their movements, which agrees generally with that in the text, is given by Śrīvara, I, line 717 *et seq.* Ḥasan Kachī is described in line 724 as हसनकोषेशः or Ḥasan, the treasurer. He is also described as स्वार्थान्धो मोहयन् परान्, *i.e.*, deceiving others blinded by his selfishness. Ādam Khān is said to have gone to Quṭb-ud-dīnpūr (I, l. 725).

[2] This is also mentioned by Śrīvara, I, line 728. I do not understand why so much importance was attached to the possession of the horses.

[3] Śrīvara, I, line 731, says he was unable to go to see his father for fear of treachery although he was anxious to do so (सोत्कोऽपि द्रोहशङ्कया). Zain-ul-'ābidīn died later द्वादश्यां ज्यैष्ठमासस्य मध्याह्ने, *i.e.*, at midday on the 12th lunar day in the month of *Jyaiṣṭha* (I, l. 744).

[4] I cannot find anything about this place. It is written like ناونل in one MS. and ماويل in the other and ناويل in the lith. ed. Firishtah has Bārāmūlā the well-known pass. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted ماويل in the text-edition.

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separated from him. [1] Zain Badr, who was one of the trusted chiefs of Ḥājī Khān, hastened in pursuit of him. Ādam Khān fought bravely, and having slain many of his near relations escaped. Ḥasan Khān, son of Ḥājī Khān, who was at [2] Punch, came to his father; and the affairs of Ḥājī Khān were splendidly arranged.

The Sulṭān (*i.e.*, Zain-ul-'ābidīn) passed away from the world. [3] The period of his rule was 52 years.

An account of [4] Sulṭān Ḥaidar Shāh, son of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, who had the name of Ḥājī Khān.

Three days after his father's (death) Ḥājī Khān took the latter's place and assumed the title of Sulṭān Ḥaidar; and having ascended the throne in the manner of his father at [5] Sikandarpūr, which is

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[1] I cannot find anything about him also. The name is written as ابن بدر in the MS. and اين بدر in the lith. ed. Firishtah has زين لارک Zain Lārak. He is not mentioned by Col. Briggs or Rodgers or in the Cambridge History of India. In the text-edition زين بدر has been adopted.

[2] See page 667, note 5. It will be seen there that the name of the place was Parṇotsa. It will be seen also from Śrīvara, I, line 607, that one of Ḥājī Khān's sons hearing of the arrival of his uncle (*i.e.*, Ādam Khān), wishing to fight with him left the capital, and went to Parṇotsa.

[3] Niẓām-ud-dīn does not mention the date and year of Zain-ul-'ābidīn's death. According to Firishtah he died at the end of 877 A.H., in his 69th year. Col. Briggs has 877 A.H., 1742 A.D. The last-mentioned year is of course wrong, the figures having been transposed and 1472 being made into 1742. The Cambridge History of India, page 284, says Zain-ul-'ābidīn died in November or December 1470. In this it follows Haig (*J.R.A.S.*, 1918, p. 456). Śrīvara, I, line 744, says that the Sulṭān in द्वादश्यां ज्यैष्ठमासस्य मध्याह्ने जीवितं जहौ। The month of *Jyaiṣṭha* corresponds with June, July and not with November or December. It appears also from Śrīvara, II, line 4, that Ḥājī Khān assumed the sovereignty on the 1st day of the 2nd lunar fortnight of *Jyaiṣṭha*, (ज्यैष्ठप्रतिपदिने)। It appears also, that, according to Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 107) the coins of Haidar bear the year 874 A.H., so we are as much in the dark as ever.

[4] Śrīvara in line 4 of the 2nd *taraṅga* of his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* says अथ हैदरशाहाख्यां ख्यापयन्मुद्रिकार्पणैः। द्वाभ्यब्दोऽप्रदीद्राज्यं स ज्यैष्ठप्रतिपदिने।

[5] Neither Sikandarpūr nor Naushar appears to be mentioned in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*; but "Nau Shahr" is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, page 483, as being on the route by which Haidar Dughlat entered Kashmīr.

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famous as [1] Naushahr he gave away to deserving men the gold which was scattered over him. His brother [2] Bahrām Khān and his son Ḥasan Khān placed the crown of the empire on his head; and continued to serve him.

Couplet:

When death casts away the crown from one head,
The sky (providence) places it on another's head.

He allotted the country of [3] Kamrāj as the *jāgīr* of Ḥasan Khān; and made him the *Amīr-ul-umarā* and his heir and successor. He allotted [4] Nagam as the *jāgīr* of Bahram Khān. He permitted the Rājas of the different districts, who had come to offer condolence on the death of the late Sulṭān, and congratulations to the new Sulṭān on his accession, to return to their territories after bestowing on them horses and robes of honour. He also bestowed on most of the *amīrs* jewelled swords and robes.

He had innate generosity, but was always drunk, and as he had a vindictive temperament, most of the *amīrs*, being aggrieved with him, went away to their *jāgīrs*. As he was careless about the state of the kingdom, the *vazīrs* perpetrated various acts of oppression on the *ra'īyats*. He distinguished a barber of the name of [5] Bōlī by proximating him to his person; and acted according to what he said to him. The barber took bribes from men, and turned the Sulṭān's disposition

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[1] نوشهر in the text-edition.

[2] See line 7 of the 2nd *taraṅga* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Śrīvara where it is said that his younger brother and his son standing before the Sulṭān were like *Śukra* and *Bṛhaspati* shining in front of the moon.

[3] The allotment of Kamrāj as the *jāgīr* of Ḥasan Khān does not appear to be mentioned by Śrīvara; but he says (l. 10 of the 2nd *taraṅga*) बह्राम-खानं नाग्रामदेशे त खानिनं व्यधात् ।

[4] Nāgām or Nāgrāma was a district of considerable extent in southern part of *Maḍavarājya*.

[5] The name is بولی in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. It is rather difficult to decipher it in the other MS.; and it is تولی in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. He is mentioned repeatedly by Śrīvara in the 2nd *taraṅga*, see lines 35, 47, etc.), but I cannot find his name. He is called Lūlū by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 107) and Lūlī in the Cambridge History of India, p. 284. لولی in the text-edition.

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against anyone with whom he happened to be on bad terms. [1] Ḥasan Kachhī, who before all others had endeavoured to secure the allegiance of the *amīrs* to the Sulṭān, was put to death on the accusation of the barber Bōlī.

Before this [2] Ādam Khān had collected a large army, and had arrived in the country of Jammū in order to fight the Sulṭān. When the news of the murder of the *amīrs* reached him, he turned back and went to Jammū. He then went to fight some Mughals, who had come to that neighbourhood to aid and reinforce the troops of Mānik Dēv Rāja of Jammū, was struck by an arrow in the mouth and died of that wound. [3] The Sulṭān was sorrowful on hearing of his death, and ordered that his dead body might be brought from the battle-field, and buried near that of his father.

At that time owing to his (excessive and) continual drinking several serious diseases attacked the Sulṭān. [4] The *amīrs* conspired secretly with Bahrām Khān, and wanted to place him on the throne. When this news reached [5] Ḥasan Khān, who had conquered many

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[1] The name is برکچی Bar Kachī in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and is rather indistinct in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has Ḥasan Khān Kachhī. He was called Ḥasan Kachhī before this in the Ṭabaqāt. And Ḥasan *Koṣeśa* or Ḥasan the treasurer by Śrīvara. As to his murder see line 79 of the 2nd *taraṅga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[2] See line 107 of the 2nd *taraṅga* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Śrīvara where the Rājā of Jammu or *Madramaṇḍala* is called Māṇikya Deva and the Mughals are called the *Turuṣkas*. Firishtah agrees, but he calls the Rāja ملک دیو Rāja Mulk or Malik Dēv. Neither Col. Briggs nor Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives his name.

[3] See line 110 of the 2nd *taraṅga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where however the dead body is said to have been buried near that of his mother (**तदेशाच्छव-मानीय जननीसन्निधौ न्यधात्**) ।

[4] I cannot find the mention of any actual conspiracy of the *amīrs* or ministers to place Bahrām Khān on the throne in Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It is only said in line 160 of the 2nd *taraṅga* **तावद्बभ्राम बह्राम-खानो दामनिरर्गलः । त्रासक्रान्तमन्त्रिसामन्तो ज्ञात्वा व्यसनिनं नृपं ॥**

[5] Firishtah, who is followed by Col. Briggs and Rodgers, says that it was Fatḥ Khān, son of Ādam Khān who was making these conquests, but the Cambridge History of India, page 284, agrees with the Ṭabaqāt in saying that it was Hasan Khān the Sultān's son who was raiding the Punjab. According to Śrīvara, line 144 of the 2nd *taraṅga*, he (*i.e.*, Ḥaidar Shāh) sent his son

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fortresses in India, and had acquired much booty ; he with his victorious army returned to Kashmīr by forced marches. As his return was without (the Sulṭān's) permission, interested and malicious persons having said words, (as if) from his side, turned the disposition of Sulṭān Ḥaidar (from him). [1] The latter being annoyed with him did not allow him to make his *qūrnish*; and none of his services was accepted.

[2] One day the Sulṭān climbed to the polished terrace roof of a palace and occupied himself in drinking. In his drunken condition his foot slipped, and he fell down and died.

[3] The period of his sovereignty was one year and two months.

[4] AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN ḤASAN, SON OF ḤĀJĪ KHĀN ḤAIDAR SHĀH.

He ascended the throne sixteen days after the death of his father,

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with an army outside the kingdom for a (conquering expedition). Then in line 159 it is said करदीकृतभूपालः स षण्मासकृतस्थितिः। अभवच्चैत्रमासान्ते काश्मीरागमनोत्सुकः॥ *i.e.*, having made many kings his tributaries, and having stayed for six months, he became anxious to return to Kashmīr at the end of the month of *Caitra*, and then in line 162 he goes on to say that the wicked ministers shrivelled up on Ḥasan Khān's arrival, as lotuses are shrivelled up on the rising of the full-moon.

[1] The Sulṭān's behaviour towards his son as described by Śrīvara Paṇḍit cannot be clearly understood. He was apparently afraid of Bahrām Khān, and so, as is said in line 166, he gave his son, who had returned from his conquering expedition merely a sight of himself याचागताय पुत्राय ददौ दर्शनमात्रकं and in the next line it is said that he was certainly afraid of Bahrām Khān, otherwise how was it that he did not honour his son with giving him robes of honour नूनं स्वानुजभीतोऽभूत्तत्काले सोऽन्यथा कथं। परिधानादिसत्कारं नूनमेवाकरोत्सुते॥ At the same time he was secretly very angry with Bahrām Khān like the *Śamī* tree with the fire concealed in it, fearing that the latter might injure the son. (बह्नामो बाधते नूनं मत्पुत्रमिति शङ्कितः। स तस्मिंश्छन्नकोपाग्निः शमीतरुरिवाभवत्॥)

[2] The scene and the nature of the accident and subsequent treatment are described by Śrīvara in lines 169–73 of the 2nd *taraṅga*.

[3] Neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah gives any indication of the date of Ḥaidar Shāh's death, nor does Śrīvara; but seeing that the death of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn occurred in the month of *Jyaiṣṭha*, and Ḥaidar Shāh reigned for one year and two months, his death very probably took place in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* in the year 878 A.H. or 1473 A.D.

[4] The heading is incorrect in both MSS. One gives the name as Sulṭān Ḥusain, the other omits the name altogether. I have adopted the heading in the lith. ed.

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by the exertion of [1] Aḥmad Aswad. On the 10th day (after his accession) he imprisoned some people about whom he had suspicion. He [2] went away from Sikandarpūr to Naushahr, and took up his residence there. He gave away the treasures of his grandfather and uncle to (deserving) people; conferred the title of Malik Aḥmad on Aḥmad Aswad; and [3] entrusted the administration of the affairs to him; and made his son named Naurūz Aswad his chamberlain.

Bahrām Khān came out of Kashmīr with his son; and went away towards Hindūstān. All his soldiers separated from him; and all his affairs will be narrated later. [4] The Sulṭān again revived all the rules and regulations of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn which had been abolished in the time of Sulṭān Ḥaidar; and directed that all affairs should be carried out in conformity with them. At this time, some people, who wanted to create disturbances, went to Bahrām Khān; and incited him to declare war against the Sulṭān. The *amīrs* also wrote letters to him and summoned him. Bahrām Khān returning from

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[1] The name is written as احمد ابو and احمد ابلوسو in the MSS., and محمد اسو in the lith. ed. It is احمد اسود in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and Ahmud Ahoo in Col. Briggs' History (vol. IV, p. 477). Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 107) and the Cambridge History of India, page 286, call him Ahmad Aswad; and Rodgers has (the black) in brackets after Aswad. احمد آسو has been adopted in the text-edition. Śrīvara in the 2nd *taraṅga* of his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* calls him अहम्मदायुक्तः in line 178, and आयुक्ताहम्मदमल्लेकः in line 197. I cannot make out how *Āyukta* could be transformed into Aswad or *vice versa*. Aswad besides 'black' means 'powerful', 'illustrious'. Śrīvara describes the contention between Ḥasan Khān and Bahrām Khān about the succession; and then after it had been decided in favour of the former, describes the burial of Ḥaidar Shāh (lines 211 *et seq.* in the 2nd *taraṅga*). This chapter he calls हाज्यहैदरशाहराज्यदत्तान्तवर्णनम् ।

[2] Śrīvara in line 7 of the 3rd *taraṅga* says—the Sulṭān left शेकन्धरपुरी, and went to his पितामहविनिर्म्मित जैननगर. Then he describes the coronation ceremonies, which were highly Hindu in their character, and in which आहूयदायुक्तो विधाय तिलकं स्वयं । सौवर्णकुम्भैः पूजामकरोन्नवभूपतेः (l. 9); then there was होमधूम in the अभिषेकक्रिया (line 12).

[3] This is mentioned by Śrīvara in line 23; and the appointment of Aḥmad Aswad's son नौरुजा in the दारपालादिकार्य्ये in line 25.

[4] See Śrīvara, line 33 in the 3rd *taraṅga*, where he says पितामहसमाचारं प्रावर्त्तयत मण्डले ।

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the district of [1] Karmā, arrived, after traversing the hills in the district of Karmā. The Sulṭān had at this time gone to [2] Walīpūr on a pleasure trip. On hearing the news, he went to Suyyāpūr in order to fight with him. [3] Some people tried to persuade the Sulṭān to go away in the direction of India; but Malik Aḥmad Aswad inciting him to fight, did not allow that he should retire towards India. The Sulṭān approved of the Malik's opinion and sent [4] Malik Tāj Bhat with a large army against Bahrām Khān. The latter had hoped that

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[1] The name is کرما Karmā in one MS. and looks like کرها Karhā in the other. It is کرؤ, which cannot be clearly deciphered, in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has کرمار Karmar. The text-edition has کمراج Kamrāj. Śrīvara in line 41 says कर्णाभ्यन्तरतः शैलानुल्लङ्घ्य कटकोत्कटः। क्रमराज्यपुरं प्राप्तः क्रमराज्य-जिहीर्षया॥ which means that wishing to seize Kramarājya he arrived at Kramarājyapura from *Karṇābhyantara* after crossing the hills. This is clear and agrees with the Ṭabaqāt except that we cannot find what *Karṇābhyantara* means. Ordinarily it would mean from the interior of *Karṇa*, but I cannot find any locality of the name of *Karṇa*. Now taking the European authorities I find Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 477) says Beiram Khan came by the route of Kurmar; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 108) says he came "by way of the mountains to Kamrāj"; while the Cambridge History of India, page 285, says he "took refuge in the hills of Kama to the west of Kamrāj", and he apparently came from there. I cannot find anything about the Kama hills; and the names do not agree with that in the Persian chronicles or in Śrīvara's work.

[2] It appears from line 42 of the 3rd *taraṅga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Ḥasan was at that time at Avantipura and he returned from there on hearing the news of the return of Bahrām. This probably indicates the identity of Avantipura now called Vantipor on the *Vitastā*, which was in old times probably the most important place in the district of Holaḍā, with Walīpūr. Ḥasan's return to Svayapūra is also mentioned in line 43. دیناپور Dīnāpūr in the text-edition.

[3] See Śrīvara, line 48, from which it appears that some of the leaders of the ministers said, तद्गत्वा कोशसामग्रीमितो गत्वा बहिस्ततः, though the sentence appears to be somewhat incomplete.

[4] The name is rather indistinct in one MS., but it is ملک تاج بهت in the other. The lith. ed. has ملک تاج لیب. Firishtah has only ملک تاج. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 478) has Mullik Taj Bhut. Neither Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name of the commander of Ḥasan's army. Śrīvara in line 54 has सकिर्यडामरांस्ताजिभट्टादीन् व्यसृजन्नृपः from which it appears that Tājī Bhaṭṭa or Tāj Bhat was the name of one of the commanders.

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the Sulṭān's troops would come over to him; but in the end the contrary happened. There was a severe battle in a village of the name of [1] Dūlāpūr; and Bahrām Khān was defeated and fled, and came to the village of [2] Zainagir. The Sulṭān's troops hastened in pursuit of him and seized him. An arrow struck him on the face, and all his equipage and other things having been plundered, he was brought before the Sulṭān in a wretched condition. The Sulṭān ordered that both he and his son might be put into prison. After a time a blinding needle was drawn across his eyes, and after remaining in prison for [3] three years, he passed away from the world.

[4] Sulṭān Ḥasan (at this time) had Zain Badr, who had been the *vazīr* of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn and the rival of Malik Aḥmad Aswad,

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[1] The name is لولو Lūlū, in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It is لولوی in the other. Firishtah lith. ed. has تولہ پور. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 478) has Looloopoor. لولو the reading in the first MS. is adopted in the text-edition. Neither Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name of the place. Śrīvara in line 55 तावद्वह्नामखानस्य प्राप दुलपुराभरं। Dulapura is so near Tūlapūr the name in Firishtah, that I have no doubt it is the correct name of the place where the battle took place, though I cannot find out anything about it. It may be that لولو is a corrupt form of *Lōlau*, the Kashmīrī name of the *pargana Lōlāb* (see Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 487).

[2] The name of the place is زینکر Zainkar in both MSS. and Ratankara in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has مرهنهپور Marhanahpūr. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 478) has Zeinpoor. Neither Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India furnishes any further light on the matter. Śrīvara in line 59 says अथ जैनगिरिं यावदाययौ तद्रणाकुलः from which it would appear that he came to Jainagiri dismayed with the result of the battle. Jainagiri or the pargana of Zainagir appears to comprise "the fertile Karēwa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohur River". (Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, vol. II, p. 487).

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have سه سال three years. Firishtah lith. ed., however, has سه روز three days and Col. Briggs and the Cambridge History of India following him have three days also. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 108) says, "He remained in prison for three years after this and then died." The Ṭabaqāt, however, appears to be right, for Śrīvara in line 125 says इत्थं वर्षत्रयं तावदनुभूतमहाव्यथः। अस्थिशेषतनुः क्लेशात्तस्मिन्नेव क्षयं ययौ॥ *i.e.*, there suffering great agonies for three years, and being reduced to a skeleton from his privations he died.

[4] This is also mentioned by Firishtah, almost in the same word as the Ṭabaqāt, but is not mentioned by Col. Briggs. It is mentioned by Rodgers,

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and who had exerted himself in the matter of the blinding of Bahrām Khān, and whom Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn had on many occasions, owing to being annoyed with him, wanted to put to death, but had not been able to do so, seized. And it so happened that on the very day on which Bahrām Khān was deprived of his eye-sight, the needle was drawn across Zain Badr's eyes; and he also died in prison after three years.

Couplet:

Who'er in some one's eyes put the thorn of tyranny,
It behoved that his own eyes were soon destroyed.

[1] Malik Aḥmad having now become the *vazīr* with full authority, sent Malik Yārī Bhat, who was his favourite with a large

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who says that he was blinded with the same needle with which Bahrām Khān had just before been blinded. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the matter. It is mentioned by Śrīvara in lines 133 *et seq.* at some length and the particulars appear to agree with those in the Ṭabaqāt, but the name of the man does not agree with that given in the Ṭabaqāt or by Firishtah. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted ایں بدر in the text-edition, but it was زین بدر earlier on p. 678.

[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. are rather obscure, and it is not quite clear whether Malik Yārī reinforced the Raja of Jammū or *vice versa*; and which of them invaded the Punjāb. Firishtah appears to say that Malik Yārī reinforced the army of the Rāja of Jammū who led the invasion of the Punjāb; and he looted the country, and devastated the city of Sīālkōt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 478) says that the invasion was undertaken at the instigation of the Raja of Jammoo, called Ajeet Dew, and that the latter took the command of the allied army, that he was defeated by Tatar Khan, who penetrated into Jammoo and sacked the town of Siālkote. He calls the commander of the Kashmir army Mullik Taj Bhut. Rodgers calls him Malik Bārī Bihut, and says he was sent to assist the Rājah of Jammū against Tātār Khān, who was harassing the borders of Kashmīr; and that they plundered some part of the Punjāb, and destroyed the town of Sīālkot. The Cambridge History of India, page 285, says that Hasan Shāh "sent an expedition under Malik Yārī Bhat, to co-operate with the troops of the Raja of Jammū in ravaging the northern districts of the Punjab, where Tātār Khan Lodī represented the military oligarchy over which his cousin Buhlūl presided at Dehli. The town of Siālkot was sacked, and Malik Yārī Bhat returned with as much plunder as enabled him to form a faction of his own." It does not say whether the Rāja of Jammū commanded or even accompanied the troops.

It will appear from the above, that there is great deal of discrepancy about the facts of this expedition. I am afraid Śrīvara's account does not clear it

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army in the direction of the territory of Delhī by way of Rājaurī; and 'Ajab Dēō the Rāja of Jammū came and met him, and reinforced him with an immense army. Malik Yārī advanced and fought with Tātār Khān, who was the governor, on behalf of the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī, of the foot-hills of the Punjāb, and plundered the whole of his territory; and devastated the town of Sīālkōt.

[1] The Sulṭān had a son by Ḥayāt Khatūn, who was a descendant of the Saiyids. The Sulṭān gave him the name of Muḥammad and entrusted him for his education to Malik Yārī Bhat. His [2] second son was named Ḥusain; and was entrusted to Malik Nūr, son of Malik Aḥmad, so that he might bring him up. Some enmity having occurred between Malik Aḥmad and Malik Yārī Bhat, they tried to destroy each other, and differences having also come about among the *amīrs*, there were [3] great battles, till one night (the *amīrs*?) collected their men, and getting into the palace of Sulṭān created

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up. It appears that although Aḥmad Aswad or *Ahmad Ahmādlukta* had at first befriended Yārī Bhat (Tāji Bhaṭṭa), he and his sons were now jealous of him (l. 310 of the 3rd *taraṅga*). He insinuated that it was no good obtaining the kingdom, if the outskirts were being raided by the enemies (l. 314). Tāji Bhaṭṭa then prayed that he might be entrusted with an army to lead an expedition (line 315). He was accordingly provided with it. All the kings who were in the *Madramaṇḍala* (Jammu) headed by *Atyābha Deva* ('Ajab or Ajeet Dēō) abandoned Tātār Khān and joined him (lines 319, 320). He caused much damage (उपद्रवम्) in Tātār Khān's country, burning down mosques built by the Khān in शृगालकोटादि *i.e.*, in Sialkot, etc. (l. 321). Then he quickly returned (line 325). From this it would appear that the expedition owed its origin to a political intrigue arising out of the jealousy of the minister, and more specially of his sons against Tāji Bhaṭṭa. یاری بہت in the text-edition is apparently a misprint for یاری بہت.

[1] Compare line 222 in the 3rd *taraṅga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which is अभूत्तेदान्वये जाता वल्लभा या महीपतेः। ह्यानखानोना राज्ञी प्रमाखासविलासभूः॥ Her son was named Muḥammad Khān (l. 226), and was made over to Tāji Bhaṭṭa for the purpose of being looked after (रक्षणाय).

[2] This is mentioned in lines 328-329 of the 3rd *taraṅga*, where it is said, somewhat curiously, that he was for being suckled or supplied with milk entrusted to Malik Nauroz पयोदानाय मल्लेकनौरुजाय समर्पितः.

[3] One MS. omits عظیم great. Firishtah agrees generally as to these troubles. Both Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India note that the two factions were constantly quarrelling with each other.

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[1] various disturbances, and set fire to the palace; and there was very great trouble in the work of the government. The Sulṭān imprisoned Malik Aḥmad Aswad and a number of his relatives, and his property was given up to be plundered, and he died in prison.

The Sulṭān sent for Saiyid Nāṣir, who had been highly esteemed by Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, who had in his assembly accorded him precedents even before himself, but who had later been banished from Kashmīr, and had gone to the territory of Dehlī. Saiyid Nāṣir died when he arrived near the valley of the Pīr Punjāl. Then (the Sulṭān sent for Saiyid Ḥasan, who was the son of Saiyid Nāṣir, and was the father of Ḥayāt Khātūn from Dehlī, and made over the reins of authority to his hands. The Saiyid turned the mind of the Sulṭān from the Kashmīrī *amīrs*; and a large number of the chief men of the state were put to death at his instance and by his endeavours. Malik Yārī was put into prison. The other nobles fled out of fear, and went to different places. [2] Jahāngīr Mākrī, who was a great nobleman fled to the fortress of Lōharkōt. After some time, the Sulṭān was attacked by a [3] severe form of diarrhœa, and he became extremely weak. He made a will that as my sons are too young, Yūsuf Khān, son of Bahrām Khān who is in prison, or Fatḥ Khān, son of Ādam Khān, who is in the country of [4] Ḥaswās be

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have دست اندازیها, while the other MS. has دست درازیها; the latter is adopted in the text-edition.

[2] The Cambridge History of India, page 285, describes him, by mistake, as chief of the Mākū clan. In the text-edition it is جهانگیر باکری instead of جهانگیر ماکری.

[3] Firishtah says از کثرت جماع بسیار مرض اسهال طاری شده, where the word بسیار seems to be redundant. کثرت جماع is translated by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 108) as "over uxoriousness", and by the Cambridge History of India, page 285, more correctly, I think, as debauchery.

[4] The name of the place is حسواس Ḥaswās, in one MS.; and looks like خثو in the other and in the lith. ed. It is جسروتهه in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and is transliterated as Jasroth by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 109). Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 479) does not mention the place, but he says that Hussun directed that either Yoosoof Khan or Futteh Khan should succeed him. The Cambridge History of India does not mention any testamentary direction by Hasan Shāh. The name of the place does not appear to be mentioned by Śrīvara who describes the king's illness in somewhat poetic language without specifying any particular disease from which he suffered (line 541 *et seq.*).

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placed on the throne; and Muḥammad Khān should be declared as the next heir. Saiyid Ḥasan outwardly accepted this. The Sulṭān died of the illness from which he was suffering.

[1] The period of his reign is not known.

[2] An account of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh.

Muḥammad Khān was aged seven years, when he attained to sovereignty by the exertions of Saiyid Ḥasan. [3] On that day all articles of gold and silver, and arms, and valuable stuffs, and viands, etc., were placed before him. He did not pay any attention to any of these things, but took up a bow. Those who were present inferred from this act of his that he would be a great and brave man, and said that he would endeavour to rule wisely and well.

The power of the Saiyids attained to such a height, that they [4] did not permit any of the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* to go near the Sulṭān. The Kashmīrīs, being much annoyed at this, [5] one night, in concert with Parasrām, Rāja of Jammū, who for fear of Tātār Khān had taken shelter in Kashmīr (*i.e.*, Srīnagar) treacherously slew Saiyid Ḥasan with thirty of the chief Saiyids in the garden at Nau Shahr. They

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[1] According to Śrīvara he reigned for twelve years and five days (l. 560). According to the Cambridge History of India, page 698, his reign extended to eighteen years from 876 A.H., 1472 A.D. to 894 A.H., 1489 A.D. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 80) is inclined to believe that he must have reigned for about 19 years, but as Heidur, his father, did not die till 878 A.H., and he died in 891 A.H., the period of his reign could not be more than 13 years in any case.

[2] There are slight differences in the heading. I have taken that in one of the MSS. The other MS. has Ḥusain instead of Ḥasan as the name of the preceding Sulṭān, and omits the word Shāh after the name. The lith. ed. agrees with the first MS. but omits the word Shāh after Sulṭān Ḥasan.

[3] This is mentioned by Firishtah and by Col. Briggs and Rodgers. Śrīvara (4th *taraṅga*, lines 4, 5) says something slightly different तस्य सिंहासनस्यान्ते स्थापिता वस्तुसन्ततिः। त्यक्त्वा भोजनसामग्रीं पूर्वं शस्त्रेऽपतत्करः॥ एतद्राज्ये सदा युद्धं भविता मण्डलान्तरे। दृष्ट्वा शकुनविज्ञाः केऽप्यूचुस्तत्रान्तिकस्थिताः॥

[4] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have هیچیک از امرا و وزرا نمی گذاشتند It appears to me that the word را should be inserted after وزرا; and I have done this. Firishtah lith. ed. has را after وزرا.

[5] The attack on and the slaughter of the Saiyids is described by Śrīvara n lines 37–49 of the 4th *taraṅga* of his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

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then crossed the river Bihut (Jhelum), and broke down the bridge; and collecting their men sat down on the other side of the river. Saiyid Muḥammad, son of Saiyid Ḥasan, who was the maternal uncle of the Sulṭān, collected his men and took up his quarters in the palace in order to guard him.

One of these nights, when a great disturbance was going on, and every one was in fear and distress, [1] 'Abd Zīnā wanted that he would take away Yūsuf Khān, son of Bahrām Khān, who was in prison. But one of the Saiyid *amīrs* of the name of 'Alī Khān, becoming acquainted with the plan, slew Yūsuf Khān, and he also slew [2] Bājī Bhat, who was making lamentations at the murder of Yūsuf Khān. Yūsuf Khān's mother who was called [3] Sān Dēvī, who from the time when she had become a widow, did not eat more than three mouthfuls of barley meal when breaking her fast, kept watch for three days in her house over the coffin of her son; and after it had been buried, had a chamber built for herself near his mausoleum, and lived there till the time when she passed away.

In short Saiyid 'Alī Khān and the other Saiyids collected their retainers and sat down on the bank of the river in order to fight their enemies. They spent much money and collected an immense army. The people of Kashmīr came from all directions in a large

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[1] The name looks like عهدی and اما عهدی in the MSS. and عیدنی ربا in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has عبد زینا. In the text-edition it is عیدی زینا. Neither Col. Briggs nor Rodgers nor the Cambridge History of India gives the name. According to Śrīvara, Yūsuf Khān was killed by a man of the name of 'Alī Khān, when he was being taken away by some of his partisans who are described as यदराजानकाद्याः (the exact meaning of which I cannot make out), who had released him from the prison (see lines 77–79 of the 4th *taraṅga*).

[2] The name is written as ناجی بهت and اجی بهت in the MSS. and ماجی بهت in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has باجی بهت. Śrīvara calls him पाजभट्ट (4th *taraṅga*, l. 83). It is ماچی بهت in the text-edition.

[3] The name is written as سان دیوی and دیوی in the MSS. and سال دیوی in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has سنان دیور. Śrīvara has सोवाण देवी (l. 88 of the 4th *taraṅga*). The facts of her living on यवाङ्ग and her living अजीवम् (without life) and in श्मवाजिरे (place of cremation) are also mentioned. M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted سان دیوي in the text-edition.

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body and joined the latter. Skirmishes took place with arrows and muskets; and every day large numbers were slain on both sides. Robbers came into the city openly and plundered and looted. The Saiyids dug a trench round the city so that they might be safe from the robbers. They also razed to the ground the houses of their enemies in the city and the villages wherever they might be; and having plundered their property and cattle, did not, because of great pride, guard their own property. At this time, [1] Jahāngīr Mākrī, who was at Loharkōt, came to the capital at the summons of the Kashmīrī party, *i.e.*, those opposed to the Saiyids. Although the Saiyids made overtures of peace to him he did not agree. One day Dāūd the son of Jahāngīr Mākrī and [2] Saifī and Ankrī crossed the bridge and fought with the Saiyids. Dāūd and most of his companions (they are called *Mukẖālifān i.e.*, enemies of the Saiyids) were killed. The Saiyids became [3] joyful, and beat drums and made minarets of the heads of their enemies. On another day the Saiyids went to cross the bridge. The enemies met them and there was a great fight near the middle of the bridge. Then the bridge [4] broke down, and many people of the two parties were drowned in the river.

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[1] The invitation to Jahāngīr (श्रीमार्गंशच्चांगिरं) is described in lines 137–42 of the 4th *taraṅga*; and his arrival by पर्णात्समार्ग in line 145. The overtures of the Saiyids to him are mentioned in lines 147–154 and Jahāngīr's reply in 155–162. The Saiyids were angry on receiving the reply; and prepared for war (lines 163–165). Then सैफद रजोनराजानकादयः crossed the bridge and came to the capital to fight with the Saiyids (line 166).

[2] The names appear to be سیفی and انکری in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt انکری and سیفی. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah there is only one name شق ما کری. Neither Col. Briggs nor Rodgers have any of the names mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt or in Firishtah. In the text-edition the name is سیفی دانکری. Dāūd is called दावीद, and his death is mentioned in line 178 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

[3] I cannot find any mention of minarets being made of the heads of the slain but in line 190 it is said that the corpses were placed on the road दस्यन-गण्डाल्य इव। Dāūd's head was also cut off and placed राजपथान्तरे (l. 187). The Saiyids also made विजयोत्सव वाद्यैः (l. 193).

[4] The breaking down of the bridge and the falling of सन्नाद्धभारसम्राड्ढाः शतसङ्ख्याः that day in the *Vitastā* is mentioned in line 196 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

[1] After that the Saiyids wrote letters to Tātār Khān, the governor of the Punjāb, and asked him to come to their help. [2] He sent a large army to help them. When his army arrived in the neighbourhood of [3] Bhimbar, the [4] Rāja of the place named Hans fought with them, [5] and slew their best men. The enemies (of the Saiyids) on hearing this news made great rejoicings, and for a period of two months there were constant skirmishes between the Saiyids and the Kashmīrīs. At last the latter divided themselves into three troops, crossed the river and seized the environs of the hills. The Saiyids came to meet them and fought with great bravery; but as the number of their enemies was double their number, most of their leaders were slain, and the rest fled into the city. The Kashmīrīs pursued them, and entering the city, stretched their hands for slaughter and rapine. They set fire to the city, and in the conflagration [6] the *Khānqāh* of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī was burnt down, and from

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[1] Neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah mentions it; but it appears that after this Jahāngīr, *Jyallāla*, *Saiphaḍāmara* and others thought of various plans of defeating the Saiyids, (l. 202). There were frequent skirmishes स नासौदिवसो यत्र द्विचा वीराः पतत्रिभिः। विच्छा सुमुर्षवस्तीरान् नौनाः खगट्टान् प्रति (line 208), and they frequently degenerated into mutual abuse in indecent language (line 210).

[2] The sending of a नौरुष्कं पुष्कलं बलं by Tātār Khān is mentioned in line 217 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

[3] The name is written as بهز Bahaz, and بهته Bahtah in the MS. and as بهتر Bahtar in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is بنير Banīr. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 183) has Bhimbur and Rodgers Bhimbar. In the text-edition it is بهنبر.

[4] The name looks like پيش Pēsh in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and هنس Hans in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has هنش Hansh and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 483) Howns. هنش نام راجه in the text-edition. Śrīvara does not mention the arrival of Tātār Khān's army at Bhimbar; but says that on their arrival at *Śastragulasthāna* they were met by *Habhābhoḍana* Rājā and others (l. 218).

[5] It appears from Śrīvara, line 223 of the 4th *taraṅga*, that two thousand were slain near the camp of Tātār Khān's army; and then the Kashmīrīs being delighted determined on a war (कार्ग्गारिका मनश्चक्रे रणार्थं हृष्टमानसाः).

[6] According to Firishtah the fire was extinguished on reaching the *Khānqāh*; and that edifice was not damaged in any way. Śrīvara in line 319 says that the fire reached the *Khānqāh* of श्रीमत्सैदहमादान but it is not quite clear

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there the fire was extinguished. The number of the slain in the course of the day was two thousand. This happened in the year 892 A.H. Saiyid Muḥammad, son of Saiyid Ḥasan got into the house of a man named Gadāī of the [1] Rāwat tribe, and fortified himself.

The enemies (*i.e.*, the party opposed to the Saiyids) then all collected together in the palace or audience hall, and went to offer their homage to Muḥammad Shāh. They got him to join them, and he banished Saiyid 'Alī Khān and other Saiyids from Kashmīr. [2] They now sent back Parasrām after presenting him with various gifts. As everyone of the Kashmīrīs claimed to be the *sardār* (chief), in a very short time enmity made its appearance among them; and the administration of the government fell into confusion. [3] Fatḥ Khān son of Ādam Khān, who after the death of Tātār Khān, had become the governor of the Punjāb arrived in Rajaurī from Jālandar, and took up his quarters there in an endeavour to regain his ancestral dominions. As he was the grandson of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, [4] people, who sought for adventures among the *amīrs* and the Saiyids went to him in large numbers, and he giving rewards to each one of them gave them hopes (of further favours). He hoped that Jahāngīr Mākrī would come before all others, and would see him; but Jahāngīr imagining that his enemies had gone before to see Fatḥ Khān, did not join the latter; and dissuaded him from attempting to conquer Kashmīr.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh came out of Kashmīr (*i.e.*, Srīnagar), being persuaded by Jahāngīr Mākrī to do so; and encamped in the

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whether that was burnt down or not. Firishtah also says that the number of persons slain that day was not less than ten thousand.

[1] The word is written as Rāwat in both MSS. In the lith. ed. and the text-edition it is Rāwan, while in the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is راون. In line 339 of the 4th *taraṅga* of Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is said that Miyan (मेया) Muḥammad got into खशविरान्तर.

[2] Śrīvara in line 347 says ययुः परशुरामाद्याः स्वदेशं प्राप्तसत्क्रियाः *i.e.*, Paraśurāma (Parasrām) and others went to their own country after receiving honours.

[3] The account of his birth, etc., is given by Śrīvara in lines 406–410 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

[4] This is mentioned by Śrīvara in line 419 and the following lines. Then the negotiations between Fatḥ Khān and Jahāngīr Mākrī are described at some length.

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plain of [1] Karsawār. Fatḥ Khān also arrived in the neighbourhood of Aūdan by way of Hirpūr; and placing a spring of water between the two armies, settled down in front of the Sulṭān's army. Then the lines of the troops having been arranged, the flame of battle blazed up. At first Fatḥ Khān made an onset, and it appeared probable that the Sulṭān's army would fall into disorder. But Jahāngīr Mākrī placing his feet firmly slew about fifty of the best men of Fatḥ Khān's army; and that army being discomfited Fatḥ Khān was about to be seized, when one of the enemies raised a (false cry), that Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh had been taken prisoner by his enemies. Jahāngīr becoming disturbed in his mind refrained from further pursuit of Fatḥ Khān.

The Sulṭān came to Kashmīr, (*i.e.*, Srīnagar) after the victory, and sent Malik Yārī Bhat to ravage the villages, which had given shelter to Fatḥ Khān. [2] 'Ādam Khān and Fatḥ Khān having disappeared for sometime again raised their heads in the neighbourhood of [3] Bahrāmgala; and for a second time having collected a number of men advanced to conquer Kashmīr. Jahāngīr Mākrī advanced with an immense army to meet them, and encamped in the village of [4] Gosawār in *pargana* Nāgām. Zīrak, a servant of Fatḥ Khān, availing himself of an opportunity, went into the city (Srīnagar); and released the large number of *amīrs* who were in prison there.

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[1] The name of the place is written as کرسواڑ Karsawār in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the other MS. it is کشتواڑ Kishtwār, and in the lith. ed. it is گیرسواڑ Gīrsawār. Col. Briggs and Rodgers do not mention the name of the place. Śrīvara mentions two names; but I cannot find any place mentioned as the camping ground of Muḥammad Shah's army, which at all resembles the names mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt or by Firishtah.

[2] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have Ādam Khān and Fatḥ Khān; but Adam Khān had died earlier, and so the mention of his name is a mistake. Firishtah lith. ed. does not mention him.

[3] The name is written as بہرم کلہ or بیرم کلہ in the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. There is a place mentioned in Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 4th *taraṅga*, line 589, called *Bhairavagala* of which *Bahrāmgala* is the modern name. (See Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 398.) I have, therefore taken Bahrāmgala as the correct name. The text-edition following the second MS. has بہرم کلہ.

[4] The name is written as کرسواڑ Karsawār and کیسوالہ ہو Kēswālahū in the MSS. and گوسواڑ Gosawār in the lith. ed.; and as کہواکہ Kahwākah in the

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Among them were Saifī and Ankrī. Jahāngīr was sorrowful at Saifī and Ankrī having obtained their release, and [1] determined to make a treaty of peace with Fatḥ Khān. He sent a message to the Rāja of Rājaurī, by whose help Fatḥ Khan had invaded the country that he might create disaffection in Fatḥ Khān's army. The Rāja of Rājaurī and other *amīrs* separated from Fatḥ Khān, and joined Jahāngīr. Fatḥ Khān in great dismay turned back, and Jahāngīr pursued him as far as Hīrahpūr. Fatḥ Khān went to Jammū and conquered it; and bringing great army from that country again advanced to conquer Kashmīr.

[2] Jahāngīr now gave assurances of safety to the Saiyids, whom he had before this banished from the country, and summoned them; and a great battle took place between the Sulṭān and Fatḥ Khān. Saifī and Ankrī on the side of the latter fought with great gallantry; and on the side of the Sulṭān the Saiyids made fine efforts, and behaved with great bravery and courage. [3] A large number of them attained to martyrdom, and the rest who survived obtained the confidence of the Sulṭān and Jahāngīr. On this occasion Fatḥ Khān was defeated and retired. But he again collected an immense army and invaded Kashmīr; and after fighting several battles, became victorious.

Couplet:

If the flower of joy thou seekest, from the thorn of sorrow draw not thy skirt;
If treasure thou seekest, thy foot into the mouth of the serpent place.

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lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the text-edition it is کهسوار Khaswār. Various names are mentioned by Śrīvara in lines describing this meeting, but I cannot find any which at all resembles any of the names mentioned in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt or the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah; but in line 598 the battle is called the battle of *Gusikoḍḍāra* (गुसिकाङ्गार). (See also Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 474 and also note 1 on p. 687).

[1] The meaning is not clear. The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah all say ارادهٔ صلح بفتح خان نمودند; but apparently it was only a stratagem, and there was no real intention of making a treaty with Fatḥ Khān.

[2] This is mentioned by Śrīvara in line 570 of the 4th *taraṅga* of his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[3] See line 596 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

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Things now came to such a pitch, [1] that no one remained with the Sulṭān, and all his treasure was gone. [2] Jahāngīr, who was wounded, secluded himself in a corner and Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad son of Saiyid Ḥasan joined Fatḥ Khān. [3] After some time, some *zamīndārs* seized Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh; and surrendered him to Fatḥ Khān. At this time Muḥammad Shāh had reigned for ten years and seven months. [4] Fatḥ Khān kept him in the palace with his own brothers; and gave orders that articles of food and drink and all other necessaries should be provided for him; and Saifī and Ankrī always showed all honour and respect to him, and were always at his service.

AN ACCOUNT OF FATḤ SHĀH, WHICH IS ANOTHER NAME FOR FATḤ KHĀN.

He sat on the throne of power in the year 894 A.H., assuming the title of Fatḥ Shāh, and made [5] Saifī and Ankrī respectively the superintendent and administrator of all his affairs.

At this time [6] Mīr Shams, one of the disciples of Shāh Qāsim, came from 'Irāq to Kashmīr; and many people accepted him as their

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1. See line 614 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

2 See line 632 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

3 See line 643 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

4 See line 644 of the 4th *taraṅga*.

5 In the text-edition it is only ذکر سلطان فتح شاہ. According to the Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* सोमराजानकः, अध्वपतिरध्वेमकः प्रतीहारपतिर्हाज्यमेयः were his three ministers (see lines 16–19). It is impossible to identify any of them with the plain Saifī and Ankrī of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, or with Suffy and Runga Ray of Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 489), or with Saifī Vānkarī or Saifdār as Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 110) joining the two names jumbles up two persons into one. I cannot find anything about Somarāja or Pratīhara; but *Adhvapati* or *Adhvapa* seems to be the same as Mārgeśa, or a lord or keeper of the road. Stein thinks that a mārgeśa was equivalent to the Malik of the Muḥammadan period; but I do not think that there is any connection between the two names.

6 He is called श्राद्धकासिमस्य श्राचः दूराकदेशजः सर्व्वविज्ञानविन्मेरग्रेषः, but it is also added अस्य च्छपदेशं विना गुरुः, the meaning of which is not clear to me (see l. 21). Some person of the name of Somacandra probably the same as *Somarājānaka* is said to have made over to his servants the lands appertaining to temples (l. 22) and his followers called Suphas cut down very tall trees on the pretext of getting fire-wood (l. 23).

Firishtah gives some account of the tenets of Mīr Shams, from which it appears that they were the same as those of the Shī'as in the guise of Sūfism;

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religious teacher; and all the endowments and property of the religious establishment of Dēvharah were allotted to his disciples; and his Sūfī followers endeavoured to ruin and destroy all the temples of the *Kāfirs*; and no one dared to forbid them. In a short time disputes arose among the *amīrs* and they came to the palace and slew one another. [1] Malik Ajhī and Zīnā, who were among the chief *amīrs* of Fatḥ Khān, combined with a number of others, and taking Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh out of prison, brought him to Bārāmūla; but as they did not find any marks of wisdom in him, they repented of what they had done, and wanted to seize him again, and surrender him to Fatḥ Khān. Muḥammad Shāh having got information of this, made his escape one night to another place.

After that, [2] Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh divided the country of Kashmīr into three equal parts, among himself and Malik Ajhī and Sankar; and made Malik Ajhī, the *vazīr* with full powers, and Sankar the *Dīwān* or revenue officer of the whole territory (*Dīwān-i-kul*). Malik Ajhī had wonderful skill in the decision of cases. Among the cases was this: two men had a dispute about an [3] invoice of fine silk.

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and says that in a short time the people of Kashmīr specially the Chaks became his disciples; and some, who were ignorant, and did not understand his esoteric doctrines, became *mulāhids* or heretics, after his death. For other accounts of his doctrines see the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross, pp. 435-436).

[1] The names are written as ملک احی و ران تا and ملک اجہی و دنا in the MSS. and ملک اجی و زنیا in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah respectively. In the text-edition the names are ملک اچھی و زینا. I cannot find any name in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which at all resembles them but see the next note from which it appears that Malik Ajhī was called मञ्जकौत्स.

[2] See lines 70 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* from which it appears that one share was allotted to Fatḥ Shāh (फतादृग्राद्), another to Malik Ajhī (मञ्जकौत्स), and the third to Shankar (राजानपृङ्गार). The reason of this division is not at all easy to discover. It also appears from line 73 that उत्पमञ्जक had the मुख्य मन्त्रिपद and राजानपृङ्गार had the सिद्धादेश.

[3] The words are بر سر پیچک باریک ابریشم, Col. Briggs does not mention the matter. Rodgers says that the dispute was about a bale of silk. پیچک in the dictionary is said to mean an invoice, a list. But this meaning does not quite fit in with the context, where the judge is said to have inquired whether the پیچک had been wound with the finger, or on his finger. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has بر سر پیچک.

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Each claimed the invoice to be his; and they both agreed as regards the weight and the colour. When the dispute came before Malik Ajhī, he asked whether the silk had been wound on the finger or on a spindle. The owner said on the finger; and the opposite party said on a spindle. When the silk was unwound it appeared that it had been wound on the finger.

[1] After some time had passed after the accession of Fatḥ Shāh, Ibrāhīm son of Jahāngīr Mākrī, on whom the position of his father had been conferred, went to Muḥammad Shāh, and having persuaded him to come from Hindūstān, brought him to invade Kashmīr; and a great battle having taken place between him and Fatḥ Shāh in the neighbourhood of [2] Khōlāḥūyah, Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh's army was defeated. He retired to Hindūstān by way of Hīranpūr. He had reigned for nine years, when this happened.

After that Sulṭān Muḥammad sat on the seat of government for the second time; and made Ibrāhīm Mākrī his *vazīr* with absolute powers; and named [3] Iskandar Khān, who was a descendant of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, his successor to the throne. [4] The sons of Ibrāhīm went into the prison and put Malik Ajhī, who was their brother-in-law, to death. After some time Fatḥ Khān having collected an immense army again invaded Kashmīr; and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, not having the power to oppose him, fled without a fight. On this

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[1] From line 90 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it appears that Fatḥ Shāh ruled the country for nine years, after which Muḥammad Shāh regained the kingdom, under the protection of the *mārgeśa* (Ibrāhīm).

[2] The name is written as کھولاحویہ Khōlāḥūyah and کہرلہمویہ Kaharlah-mūyah in the MSS. It is کوہامویہ Kūhāmūyah in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and in the text-edition, and کھواسولہ Khūāsūlah in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs says that the battle took place near Baramoola, while Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 111) says it was at Kohāśāla. I cannot find any name in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which at all resembles any of these.

[3] This is mentioned in line 91 of Prājyabhaṭṭā's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. has by mistake نرد, near for نبرنہ brother-in-law. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 488) says that it was the sons of Mullik Atchy and not himself that were put to death. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 111) says correctly that the sons of Ibrāhīm Mākrī put Malik Ajhī to death in prison, but he does not mention the relationship between them. Lines 92–94 of the Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* agree with the Ṭabaqāt.

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occasion the period of Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign was nine months and nine days [1].

Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh again took possession of Kashmīr, and made [2] Jahāngīr, who was of the tribe of Badrah his *vazīr* and Sankar Zīnā his revenue minister (*Dīwān-i-kul*). He ruled justly. Muḥammad Shāh after his defeat went to [3] Iskandar Kakhar, and the latter sent a large force to help him. Jahāngīr Badrah was also aggrieved with Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh, and joined Muḥammad Shāh; and brought the latter into Kashmīr by way of [4] Rājaurī. Sulṭān [5] Fatḥ Shāh made Jahāngīr Mākrī the commander of the vanguard of his army; and sent him to oppose Muḥammad Shāh. But his army was defeated, and [6] Jahāngīr Mākrī together with his son was killed in the battle; and some chief *amīrs* of his such as 'Alī Shāh Bēgī and others joined Muḥammad Shāh. Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh being utterly helpless fled to Hindūstān, and died there. [7] His rule this time lasted for one year and one month.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh sat on the seat of authority again for the third time, and had the kettledrums beaten. [8] He imprisoned

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[1] See line 99 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[2] See line 100 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. This Jahāngīr is called in it प्रतीहारज्यहाङ्गीर; and Sankar Jina is called राजानशृङ्गार। I cannot find anything about *Pratīhara* or *Rājānaśṛṅgāra*.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have اسکندر ککهر Iskandar Kakhar; the other MS. اسکندر کاکی Iskandar Kākī. Firishtah lith. ed., however, says that he went نزد شاه سکندر شاه لودهی بادشاه دهلی; and he is followed by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 489) and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 111). The Cambridge History of India is silent on this point, and so is Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have از راه جوری, but the other MS. has از راه را جوری, which is correct, and which I have adopted. Firishtah lith. ed., also has از راه را جوری. The return of Muḥammad Shāh is described in lines 120–125 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[5] Compare line 127, which says that Fatḥ Shāh advanced from the capital to fight Muḥammad Shāh, aided by only one of his ministers प्रतीहारज्यहाङ्गर.

[6] These facts are mentioned by Firishtah, who, however, calls 'Alī Shāh Bākī, 'Alī Shāh Bēg, but they do not appear to be mentioned in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[7] Compare line 130 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[8] Compare lines 135, 136. Kājī Chak is called चक्रेशकाचन in line 136. He is also called काचचक्र elsewhere (see l. 194).

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Sankar, who was among the great and trusted *amīrs* of Fatḥ Shāh, and selected Kājī Chak, who was noted for his wisdom and bravery, to be his *vazīr*. This man had wonderful cleverness in the decision of disputes. Among the disputes one was this: A writer had a wife. It so happened that he remained at a distance from her for some time. The woman in her passions married a second husband. After a time the writer again appeared; and there was a dispute between him and the second husband (of his wife). They appeared before Kājī Chak. As neither of them had any witnesses in support of his claim, the decision of the matter appeared to be difficult. At last Malik Kājī Chak said to the woman, "You are telling the truth, and the writer is a liar. Come, pour a little water into this inkstand of mine, so that I may write a bond (judgement?) for you, so that he may have no further dealings with you. The woman got up, and put as much water in the inkstand as was required. The Malik said, "Pour more". Again she put a little water, so that it might not spill the ink; and in doing so she showed the greatest caution. The Malik said to those who were present, "From the great caution shown by the woman, it is evident that she is the wife of the writer." In the end she also acknowledged it, and the dispute was settled.

As the government of Sulṭān Muḥammad acquired greater stability, he ordered the execution of most of the *amīrs* of Fatḥ Shāh, such as [1] Saifī, Ankrī, and others; and Sankar Zīnā died a natural death. The servants of Fatḥ Shāh brought his dead body from India. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh went forward to meet it and ordered it to be buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Sulṭān Ẓain-ul-'ābidīn. These events happened in the year 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.).

In the same year, Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī, the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī, died; and his son Ibrāhīm sat on the throne. At this time Malik Kājī imprisoned [2] Ibrāhīm Mākrī. Abdāl Mākrī, the son of the

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[1] Compare lines 165, 166 where the execution of सैफडामरेन्द्रादि is mentioned in the first and the death of राजानमुद्वहार, or rather his following Fatḥ Shāh to the grave owing to the great love he bore him are mentioned in the second.

[2] Compare line 171 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, from which it appears that Ibrāhīm Mākrī is there called हेसराजानक. He is, however, called एत्राक्षध्वपति

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latter, in concert with some people from Hindūstān, made Iskandar Khān a claimant for the throne, and brought him to Kashmīr. Sulṭān Muḥammad and Malik Kājī advanced to meet them in battle at [1] Lūlpūr in *pargana* Bāngil. [2] Iskandar Khān not having the power to meet them retired into the fort of Nākām. Malik Kājī besieged the fort; and [3] for some days there were skirmishes between the two parties. [4] At this time, a number of the *amīrs* of the Sulṭān rebelled against him, and went to Iskandar Khān. Malik Kājī sent his son named Mas'ūd to attack them; and he fighting bravely against them was slain, but the victory remained on his side, Iskandar Khān left the fort of Nākām and escaped; and the Malik entered it. The Mākrīs in distress and disorder followed Iskandar Khān; and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh returned to the city joyful and happy. These events happened in the year 931 A.H. (1524 A.D.).

It was in that year, that His Majesty, Firdūs Makānī Bābar *Bādshāh* attacked Ibrāhīm Lūdī, and slew him in the battle of Panīpat. At this time the disposition of Muḥammad Shāh at the insinuations of his enemies turned against Malik Kājī [5]. He became suspicious, went to Rājaurī and made the Rājas of the various parts of the

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in line 173; and his sons मल्लीकाब्दालकाद्याः are said to have brought फलिहशाहजं खानमेखन्दराभिधं from outside Kashmīr (बाह्यात्) (l. 174).

[1] The name is written as لولپور, and لولوپور in the MSS. and as بوهور in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has نورن پور پرگنه ماهکل, but the name is not very distinct. Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, line 175, has लौहपुरोद्धारम्. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 490) calls the place Alwurpoor in Fankul district; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 112), apparently following Firishtah, has Nolpin in the *parganna* of Māhekal. The name of the *pargaṇa* is بالکل, or بالکل in the MSS. and تا لکل in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The correct name is Bāngil (No. 31 in the list of Kashmīr *parganas* on page 494 of Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II).

[2] Compare line 176 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[3] Compare line 178 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[4] The account in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is somewhat different. It is said there that प्रतीहारपति ज्यडाङ्गेर with others (who were the rebels) entered the fort of Luhara; and the Cakrapa, *i.e.* Kājī Chak, finding two armies on his two sides (अर्धाः सहितं शत्रुसैन्यम्), sent his son मसोदचक्र to attack Luhara (lines 179, 180). The fight of Masa'ud's army with the Lohara garrison and Masa'ud's death are described in lines 182–190.

[5] This appears to be mentioned in line 218 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

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country obedient to himself. At this time Iskandar Khān, who had gone away, after being defeated by the Sulṭān, came back with a [1] number of Mughals; and took possession of Lōharkōt. [2] Malik Yārī, brother of Malik Kājī, hearing of it went and attacked him; and having fought with him, seized him, and sent him to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān, being pleased with Malik Kājī on account of his loyal services, again entrusted the post of the *vazārat* to him. [3] He had Iskandar's eyes blinded by drawing the needle across them.

At this time Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, who had gone with his father to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lūdī, when the latter had furnished Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh with a large army, and had given him permission to return to Kashmīr, but had kept Ibrāhīm Khān in his service, came to Kashmīr owing to the catastrophy which had overtaken Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lūdī. Malik Kājī, who was annoyed with the Sulṭān on account of his having blinded Iskandar Khān, put him and his immediate attendants, by every pretext that he could think of, into prison. After having imprisoned him, [4] he raised Ibrāhīm Khān to the throne.

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[1] Firishtah says that these Mughals belonged to, or were sent by Fīrdūs Makānī Zahīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Bābar *Bādshāh*.

[2] He is called Tājacakra in line 230, in which it is said that he and his other heroic brothers slew the Mughals in a battle in **लोहराद्रिषु**।

[3] This is mentioned in lines 236, 237 in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[4] The matter of the deposition of Muḥammad Shāh, **मखोदग्राहसाम्राज्यभङ्ग**, as it is called in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, begins in line 245, where the author exclaims on the strange act of Providence (**विधातुः**) by which Muḥammad Shāh lost his kingdom by the act of his own son. In line 248 it is said that on Ibrāhīm Lūdī's defeat, Ibrāhīm Khān came to Kashmīr, cherished by his father's affection (**पितृस्नेहविवर्द्धित**). In the following line, it appears that Kājī Chak's evil intention towards the Sulṭān made its appearance on account of his wish to seize the kingdom (**राज्यजिहीर्षया**); and he in his anger cast the **राजान्यराज्ञान् मल्लकल्लद्भट्टादीन्** into prison; and from line 252 it appears that the **चक्रराड्**, swallowed up the **मखोदग्राहभानु**, *i.e.*, the sun called Muḥammad Shāh. It would appear, therefore, that, according to the chronicle, it is not true that Kājī Chak cast Muḥammad Shāh into prison, because he was annoyed with him for having caused Sikandar Khān to be blinded, but he did so to gratify his own ambition. It is true that the chronicler after stating the fact moralises, that **धर्मः फलति कालेन सद्यःपापो हि सोऽभवत्। खानस्यान्धाद्यया भूदद्राज्यधशान्नृपस्य सा** (l. 254).

The period of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh was, on this occasion, [1] eleven years and eleven months and eleven days.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN IBRĀHĪM SHĀH, SON OF MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

[2] When he sat on the throne, he made Malik Kājī his permanent *vazīr* according to previous custom. [3] Abdāl Mākrī son of Ibrāhīm Mākrī, who had gone to India to escape the tyranny of Malik Kājī, having at this time entered the service of His Majesty Firdūs Makānī, submitted to him, that he had sought an asylum at that threshold, from the violence of his enemies. If His Majesty would help that slave with an army, he would conquer Kashmīr for the servants of His Majesty in the easiest possible way. His Majesty, [4] after obtaining the necessary information, about his appearance and character, said in kind language, that [5] even in jungles such men could be met with. He honoured Abdāl Mākrī with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour, and detached [6] a large number of troops to accompany him. He made [7] Shaikh 'Alī Bēg and Muḥammad Khān and Maḥmūd Khān the commanders of the detachment.

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[1] This agrees with Firishtah and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 113); but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 491) says that Mahomed had reigned for nineteen years, when he was deposed, but it is not clear whether this was the period of his reign in the third term. Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (l. 253) makes it eleven years, ten months and ten days (एकादशाब्दान् दश मासान् दिनानि च).

[2] Compare lines 257 and 258 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[3] Compare line 260 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where Bābar is called दिल्लीपं मुग्गुलेश्वरम् ।

[4] This is stated by Prājyabhaṭṭa as आकारेङ्गितवाक्चेष्टासम्पूर्णं वीक्ष्य मार्गपं । चणं तुरुष्कराजोऽभूद्विस्मयाकुलकन्धरः । (l. 261) from which it would appear, that Bābar was greatly impressed by what he saw of and heard from Abdāl Mākrī.

[5] It is rather difficult to understand the mention of jungles but Firishtah also has the same word. The idea probably is that Bābar was probably surprised that a country like Kashmīr, which he thought was covered by forests, could produce such a fine-looking and able man. As the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, in the line I have quoted, says, he lowered his head in astonishment.

[6] Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (l. 262) says सहस्रसङ्ख्या वीराणां सेनास्ते प्रतिपादिता ।

[7] All the three names appear in both MSS. and in the lith. ed; but Firishtah lith. ed. omits the second name, and he is, of course, followed by Col. Briggs and Rodgers. Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (l. 265) also has the first and third

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As Abdāl Mākrī perceived, that the Kashmīrīs would [1] hate the coming of the Mughals, he advanced towards Kashmīr, having, for political reasons, given the name of Sulṭān to [2] Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fatḥ Shāh. On the other side, Malik Kājī took Ibrāhīm Shāh with him; and made the village of [3] Sullāḥ in the *pargana* of Bāngil his camping ground. The two armies encamped in front of each other. Abdāl Mākrī sent the following message to Malik Kājī. [4] "I waited on Bābar *Bādshāh*, and have brought reinforcements from him. The power and grandeur of that *Bādshāh* are so great, that he made Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, the *Bādshāh* of Dehlī, who had five hundred thousand men, in the winking of an eye, like the dark dust. Your welfare lies in this that you should come into the band of his loyal adherents. But if this great fortune is not in your lot, come quickly and fight with this army. There is no time left for remedy or hesitation." Malik Kājī made [5] Saiyid Ibrāhīm Khān and Sarang and Malik Yārī the

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names, which it transforms, almost beyond recognition into श्रिखाखभेग and मखोद् खान।

[1] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 113) I think, quite incorrectly translates the words تنفر خواهند جست by the words "would despise".

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. incorrectly calls Nāzuk Shāh, the son of Ibrāhīm, and he is followed by Col. Briggs and by Rodgers. The Cambridge History of India, page 287, agrees with the Ṭabaqāt, and calls him the second son of Fatḥ Shāh. Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (l. 266) has फताहशाहजं खानं नाज़ोकखाग्रयायिनम्।

[3] Both MSS. and the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah have در موضع سلاح از پرگنه بانفعل. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 492) has "Sullah in the district of Fankul" and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 113) has "Sulah in the pargana of Bānkul". The Cambridge History of India, III, page 287 says the battle took place at Naushahra (Nowshera), but does not give any authority. According to Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 267) the Cakrapa, *i.e.*, Qāḍī Chak, placed his army at Nīlāsva. The place is mentioned in various places of Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as a district of Kashmīr. In the text-edition بانكل is changed to مانكل, while in the English translation, following Stein (vol. II, p. 481), Bāngil has been adopted.

[4] A part of this adjuration of Abdāl Mākrī appears in lines 269–271 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[5] The commanders are called श्रधाखखान सेरङमेर and मखेक ताजक in line 273; and those of the other army are called मखेकखुषर, रिगचक्रेग मखेक and

commanders of three detachments, and began the battle. A great fight took place between the two armies, and many were slain. And of the renowned nobles of Ibrāhim Shāh, Yārī Chak, and Sarang and others, each of whom had large number of followers, were slain. Malik Kājī in great distress fled to the city. but he could not stay there also; and went away towards the hilly country. Nothing is known about Ibrāhīm Shāh, as to what happened to him, and where he went.

The period of his rule was eight months and twenty-five days.

An account of [1] Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fatḥ Shāh.

After the victory, [2] he ascended the throne in the city of Srīnagar, and gave assurances of safety to the Kashmīrīs, who were afraid and suspicious of the Mughals. The Kashmīrīs then made rejoicings at his accession. And he then left the city, and took up his abode in Nau Shahr, which from ancient time was the capital of the Sulṭāns. He selected Abdāl Mākrī to be his *vazīr* and representative (*vakīl*). Abdāl went as far as the [3] country of Jamalnagarī in pursuit of Malik Kājī; but whom he found that it would be impossible to seize him, he commenced to make a division of the country. Leaving aside the *Khālṣa* or the crown lands, the country was divided into

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शिखिभिग which are probably identical with Malik Lōhar and Malik Rēgī Chak; and शिखिभिग seems to be another form of शिखालवग the name of Shaikh 'Alī Bēg. See the latter part of note 7, pages 696, 697. The battle is described with some spirit in line 275 and the following lines and the death of Yārī Chak (called मल्लेक ताजक) is mentioned in line 282, and that of Sarang in the next line. The flight of Qāḍī Chak to the city is mentioned in line 284. In the text-edition سرمک has been adopted in place of سرنگ.

[1] He is also sometimes called Nādir Shāh, as the name is Nādir on all his coins (Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 114) but all the histories call him Nāzuk Shāh.

[2] Compare lines 285–287 of Prājyabhaṭṭa.

[3] The words are تا سواد جمل نگری or تا سواد جهل نگری in the MSS. and in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 492) has "The town of K'hulnagry", and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 114) has "the confines of Jahalnagarī". In line 288 of Prājyabhaṭṭa it is stated that गता जमालमरगां सन्दपालेऽथ मन्त्रिणः though it is not said there, that they went there in pursuit of Malik Qāḍī. In the text-edition it is چهل نگری.

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four shares. [1] One share was allotted to Abdāl Mākrī, the second to Mīr 'Alī, the third to Lōhar Mākrī and the remaining to one of the Chaks. Abdāl Mākrī then sent back the servants of Firdūs Makānī to Hindūstān, after giving them many presents and valuable gifts. They sent an angry message to Malik Kājī, and summoned Muḥammad Shāh to come to them; [2] and going to Mīr 'Alī, brought Muḥammad Shāh out of the fort of Lōharkōt; and they all came together to Kashmīr (*i.e.*, Srīnagar). They did not permit Malik Kājī to come.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh then sat for the fourth time on the throne, and he made Nāzuk Shāh, [3] who had governed the country for twenty years, his successor. At this time His Majesty Firdūs Makānī departed from this transitory world; and His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī Muḥammad Humāyūn *Bādshāh* sat on the throne of the empire. This happened in

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[1] The division is mentioned by Firishtah and Rodgers, with some differences and also in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, lines 288, 289; but no one gives any reason for the division. The division as given in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* agrees with that in the Ṭabaqāt, the four shares being allotted in it respectively to मल्लेकाच्छालक, आलेमेर, मार्बेमल्लुदर and रिमचक्र। It is curious that, according to Mirza Haidar Dughlāt (page 441, Elias and Ross's translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*), he found the following four Maliks in Kashmir; "Abdāl Makri, Kājichak, Lāhur Makri and Yakchak." Three of these names appear to agree with those who got three of the shares. The fourth आलेमेर or Ali Mir had been killed in an engagement with the Mirza himself.

[2] Firishtah's account is somewhat different. According to him Shaikh Mīr 'Alī went to Lōharkōt and brought Muḥammad Shāh with him. According to Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 114) Abdāl Mākrī recalled Muḥammad Shāh "from his prison of Lanharkot" and the two, *i.e.*, Abdāl and Muḥammad Shāh entered Kashmīr as friends. This does not appear to me to be quite correct. Prājyabhaṭṭa in lines 290–296 mentions the message sent to the Cakreśa, the sending back of the Mughals, and the going of 'Alī Mīr to Muḥammad Shāh.

[3] Firishtah says he had governed the country for twenty years and eight months. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 114) has "20 years and 20 months"; the number of months is of course incorrect. Prājyabhaṭṭa in line 298 has राज्यं कृत्वाथ वर्षैकं दशम्यां नाजिको नृपः। ज्येष्ठ पुत्रे नृपात् प्राप यौवराज्यं महत्तमदात्। *i.e.*, the King Nājika (Nazuk) having reigned for one year, obtained the position of heir apparent from King Muḥammad. The period of Nāzuk's reign certainly was not twenty years; he ascended the throne in 933 A.H., 1537 A.D., and was deposed and made heir apparent, in 935 A.H., 1529 A.D., so he reigned for a little more than a year as stated by Prājyabhaṭṭa.

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the year 937 A.H. When one year of the reign of Sulṭān [1] Nāzuk Shāh had elapsed, Malik Kājī Chak, who had gone to the hilly country collected a vast number of men there, and came to the neighbourhood of [2] Kahrār. Malik Abdāl came and confronted him, and fought with him. Malik Kājī fled and went to Hindūstān.

At this time, Mīrzā Kāmrān had absolute power on the Punjāb. Shaikh 'Alī Bēg, Muḥammad Khān and Maḥmūd Khān, [3] who had, after the conquest of Kashmīr returned with the permission of Abdāl Mākrī, represented to Mīrzā Kāmrān, "As we have acquired a knowledge of the whole country of Kashmīr, if you pay a little attention, the whole country can be conquered with the greatest ease." [4] Mīrzā Kāmrān appointed Maḥram Bēg to be the commander of his army, and sent him to conquer Kashmīr in concert with the nobles who had joined them. When the Mughal army arrived in the nieghbourhood of Kashmīr, the inhabitants in great terror left all their property and things in their houses, and fled towards the hills. The Mughal army

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[1] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have Nāzuk Shah, but this is clearly a mistake. Firishtah has از شاهی محمد شاه, *i.e.*, of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, which is correct.

[2] Both the MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have کهرار Kahrār. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has پنجهرار Punjhrār. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 114) has Kahrār. Prājyabhaṭṭa has सप्तमेऽब्देऽथपैः सार्द्धं युद्धेच्छुः काचचक्रपः। नौर्व्वारग्रामादगमत् ससैन्योऽथ दिगन्तरम् (l. 301) which does not, however, make one much wiser as to the locality.

[3] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 114) says, "Shaikh Alī Beg and Muhammad Khān the leaders of the allies who had helped Abdāl Mākarī, and who had left him without permission." This is totally incorrect. As a matter of fact they were sent back with many presents and valuable gifts. In the particular passage under translation both Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah say با رخصت and not بے رخصت. In the text-edition it is برخصت.

[4] This is mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 303) Maḥram Bēg being transformed into मह्रोमाख्यसमूपतिः and Mīrzā Kāmrān into मेरेज-कामराण and the following facts are mentioned (lines 304–308) that शिखालभिग, मच्छोदखान and other Mughals accompanied the Mughal army; that Muḥammad Shāh and others quickly brought back the *Cakreśa*, *i.e.*, Qādī Chak to help him, that the Mughals having invaded the city with thousands of horses and elephants, the Kashmīris took shelter in the fort, and the Mughals burnt down and looted the houses and cities, etc.

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then looted the city, and set fire to it. Some of the Kashmīrīs who had returned from the hills to fight with the Mughals were slain. Abdāl Mākrī had a conviction at first that Malik Kājī; was with the Mughals; but when he knew at last of a certainty, that he was not with them, he showed friendship and attachment towards him; and summoned him with his sons and brothers; and they made promises and bound one another by oaths. This became a source of strength for the Kashmīrīs; and they set their heart on a battle; and combined together and engaged the Mughals in a big fight. [1] The latter, considering it advisable to do so, went back to their own country.

[2] After some time, Malik Kājī, having seen the treachery and pride of Malik Abdāl, did not consider it desirable to remain in the country and went to Hindūstān. [3] It was in this year, that is, in 939 A.H., that Sulṭān Saiyid Khān, the *Bādshāh* of Kāshghar, sent his son Sikandar Khān, in company with Mīrzā Ḥaidar Kāshgharī, with twelve thousand men, by way of Tibet and Lār to invade Kashmīr. The Kashmīrīs (frightened) at the rumour of their power and grandeour evacuated Kashmīr; and without any battle fled in different directions, and sought shelter in the hilly country. The Kāshghar army, having entered the Kashmīr territory, razed the grand edifices, which had been built by the old Sulṭān, to dust; and set fire to the city and the villages; and having searched for the treasures, which were buried under the ground, seized them; and all the soldiers loaded themselves with the booty; and went everywhere to find the Kashmīrīs who had

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[1] This appears to be described in a very metaphorical language in line 311 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[2] Firishtah agrees, but says Malik Qāḍī Chak went to Bhir. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 115) says, "Malik Gājī Chakk could not endure the prosperity of Abdāl (which is not at all correct) so he betook himself to Bhīr." Prājyabhaṭṭa gives (l. 312) the reason and the fact of the departure of Qāḍī Chak very succinctly, namely मार्गेशानादरचलः काचचक्रो बहिर्ययौ, *i.e.*, being alarmed at the scanty regard shown to him by the Mārgeśa, *i.e.*, Abdāl Mākrī, Kāca Cakra left the country.

[3] Firishtah agrees almost *verbatim*. The invasion of the Kāshghar army is mentioned Prājyabhaṭṭa in line 314, etc. It is said to have been commanded by Mīrzā Ḥaidar (मेरोजहैदर), and Sikandar Khān is not mentioned in the beginning, but is mentioned further on in line 331.

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hidden themselves, and slew them and took them prisoners. This state of things went on for [1] three months.

And Malik Kājī Chak and Malik Abdāl Mākrī and other renowned *sardārs* went to and took shelter in [2] Chakdhar; but as they did not consider it advisable to remain there, [3] they descended from the mountains in the direction of Khāwaryārah, and having resolved

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[1] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 115) contrary to both Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah has six months. Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 325) also says that the Kashmīr chiefs fought with the *Mlechhas* for three months.

[2] The name is written as چکدهر in both MSS., and as چکومر in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has چکدر. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 494) has "the town of Chukdura," and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 115) has Chakdara; but no attempt has been made by anybody to identify the place, and I also have not been at all successful. Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 324) has **अल्लावरण-युक्षासु भूपभूमिषु शिश्रियुः। काश्मीरिकाश्चमूनाथा आश्रयान् म्लेच्छमङ्कया**, *i.e.*, the commanders of the Kashmīr army, fearing the *Mlecchas*, obtained asylum in the *Bhūpabhūmis* (whatever they might be) which were covered with water; but I have no idea as to what the *Bhūpabhūmis* were and where they were situated. The next line, however, mentions three places, Ciroḍḍāra, Hājyeṅgakotta and Cakradhara, but the line goes on to say **श्रुत्वाभ्यवाहयन् मासत्रयं म्लेच्छैः प्रयुध्य ते।** If **श्रुत्वा** is a mistake for **श्रित्वा**, then the line would mean that taking shelter in Ciroḍḍāra, Hajyeṅgakoṭṭa and Cakradhara, they carried on the war with the *Mlecchas* for three months; and then Chakdara or Chakdhar would probably be Cakradhara; but unfortunately I cannot find anything about Cakradhara also; and I cannot alter *Śrutvā* to *Śṛtvā*. In the text-edition it is چکدهر.

[3] The readings here are different. One MS. has بجانب کهاورة و از انجا پارة کوة فرود امدند, the other has بجانب کها و زیادة و ازانجا براة ماوة فرود امدند while the lith ed. has بجانب کهادربارة و ازانجا براة ماربادة از کوة فرود امدند. Firishtah lith. ed. has بجانب کهادربارة و ازانجا براة بادة از کوة فرود امدند. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 494) has (they) "retreated to Baramoola living occasionally in the hills." Rodgers says that from Chakdara "they went to Khāwara and Bāradār. From this place by the way of Bādah they descended from the mountains." Prājyabhaṭṭa does not give much help. He says (l. 330), **चक्राधारादेत्य भूपेन्द्रयुक्ता भीमादेवीसन्निधौ सन्निवेशं। चक्रुस्तीर्त्वा लेदरीवामपारं चक्रेमाद्या मार्गपा आश्रयाय।** If Cakrādhāra is identical with Cakradhara, then we find that the Kashmīrī leaders coming from Cakrādhāra or Cakradhara encamped near Bhimādevī after crossing the Ledarī, for a battle; but there is no mention of any places like this in Niẓām-ud-dīn or Firishtah. In the text-edition مار ناوة is apparently a misprint for مار باوة.

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to engage the Mughals in battle, went forward from there by way of Mārbāwah. The Sulṭānzāda Iskandar Khān and Mīrzā Ḥaidar also came forward with an immense army to meet them. [1] There was a great battle, and Malik 'Alī and Mīr Ḥusain and Shaikh Mīr 'Alī and Mīr Kamāl among the Kashmīrī commanders were slain. Of the Kāshgharīs also, some good men met their death. The Kashmīrīs wanted to turn their backs on the battle-field; but Malik Kājī and Abdāl Mākrī placed their feet of bravery firmly, and, persuading and encouraging the others, did justice to their bravery and gallantry. So many men were slain on the two sides that they were beyond all calculation. Some headless bodies rose up and moved about. The reason of this has been mentioned on a former occasion. The battle between the parties went on from morning till evening. When night came on, the two armies taking note of their plunder, went back to their respective places. Both sides coming out of the battle agreed to a settlement. The Kāshghar men sent [2] camelot, the warm woollen cloth (purpet), and other beautiful things to Sulṭān

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[1] The account of the battle as given by Firishtah agrees with that in the text, except that Mīr Ḥusain is called Mīr Ḥasan. He is also called Mīr Ḥasan in one of the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt, but he is called Mīr Ḥusain in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. Col. Briggs and Rodgers generally agree, but the statement made by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 115) that, "the prisoners were numbered on both sides, and were liberated" does not appear to me to be correct. The Cambridge History of India, page 287, only mentions the battle briefly, but the statement made in it, that "the army of Kashmīr fought so fiercely from morning until evening, that the invaders were fain to make peace", is also not correct. The advantage, if any, lay on the side of the invaders, as the Kashmīrīs at one time, were about to retire; and in any case both sides were anxious for peace. The battle is described by Prājyabhaṭṭa, in lines 331 to 337; and here we have not only the headless bodies mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah, but कबन्धनर्त्तका यत्तनरा वेतालराक्षसाः। मद्मांसाशनव्यग्राः। *i.e.*, the dancing headless bodies, *Yakshanaras*, *Vetālas* and *Rākṣasas* eager to feed on human flesh.

[2] The presents according to the MS. were صوف و سقرلات و سایر نفاس; the lith. ed. has سعلات instead of سقلات. سقرلات according to the dictionary is a purpet. Firishtah agrees with the MSS. but changes سایر to دیگر. Col. Briggs does not mention the presents; but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 115) has "wool, hawks and precious things". Neither the Cambridge History of India nor Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions the presents.

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Muḥammad and [1] agreed to a relationship. Sulṭān Muḥammad also in concert with Malik Kājī and Abḍāl wrote a treaty of peace; and sent it with the wonderful products of Kashmīr to the Kāshghar people. [2] It was also settled that Sulṭān Muḥammad's daughter should be given in marriage to the Sulṭānzāda Sikandar; and the Kashmīrī prisoners still in the custody of the Mughals should be released. The Kāshgharīs agreed to this treaty, and turned towards Kāshghar; and the disturbances which had been caused in Kashmīr became changed to peace and prosperity.

During this [3] year two comets or stars with tails rose above the horizon. A terrible famine took place in these days, so that most of

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[1] For an explanation of this see the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 441, where it appears that, "everyone, according to his rank, formed a connection (*mulākāt*) with one of the Sultāns or Maliks of Kashmir." Mirzā Haidar became connected with Muhammad Shāh, and according to "the Moghul practice we called each other 'friends'." Similar relations were formed between the other Moghul leaders and the Kashmir nobles.

[2] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 115) gives what appears to me to be a quite incorrect account of these terms. He says, "the Kāshghar party taking with them presents of wool, hawks and precious things, went to Muhammad Shāh, and asked his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Khān, and desired that the women whom the Mughals had in their hands, should there remain". Neither Niẓām-ud-dīn nor Firishtah says that the Kāshghar people went to their presence, and asked for Muḥammad Shāh's daughter. They both say that it was settled that the marriage would take place. Prājyabhaṭṭa in line 342 makes a curious statement about the marriage of the princess, **स्वदेशं मुग्गुला ययुः। बलात् पौरस्त्रियं साम्नादाय राजसुतामपि।** This would mean that the princess was taken away by conciliatory methods.

[3] The comets and famine are mentioned by Firishtah and Col. Briggs. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, mentions the famine but not the comets. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 116) mentions two comets and the famine; and with reference to the latter, he makes the curious statement, "The massacre of Zuljīr was regarded no less severe than this famine in its effect," which is very different from what Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah say about the matter, as would appear on a comparison of my translation. He had also apparently forgotten that he had called *Zuljīr Zuljū* on page 99 of his paper. According to Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 344) there were not two comets, but there was a rain of meteorites everywhere on the ripe paddy fields, and then a comet made its appearance. The line is **पक्वशालिवरस्फातिपूर्णक्षेत्रेषु सर्व्वतः। नभसस्तारकाः**

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the people died of hunger; and the remainder who survived, abandoned their native land and went away to distant places; and the story of Diljū, who had perpetrated a general massacre, having sunk into oblivion in people's minds, appeared as of no importance in comparison to this catastrophe. These hardships continued for ten months, and then ceased; and as the fruit season also drew near, some happiness made its appearance among the people.

During this period a disagreement occurred between Malik Kājī and Abdāl Mākrī; and the [1] former coming out of the city took up his residence in Zainpūr. Malik Abdāl continued to be the Sulṭān's *vazīr*; and the governors and the officers perpetrated every kind of oppression that they wanted on the *ra'īayts*; and no one was there to attend to their complaints. [2] After some time, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh suffered from a burning fever; he gave away all the gold that he had to the poor and needy, and passed away from the world as a result of the same illness. The period of his reign was [3] fifty years.

पेतुर्भूयः केतुरदृश्यत। The famine is described in lines 345–358. It is said (l. 350) that अब्दालमल्लेकादयः पुण्यरता हि ते। प्रत्यहं तण्डुलग्रतैः पक्वान्नैः पुपुषुर्जनं॥

[1] Compare line 360 of Prājyabhaṭṭa. The place where Qāḍī Chak took up his residence is called Jainapura in this line. Zainapōr is mentioned in the Index of Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, but the page reference, vol. II, page 472, against it is incorrect; on page 471, however, it is stated that "From the small town of *Jainapurī* founded by him, the new subdivision took the name of Zainapōr or Jainapura."

[2] The illness and death of Muḥammad Shāh and his adjurations to his ministers are described in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, lines 365–373. He seems to have suffered from various complaints and not from the تپ محرق alone mentioned by Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah; as it is said मद्दाग्देशो देद्दी दुष्टैरिवामयैः। खखावासात्रयैरेतैः पीडया जज्ज्वरीकृतः।

[3] Firishtah also says he reigned for fifty years; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 116) explains this by saying that, "The fifty years must reckon from 891 A.H. and include all the reigns of Fath Shāh and Nāzuk Shāh." It is noteworthy, however, that Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 373) says that he reigned for five years वर्षान् पञ्च क्षतौ भूयो राज्यं कृत्वा. His last or fourth reign extended from 935 to 941 A.H., 1529–1534/35 A.D., which is about 5 years, so that the fifty of Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah may be a mistake for five.

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[1] An account of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

[2] Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn sat on the throne of the empire after his father, and divided the whole country, in agreement with his *vazīr*, among the *amīrs*. The people of Kashmīr made rejoicings on his accession. But in a very short time there were disputes between Malik Kājī and Abdāl Mākrī; and the former carried the Sulṭān away in the direction of Gōswā to fight with the latter. Abdāl also came forward to meet him with a [3] complete army. But in the end a peace having been determined upon, Abdāl went away to Kamrāj, which was his *jāgīr*, and the Sulṭān and Malik Kājī returned to Srīnagar. [4] Again after some time Abdāl Mākrī turned his head from allegiance; and commencing to make disturbances created confusion in Kamrāj. This time also the disturbance was quelled with ease. Nothing more than this can be gleaned from the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* about Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn; and the period of his rule

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[1] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. omit the word بن the son, after Shams-ud-dīn. Firishtah lith. ed. has it. I have inserted it.

[2] Firishtah agrees, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 496) following the *Towarikh-Kashmeery* calls the successor of Muhammad Shāh, Ibrahim, and not Shams-ud-dīn. Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India follow Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah. Prājyabhaṭṭa devotes some lines (374–376) to the people's lamentation on the death of Sulṭān Muhammad, and calls the new Sulṭān शंसशाह (l. 380) a very abbreviated form of Shams-ud-dīn Shāh. It also mentions the rejoicings of the high and the low (महान्तः पामराः सर्व्वे) and their blessings in line 382. Then we suddenly come to the disputes between the two factions, but it is difficult to discover any reason for them. The two armies were stationed at गर्धमोड्डार and जल्लमदान्तिक, and then Rigacakra went as an intermediary; and concluded a settlement to the effect that Kācacakra (Qāḍī Chak) should remain at the capital and the Mārgapas (Mākrīs) in Kamrāj (l. 389).

[3] نا استعداد تمام in the text-edition is apparently a misprint for با استعداد تمام.

[4] As to the account of the latter part of the reign of Shams-ud-dīn and the reign of Nāzuk Shāh, Firishtah agrees almost word for word, and so does Rodgers. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, says that Shams-ud-dīn II died in June or July 1540, when Nāzuk Shāh was restored. The account in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is very confused. It mentions the intrigues of the leaders and the incursions of the Mughals (l. 403) but I have not been able to discover anything about Shams-ud-dīn or Nāzuk Shāh.

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cannot be ascertained. After him his son Nāzuk Shāh sat on the seat of government; but five or six months had not passed, when Mīrzā Ḥaidar having acquired power in the country took possession of it. During the period of his rule, public prayers were read and coins struck in the renowned name of His Majesty, Jinnat Ashīānī [1] Humāyūn *Bādshāh*.

An account of the rule of Mirzā Ḥaidar.

In the year 948 A.H., at the time, when Jinnat Ashīānī having been defeated by Shēr Khān had come to Lāhōre, Abdāl Mākrī and [2] Rēgī Chak and some other of the chief men of the Kashmīr sent a petition, through Mīrzā Ḥaidar, containing expressions of their loyalty, and incitements to him to seize the country. His Majesty (*i.e.*, Humāyūn) gave Mīrzā Ḥaidar permission to go; and also decided to follow him himself. When Mīrzā Ḥaidar arrived at [3] Bhimbar,

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[1] One MS. omits by mistake the passage from جنت اشياني to محمد همايون بادشاه بود, including the heading about the rule of Mīrzā Ḥaidar.

[2] He is called Zangī Chak in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, Zungy Chuk by Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 498), and Zangī Chakk by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 117) and the Cambridge History of India; and the translators of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* also call him Zangi Chak; but the name is رنگی چک in both MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt, and more distinctly ريگی چک in the lith. ed. Of course there is very little difference between ريگی and زنگی as written in Persian. रिगचक्र or रिगचक्रेश्व is mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa in lines 388, 393 and elsewhere. *Riga Cakra* may be transformed to Rēgī Chak, but cannot be changed to Zangī Chak. Rēgī Chak is, therefore, the correct name and I have kept it. رنگی چک in the text-edition is incorrect.

[3] The name looks like بنبر in the MS. The lith. ed. has ببنر and Firishtah lith. ed. has بهير Bhīr. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 498) has Mein, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 117) has Bhīr. The Cambridge History of India does not mention the name of the place. I consulted the fountain head for the correct name, but Mirza Haidar is delightfully vague in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, page 483, where he says, "when I arrived at the foot of the pass (leading to) Kashmir, Kāchi Chak ascended (?) by one road and we by another, and without further contention or discussion, we (all) arrived at (Kashmir)." I cannot find any place of the name of Bhīr, but Bhimbar or "Bhimbhar" lies at the foot of the outer hills, in the centre of the tract between the Vitastā and the Cīnab, note 180, page 33, Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. So I think Bhimbar is correct, and I have kept it. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has نير.

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Abdāl Mākrī and Rēgī Chak came and joined him. There were not more than four hundred horsemen with Mīrzā Ḥaidar. When he arrived at Rājaurī, Kājī Chak, who was (then the *de facto*) ruler of Kashmīr, came with three thousand horsemen and fifty thousand foot soldiers to the [1] Karmal pass, and strengthened it. Mīrzā Ḥaidar abandoned that route, and started by way of Punj. Kājī Chak in his great pride did not guard that road; and Mīrzā Ḥaidar, crossing the hill, arrived in the Kashmīr plateau; and suddenly took possession of the city of Srīnagar. Abdāl Mākrī and Rēgī Chak having secured a footing, took charge of all affairs; and allotted some *parganas* as the Mīrzā's *jāgīr*. It so happened that about this time Abdāl Mākrī's days came to an end; and he died after recommending his sons to the Mīrzā.

After the arrival of Mīrzā Ḥaidar in Kashmīr, [2] Kajī Chak went to Shēr Khān Afghan in Hindūstān; and brought five thousand horsemen, who were commanded by Ḥusain Sharwānī and [3] 'Ādil Khān

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[1] Firishtah has کتل کرتل and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 498) has Kurmul pass. In the text-edition کرتل has been changed to کیرتل. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV) p. 117, has transformed Katal Kartal to "Khabal Kartal (it is called Karmal by Erskine)"; and he has transformed پنچ, which is written as بنچ in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and as بهج in Firishtah lith. ed., out of all recognition to "Pabhaj (the Pamīj of Erskine)." Col. Briggs comes very near the correct name and calls it Punnuj. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, does not give the name of the place, where Kājī Chakk was stationed; but gives the correct name (Pūnch) of the pass, by which Mīrzā Haidar crossed the hill. It makes the statement that Mirza Haidar's allies "engaged Kājī Chakk's attention by threatening a frontal attack"; but I cannot find any authority whatever for it. Both the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah simply say that he abandoned that route, and Mirza Haidar (whose words I have quoted in the preceding note) whatever he says or means, does not mention any threat of a frontal attack by his allies on Kāchi Chak.

[2] According to Mirza Haidar (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 485), there was an interval of some months between his arrival, and Kāchi Chak's bringing the troops from Shir Khān. Mirza Haidar crossed the pass into Kashmir on the 22nd of Rajab. Then the winter came on, and it was not till the beginning of spring that Shir Khan's troops arrived. Just then Abdāl Makri was attacked by paralysis and died.

[3] The name is 'Alāwal Khān in one MS. and in the lith. ed.; but it is 'Ādil Khān in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

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and two elephants, to reinforce his own troops. Mīrzā Ḥaidar in concert with Rēgī Chak, advanced to meet him in battle. The two parties arrayed their forces between the villages of [1] Datarbār and Kāwāh; and the breeze of victory having blown on the plumes of the standards of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, the *amīrs* of Shēr Khān and Kājī Chak were routed. Kājī Chak took up his residence in [2] Bahramgalah. Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf the *Khaṭīb* (preacher) of the *Jama'* Mosque of Srīnagar [3] obtained the date of the victory in the words "*Fatḥ-i-Mukarrar*".

In the year 950 A.H., Mīrzā Ḥaidar took up his residence in the fort of [4] Indarkōt. [5] Owing to Mīrzā Ḥaidar having entertained suspicions about Rēgī Chak, the latter fled and went to Kājī Chak; and the two united together, and in the year 951 A.H., advanced towards Srīnagar with the object of destroying Mīrzā Ḥaidar('s power). Bahrām Chak son of Rēgī Chak reached Srīnagar. Mīrzā Ḥaidar nominated Bandagān Kōkah and Khwājah Ḥājī Kashmīrī to crush

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[1] The names are دتر بارو and کاوہ in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and دنه مارو and کاوہ in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has و نه دیار and کاوہ. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* gives various particulars which are not to be found in the Ṭabaqāt or in Firishtah, but does not give the names of these villages. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 499) has Dhunuj and Gava, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 117) has Danahdyār and Kāwah. The Cambridge History of India does not give any name. In the text-edition the names are دتربار and موضع کاوہ.

[2] Bahramgalah has wrongly been changed to پرم کله Parmkalah in the text-edition.

[3] The meaning is not clear, some words having probably been omitted. I have, however, supplied the omission by a reference to page 485 of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

[4] According to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, page 485, Mirza Haidar is said to have placed his and his followers' families in the fort of Andarkul, when he was going to fight Kāchi Chak and Shir Khān's armies. The translators say in a note that this must be the Indrakot of Firishtah. Firishtah, however would not dream of writing Indrakot, he has Indarkot. It may be noted, however, that there is a *pargana* called Andarkōth among those of the Kamrāj tract (Stein, vol. II, p. 494). So Indarkōt may be correct.

[5] Firishtah agrees, but Col. Briggs makes various mistakes. Rodgers's account follows Firishtah. The Cambridge History of India, page 288, apparently follows Col. Briggs about Zangī (Rēgī) Chakk's becoming suspicious of Haidar's attitude, instead of Haidar becoming suspicious of him.

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him, and he was unable to meet them, and fled. When the Mīrzā's troops pursued him, Kājī Chak and Rēgī Chak, considering flight the safest course, took up their quarters at Bahramgalah. Mīrzā Ḥaidar left Bandagān Kōkah and others at Srīnagar and advanced to conquer Tibet; and seized the fort of [1] Kōsūr, among the great forts, and some other forts.

In the year 952 A.H., Kājī Chak and his son Muḥammad Chak died of a [2] shivering fever. Mīrzā Ḥaidar passed the year in peace. In the year 953 A.H., Rēgī Chak fought with the *amīrs* of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, and was killed; and his head with that of his son Ghazī Khān was brought before Mīrzā Ḥaidar.

In the year 954 A.H., an ambassador arrived from Kāshghar. Mīrzā Ḥaidar went to Lār to welcome him. Ūjh Bahrām, son of Mas'ūd Chak, who for seven years had fought bravely in Kamrāj and had defeated everyone there, made proposals of peace to Khān Mīrak Mīrzā, and made conditions and engagements. Khān Mīrak Mīrzā summoned him after making promises and taking oaths. But when Ūjh Bahrām came to his *majlis*, he drew a dagger out of his boot, and stabbed him in the stomach. The man, wounded as he was, fled and got into the jungle. Khān Mīrak Mīrzā hastened in pursuit of him, and seizing him cut off his head, and brought it to Mirzā Ḥaidar at Lār, believing that Mīrzā Ḥaidar would be pleased. [3] 'Īdī Zīnā, after the food had been brought in, rose up in great

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[1] The name of the fort is كوسور and الوسوا in the MS., and كوسوار in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has لوسور; Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 499) has Looshoo, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 117) has Lansūr. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is of no help, as it ends with Mirza Haidar's victory.

[2] تپ و لرزہ instead of تپ لرزہ in the text-edition.

[3] It is not clear who he was. He was apparently someone in authority, for Mīrzā Ḥaidar thought it necessary to excuse himself on the ground of his ignorance of Mīrak Mīrzā's acts (Jān Mīrak Mīrzā in the text-edition). He is, however, named, a few lines below, as one of the leaders of the vanguard of the army sent to conquer Kishtwār. Both the MSS. say بعد از حاضر ساختن طعام. The lith. ed. omits the word طعام. Firishtah says nothing about anything being brought. If the reading in the MSS. is correct, the production of the head was delayed till the food was brought in, apparently with the object of giving it a special relish. In the text-edition the name is عیدی رینا 'Idī Rainā, but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118) has Ide Zīnā.

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anger and wrath on seeing the head; and said "It is not right to kill a person after making conditions and engagements." Mīrzā Ḥaidar said, "I had no information of these happenings."

After this, Mīrzā Ḥaidar advanced from Lār to Kishtwār. He made [1] Bandagān Kōkah, Muḥammad Mākrī, Makna Mughal, Mīrzā Muḥammad Yaḥīya and 'Īdī Zīnā the commanders of his vanguard; and himself remained in the village of [2] Jhālū near (the boundary of) Kishtwār. The vanguard, after traversing marches of three days in one day, arrived in the village of [3] Dōhut which was on their side of the river Mārmā. The Kishtwārā army was on the opposite side of the river. There was a skirmish of arrows and musket shots, but neither party could cross the river. The following day Mīrzā Ḥaidar's army, turning from the right road, wanted to get into Kishtwār. When they arrived in the village of [4] Dār, a strong wind

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[1] The names are as I have them in the text in the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, with slight variations. Firishtah lith. ed. omits the third and makes Mīrzā Muḥammad Yaḥīya Zīnā one man. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 500) only gives the name of Bandagan Koka, and adds "with other officers." Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118) follows Firishtah, but calls the last man there Yahī Zīnā. The Cambridge History of India does not give any name.

[2] The name looks like جهاز and جهانر in the MS. and دو جهابر in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah lith. ed. has جهاپر. Col. Briggs does not mention the place, but Rodgers, following Firishtah, calls it Jhāpūr. The place is not mentioned on page 21 of the Introduction to Elias and Ross's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* where the editors speak of the expedition against Kishtawār. In the text-edition it is جهالو.

[3] The name of the village looks like دوهت and وهت in the MSS. It is دوست in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and دهنوت in that of Firishtah. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118) has Dahlot. No name is given in the introduction of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, but it is said that the advance guard came up with the enemy on the banks of the Kishtawār river. The name of the river is ما ربا, or ما رما, or ما ربا in the MS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah lith. ed. has مارما. Col. Briggs does not give the name; and Rodgers says, "where the river winds". In the text-edition دیهوت is adopted as the name of the village.

[4] The name of the village is دار in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and داد in the other MS. It is Dhār in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118).

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rose, and it became dark. The Kashmīrīs came bravely in crowds and attacked them. Bandagān Kōkah, who was the leader of Mīrzā Ḥaidar's army, was slain with many others. When they started from there, Muḥammad Mākrī and his son with twenty-five principal men were slain on the road. The rest, who had escaped death from the sword, came and after suffering much privations, joined Mīrzā Ḥaidar. The Mīrzā coming back from there in the year 995 A.H., advanced towards Tibet and conquering Rājaurī from the Kashmīrīs made it over to [1] Muḥammad Naẓr and Ṣabr 'Alī. He gave Paklī to Mullā 'Abd-ul-lah and little Tibet to Mullā Qāsim; and conquering great Tibet appointed a person of the name of [2] Muḥsin to be its governor.

In the year 956 A.H., Mīrzā Ḥaidar turned his attention to the fort of [3] Danīl. Ādam Kakhar came there; and prayed for the pardon of the offences of Daulat Chak, nephew (brother's son) of Kājī Chak. Mīrzā Ḥaidar granted the prayer; and sitting with Ādam in his pavilion, summoned Daulat Chak to come there. The latter [4] became angry, and rose up, and taking the elephant which he had brought with him as a tribute, went away. Some persons wanted to pursue him, but Mīrzā Ḥaidar forbade them.

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[1] The first name is Muḥammad Naẓr in both MSS. and the lith. ed. The second name is Ṣabr 'Alī in one MS. and جبر علی which may be a mistake for ببر علی in the other, and Mīr 'Alī in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Muḥammad Naẓīr and Nāṣir 'Alī. Col. Briggs does not mention the names, and Rodgers gives the names after Firishtah. No names are given in the introduction (p. 21) to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which contrary to Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah's account, that he seized Rājaurī, Paklī, Little Tibet and Tibet in the order mentioned, says that he conquered Little Tibet (or Baltistan), Tibet (or Ladak) and subsequently Rajaori and Pakhli.

[2] The name is محسن نام in both MSS. and محسن نامی in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Mullā Qāsim.

[3] The name is دهل and دهلی in the MSS., and دیهل in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has دنیل. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 501) has Deebul, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118) has Danel. In the text-edition it is دهل.

[4] Firishtah surmises that غالباً چنانچه مرضی او بود اعزاز و اکرام بجا نیاوردند as the probable reason for Daulat Chak's anger.

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After some time, Mīrzā (Ḥaidar) returned to Ḳashmīr. [1] Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Ḳhān and Ḥasan Chak and Bahrām Chak went to Haibat Ḳhān Niyāzī, who having been defeated by Islām Ḳhān, had come to Rājaurī. Islām Ḳhān had also come to [2] Madwār, belonging to the Naushahrah area in pursuit of the Niyāzīs. [3] He sent Saiyid Ḳhān 'Abd-ul-mulk one of his trusted servants to Haibat Ḳhān; and Saiyid Ḳhān, having introduced matters about an amicable settlement, brought the mother and sister of Haibat Ḳhān to Islām Ḳhān. The latter then turned back, and coming to the village of [4] Ban, in the neighbourhood of Sīālkōt, took up his quarters there. The Ḳashmīrīs mentioned above took Haibat Ḳhān to [5] Bārāmūla, and wanted to take him to Ḳashmīr, in order to do away with Mīrzā Ḥaidar (with his help). He, however, could not make up his mind to do so; and sending a Brahman to Mīrzā Ḥaidar, made proposals for peace. Mīrzā Ḥaidar sent ample funds by the hand of that Brahman; and Haibat Ḳhān, leaving the place where he was, went to the village of [6] Bīr, which is a dependancy of the territory of Jammū. [7] The

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[1] Firishtah substitutes Jai Chak for Ḥasan Chak, and is followed by Rodgers. Firishtah, however, has the name of Haibat Ḳhān correctly, but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118) converts it to Haidar Ḳhān, though a few lines further down, he has Haibat Ḳhān Niyāzi.

[2] The name is Madwār in one MS. and Badwār in the other and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Madwār. The article از appears to have been omitted before ولایت in the MSS. and the lith. ed.

[3] Firishtah (and following him, Col. Briggs) and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 118) say that it was Haibat Ḳhān who sent Sayyid Khān Niyāzi to Islām Shah.

[4] The name is Ban in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It looks like Man in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. and Rodgers have Ban, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 502) has Bhimbur.

[5] The MSS. have واملة, and the lith. ed. has دابلة, but Firishtah lith. ed. has بارة مولة which, I think, is correct. It is داملة in the text-edition.

[6] The name is بیر, and برکة in the MSS. and لبر in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has هیر. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 502) has "the town of Subzeea," while Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 119) has Hīr, and says that it is Nīr in MS. No. 6571, in the British Museum. هرکة has been adopted in the text-edition.

[7] Firishtah and Col. Briggs and Rodgers agree. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 119) says that he has seen two coins of Islām Shāh of this time,

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Kashmīrīs separated from him, went to Islām Khān, but Ghāzī Khān went to Mīrzā Ḥaidar.

In the year 957 A.H., Mīrzā Ḥaidar, becoming assured in his mind of the condition of the outskirts of the country, sent Khwājah Shams Mughal, with a large quantity of saffron, as an ambassador to Islām Khān; and in the year 958 A.H., Khwājah Shams returned with many presents, and much rich stuffs; and Yāsīn Afghān came from Islām Khān with Khwājah Shams; and Mīrzā Ḥaidar gave (many) shawls, and much saffron to Islām Khān's ambassador, and gave him permission to return.

He then appointed Qarrā Bahādur Mīrzā to the government of Baharmal; and sent 'Īdī Zīnā and Nāzuk Shāh and Ḥusain Mākrī and Khwājah Ḥājī from amongst the Kashmīrīs with him. [1] Qarrā Bahādur and the Kashmīrīs left Indarkōt, and took up their quarters at Bārāmūla, and commenced to create disturbances on the ground that the Mughals looked down on them. The Mughals represented this to Mīrzā Ḥaidar, but the latter did not believe it; and said that the Mughals were not in any way better than the Kashmīrīs in the matter of creating disaffection and disturbance. [2] Ḥusain Mākrī sent his brother 'Alī Mākrī to Mīrzā Ḥaidar, to make him acquainted

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and adds that the Kashmiris were tired of Mīrzā Haidar, and wanted to have Islām Shāh as their king, and the coins were struck in anticipation of his conquering the country, or they might have been struck by Mīrzā Haidar himself in compliment to Islām Shāh.

[1] Firishtah agrees, but Rodgers wrongly translates the words از اندر کوت بر امدند which are in the lith. ed. of Firishtah as well as in the Ṭabaqāt, by the words "came back to Indarkot." The sentence, as it stands, means that Qarrā Bahādur and the Kashmīrīs all commenced to create disturbances, but apparently it was the Kashmīrīs who did so. Rodgers's translation of the words که مغلان ایشانرا در نظر نمی ارند by the words that "the Mughals (the forces of Mīrzā Haidar) were not acceptable to them" also appears to be incorrect.

[2] Apparently Ḥusain and 'Alī were not acting in concert with the other Kashmīrīs. There are slight differences in the wording of the sentences. I have adopted the reading quoted by one of the two MSS., which makes most sense, but I have had to change the last word طلبید which is in both MSS. to طلبد. Firishtah lith. ed. has طلبد. Rodgers's translation (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 119) in which he reads the word غدر as عذر (excuse) appears to me to be incorrect.

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with the treachery of the Kashmīrīs, so that he might decide to recall the army. Mīrzā Ḥaidar took no notice and refused to listen to him; and said "What cause of jealousy should the Kashmīrīs have against you that they should act treacherously towards you," and did not summon the army back.

On the 27th of the Ramaḍān there was a great conflagration in the Indarkōt; and most of the houses were burnt down. Qarrā Bahādur and all the men sent the following message, "Our houses have been burnt down; if you will give an order we would come and repair our houses and turn our attention next year to Baharmal." Mīrzā Ḥaidar did not at all agree to this; and the army had to proceed to Baharmal, whether they liked it or not.

'Īdī Zīnā and all the Kashmīrīs then combined together; and when night came they separated themselves from the Mughals, and came to the pass of Baharmal. They also separated Ḥusain Mākrī and 'Alī Mākrī from the Mughals, and took them with themselves, so that they might not be slain with the Mughals. In the morning, there was a battle between the Mughals and the men of Baharmal, and the former were entangled and confined in the hills. Saiyid Mīrzā, however, fled to [1] Dabil. About fifty renowned Mughals were slain, and Muḥammad Naẓr and Qarrā Bahādur were taken prisoners. The rest, who escaped the sword, came by way of Punch to Bahramgalah. Mīrzā Ḥaidar was deeply grieved on hearing this news and ordered that the broken silver [2] *dēgs* (saucepans), which are now current in Kashmīr, be coined. He also made Jahāngīr Mākrī his trusted agent, and bestowed the *jāgīr* of Ḥusain Mākrī on him. He also gave horses and money to many of the craftsmen, and made soldiers of them. Just after this news came that Mullā 'Abd-ul-lah on hearing of the rising of the Kashmīrīs

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[1] The name looks like دهل and دبل in the MSS. and و مل in the lith ed. and appears therefore to be identical with Danīl, see page 712 and note 3. Firishtah lith. ed. however has قلعه بهرمل. دهلی in the text-edition is certainly incorrect.

[2] There is a word which looks like سهی or سهی Ṣahī, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. which I cannot make out, but which may be "made of copper". Firishtah lith. ed. has زریکمه in the corresponding passage. سهی has been adopted in the text-edition.

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was coming to meet Mīrzā Ḥaidar; but when he arrived near Bārāmūla the rebels who had collected in large numbers slew him; and Khwājah Qāsim was slain in little Tibet; and Muḥammad Naẓr was taken prisoner in Rājaurī; and the Kashmīrīs having collected in large numbers had come from Baḥramgalah to [1] Hīrahpūr. Mīrzā Ḥaidar, having no other alternative, [2] came out of Indarkōt, with the intention of engaging them. The total number of men with him was only a thousand. Among the Mughals men like 'Abd-ur-raḥman and Shāhzāda Lang, and [3] Khān Mīrak Mīrzā and Mīr Makta and [4] Ṣabr 'Alī and others, who were altogether about seven hundred men, joined him; and they took up their quarters at Shihāb-ud-dīnpūr.

Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Khān and other notable leaders in concert with 'Īdī Zīnā collected their men, and came to Hīrāpūr, and leaving that place came to the village of Khānpūr. Mīrzā Ḥaidar encamped in the plain of Khālidgarh, which is close to Srīnagar. Fatḥ Chak, whose father had been slain by the Mughals, raided Indarkōt with Rāja Bahrām and three thousand men, in order to avenge his father's death, and burnt down the buildings erected by Mīrzā Ḥaidar in the *Bāgh-i-Ṣafā*. When Mīrzā Ḥaidar heard this news, he said, "I did not bring these edifices from Kāshghar. With Divine favour similar ones can be built." Ṣabr 'Alī burnt down the edifices of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, which were in Suyyapūr, in retaliation of the burning down of Mīrzā Ḥaidar's buildings, but the Mīrzā was not pleased at this. (They) also burnt down the houses of 'Īdī Zīnā and Naurūz

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[1] The name is clearly Hīrahpūr in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has what looks like Habzāpūr. Col. Briggs's account (vol. IV, pp. 502, 503) is very sketchy, the whole of the incident from the appointment of Qarrā Bahādur (called Kiran Bahadur) to Baharmal (called Bheerbul) to the death of Mirza Heidur being narrated in the space of eight or nine lines; and the name of the place under consideration is not mentioned. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 120) calls the place Hambarapūr.

[2] Rodgers translates از اندر کوٹ بر امدہ as "came to Indarkot."

[3] جان پرک میرزا in the text-edition is a misprint for خان میرک میرزا.

[4] The name is صبر علی in one MS. and the lith. ed., and حر علی in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has جر علی, but Rodgers has Jai Alī. In the text-edition میر مکنہ is a misprint for میر مکنہ.

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Chak in Srīnagar. After this Mīrzā Ḥaidar came and took up his residence in Khānpūr. In this village there is a [1] plane tree, in the shade of which two hundred horsemen can stand; and it has been found by trial, that whenever a single branch of it is moved the whole tree shakes. The writer of this history Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad was in attendance, when the sublime standards of His Majesty the Khalīfā-i-Ilāhī went on a visit to Kashmīr for the second time; and he saw the tree, and examined it. In short, the Kashmīrīs moved from Khānpūr and came to the village of [2] Adanpūr; and the distance (between the two armies) was not more than [3] two *karōhs*.

Mīrzā Ḥaidar then decided that he should make a night attack on the enemy; and he gave direction that Mīrzā 'Abd-ur-raḥman, his brother, who was adorned with the attributes of piety and purity, should become his heir; and took the allegiance of his men to him. Then they all mounted, and started for making the attack. As decreed by fate, there were heavy clouds that night. When they arrived near the tent of Khwājah Ḥājī, who was the cause of the disturbance, and also the *vakīl* (agent or representative) of the Mīrzā, nothing could be seen owing to the darkness. Shāh Naẓr a cuirassier says, "At this time I shot an arrow. The voice of Mīrzā Ḥaidar came to my ears, which said [4] 'thou hast done an evil thing.' I knew that my arrow had hit the Mīrzā." It is also narrated that a

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[1] The name is بید in one MS., and چنار بید in the other. The lith. ed. has خبازی . چنار and خبازی may be mistakes for چنار Chinār or the plane tree, while بید is a willow. Firishtah lith. ed. has بید and Rodgers has willow. Both plane trees and willows grow in Kashmir, but I should be inclined to think that the tree in question was a plane tree which is a tall spreading tree.

[2] Both MSS. have ادن پور. The lith. ed. has ادب پور. Firishtah lith. ed. has ادنی پور and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 120) has Adnipūr.

[3] It should be noted, however, that just before this, apparently the two armies were both *in* Khānpūr.

[4] The readings in the MSS. are قباحت بولدی and قباحت تولدی and in the lith. ed. صاحب تولدی. These are all incorrect, unless بولدی or تولدی is same word in the dialect of Kāshghar. Firishtah lith. ed. has قباحت کردی which I have adopted. The whole affair is mysterious. Although it was dark the cause of the death could have been ascertained. Then, why was the corpse, or in fact the man, who was on the point of death left lying where he had fallen.

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butcher hit his thigh with an arrow. Another tradition is that [1] Kamāl Kōkah slew him with the sword; but there was nothing (visible) on his body except a wound caused by an [2] arrow. In short, when the morning came, it was bruited about, that a Mughal, who had been killed, was lying there. When Khwājah Ḥājī and his son arrived at the spot, they saw that it was Mīrzā Ḥaidar. They raised his head from the ground. There was no more than breath left. The dying man opened his eyes, and surrendered his life to the creator. The Mughals fled to Indarkōt. The Kashmīrīs going in pursuit of them [3] took up the corpse of Mīrzā Ḥaidar to the Darbadū Mausoleum, and buried it.

The people were sorely grieved at the death of Mīrzā Ḥaidar. The Mughals got into Indarkōt, and fortified themselves in it; and fight went on for three days. On the 4th day Muḥammad Rūmī [4] shot Kashmīrī coins from mortars, and every one, who was hit, was killed. At last, [5] Khānam, the widow of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, and his sister said to the Mughals, "As Mīrzā Ḥaidar has gone away from us, it is better to have peace with the Kashmīrīs." The Mughals accepted this, and sent Amīr Khān, the architect, to the Kashmīrīs to conclude a pact. The Kashmīrīs agreeing to a peaceful settlement gave a letter containing engagements and oaths to the effect that they would not cause any trouble to the Mughals.

The period of Mīrzā Ḥaidar's rule was ten years.

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[1] The name is کمال دوتہ in the MSS. and کمال دوبی in the lith. ed. I cannot find any meaning of دوتہ or دوبی. Firishtah lith. ed. has Kamāl Kakah and I have adopted it. The reading in the MSS. is followed in the text-edition.

[2] One MS. has زخم تیر و تبر و چندر دیگر, which is of course incorrect. The other has زخم تیر چیزی دیگر, which appears to be correct. The lith. ed. is also incorrect; it has زخم تیر و تبر چیزی دیگر. Firishtah lith. ed. has the same reading as the second MS., and this is followed in the text-edition.

[3] It is curious that the Mughals did not even attempt to carry away the Mīrzā's dead body; and it was left to the Kashmīrīs to bury it. The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. say that they buried the body in در بدو مزار. I cannot find out what this burial place was. Firishtah only says that the Kashmīrīs seeing the body of the Mīrzā buried it.

[4] There are slight differences in the readings.

[5] She is so called in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. calls her خانمی and it calls the Mīrzā's sister خانجی.

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An account of Nāzuk Shāh.

When the gates of the fort (of Indarkōt) were opened, the Kashmīrīs entered the [1] apartment containing valuable furnitures, etc. belonging to Mīrzā Ḥaidar and carried away fine and delicate goods. They brought the family and dependants of Mīrzā Ḥaidar to Srīnagar, and placed them [2] in the house of Ḥasan Matū. They divided the country of Kashmīr among themselves; and *pargana* [3] Dēvsar was allotted to Daulat Chak, and that of [4] Wahī to Ghāzī Khān and that of [5] Kamrāj to Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak. One *lakh* of [6] donkey-loads of paddy (or rice in husks) was allotted to Khwājah Ḥājī, the *vakīl*, of Mīrzā Ḥaidar. Daulat Chak gave *pargana* Dēvsar, which was his *jāgīr* to his son Ḥabīb Chak, and the daughter of 'Īdī Zīnā was married to the latter. The *amīrs* of Kashmīr, and more specially 'Īdī Zīnā, having gained complete power, raised Nāzuk Shāh on the throne, and kept him as a puppet; but in fact 'Īdī Zīnā was the *Bādshāh*.

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[1] The word is توشک خانه, which according to the dictionary is a wardrobe, and which Rodgers calls the treasury. It is really what I have called it in the text. There is or at least was some years ago, what was called a *Toshākhānā* correctly *Tūshakkhānā* of the government of India, in which the articles offered to the Viceroy at the Durbars were kept.

[2] I have not thought it necessary to point out all the mistakes in Rodgers's paper, but I cannot pass this over. The words both in the Ṭabaqāt and in Firishtah are اهل و عیال میرزا را در سری نگراوردند و در حویلی حسن متو جا دادند but متو of the Ṭabaqāt is منو in Firishtah. My translation is based on this text. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 121) has, "the family of the Mīrzā was taken to Srīnagar, and placed in the hands of Manūjā."

[3] Given as one of the S.E. *parganahs*, see list on page 369 of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II).

[4] It is written as رهی in both MSS. and the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has وهی, and I have taken this in preference to رهی, as it is probably identical with Vihi, one of the parganahs east of Śrinagar (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Jarratt, vol. II, p. 368).

[5] Kamrāj is called a tract containing 16 *Mahals*, page 370 of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II) but there is a *parganah* also of the name of Kamrāj included in the S.W. parganas of the Kamrāj tract.

[6] یک لک خروار شالی *i.e.*, a *lakh* of donkey-loads of paddy is transformed into "a lākh of shawls" by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 121).

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In the year 959 A.H. Sankar Chak, son of Kājī Chak, wanted to go away from Kashmīr (*i.e.*, I suppose Srīnagar), as Ghazī Khān who called himself the son of Kājī Chak and had much *jāgīr*. The details of this statement are these; that Sankar Chak was the son of Kājī Chak without any difficulty or doubt, and Ghāzī Khān although he was commonly known to be the son of Kājī Chak was not in reality his son; for Kājī Chak, after the death of his brother Ḥasan Chak, took the latter's widow, who was then with child (who was afterwards named Ghāzī Khān); and after two or three months the child was born. Hence Sankar Chak on account of the envy (which he bore) to Ghāzī Khān wanted to leave Kashmīr and go to [1] 'Īdī Zīnā. When a rumour of this got about, Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Khān sent [2] Ismaʻīl Hāyat and Harjū, with one hundred men to summon Sankar Chak. They told them that if he did not come with them they were to bring him by force. Sankar Chak did not come on their summons, and went to 'Īdī Zīnā. In the end 'Īdi Zīnā came to them, and made an amicable settlement; and the *parganas* of [3] Kothār and Khāwar and Māwar having been allotted to Sankar Chak the disturbance subsided.

At this time, there were four groups who had power in Kashmīr (1) 'Īdī Zīnā with his group; (2) Ḥasan Mākrī, son of Abdāl Mākrī

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[1] It is not at all clear where he was.

[2] The name is written as اسمعیل ریایت in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. the last half of the name is written as هایت without any dots above or below the second or third letters. This second part is distinctly written as هانت in Firishtah lith. ed., and Rodgers has Hanit. اسمعیل هایت has been adopted in the text-edition.

[3] The names of the *parganas* are not very easily decipherable. They look like کو بهار و کهادر و ماور in one MS. In the other they are the same except that the first is کو لهار. In the lith. ed. there is apparently only one name کو بهادره بارهٔ. Firishtah lith. ed has کو تهار و کها در و ماور and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 122) has Kothār Khāwin and Madurū. In the list of *parganahs* in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II, p. 369) there are two *parganahs* Khaṭṭār and Khāwarpārah, and I think it very probable that Sankar Chak got these. In the tabulated list of Kaśmīr Pargaṇas in Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (vol. II, pp. 493, 494) I find Kuṭahār, but no trace of any of the other. In the text-edition the names are کو بهار و کهادر و ماور.

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with his group; (3) the [1] Kishtwārīs whose leaders were Bahrām Chak and Yūsuf Chak and others; and (4) the Kāmīs of whom Kājī Chak, Daulat Chak and Ghazī Khān were the leaders. Yehayyī Zīnā gave his daughter in marriage to Ḥasan Khān, son of Kājī Chak; the daughter of Daulat Chak was married to Muḥammad Mākrī, son of Abdāl Mākrī; and the sister of Yūsuf Chak, son of Rēgī Chak, [2] Kōpwārī by name, was married by a *nikāḥ* ceremony to Ghāzī Khān. These alliances became the cause of the strength and power of the Chaks; and they, in concert with one another, went away to different parts of the country. Ghāzī Khān went to the country of Kamrāj, and Daulat Chak to Sūyyapūr. The Mākrīs went to [3] Bānkal; and 'Īdī Zīnā remained at Srīnagar in a sorrowful mood, and devised plans for their destruction.

As the season for egg fruits or *brinjals* now came, 'Īdī Zīnā ordered that fowls and *brinjals* may be brought so that they be cooked together. This was a dish [4] much liked by the Kashmīrīs. Then Bahrām Chak and Saiyid Ibrāhīm and Saiyid Ya'qūb came at his invitation, but Yūsuf Chak did not come. 'Īdī Zīnā had the three guests seized and imprisoned them. Yūsuf receiving information of this went away by way of Kamrāj with three hundred horsemen and seven hundred foot soldiers, and joined Daulat Chak. When 'Īdī Zīnā saw that the Kashmīrīs had united with the Chaks, he released the

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[1] The name is written very differently in the different MSS., etc. The MSS. have كشتواريان, and كها واريان; while the lith. ed. has كهتواريان. Firishtah lith. ed. has كپوريان. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 503) has Kapoories, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 122) has Kapūrīs. I prefer Kishtwārīs as it means the people of Kishtwār, while the others have no meaning at all.

[2] The name is written as كوپوادى and كوپواری in the MSS. and كيواری in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has كتواری. The name is not given either by Col. Briggs or by Rodgers.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. has باكل and Rodgers has Pākul, but the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt have بانكل Bānkal, which is the name of a pargana in S.W. part of Kamrāj. See page 371 of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II) where it is Bānkal, one of the south-west *parganahs*.

[4] The word is مقرر in both MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah lith. ed. has لطيف و مكرر.

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Mughals, such as [1] Qarrā Bahādur Mīrzā, 'Abd-ur-raḥman Mīrzā, Khān Mīrak Mīrzā, Shāhzāda Lang, Muḥammad Naẓr, and Ṣabr 'Alī from prison; and showed favour to them; and giving each one of them a horse and [2] armour and some money remained at [3] Chakpūr.

At this time, Saiyid [4] Ibrāhīm and Saiyid Ya'qūb, in concert with Jārūd, who was employed to guard them, fled; and going to Kamrāj joined Daulat Chak. Bahrām Chak could not escape. On the following day, Ghāzī Khān came to Srīnagar with [5] three thousand horsemen. 'Īdī Zīnā sent the Mughals to fight with him; but he broke down the bridges, and so the Mughals could not do anything. At this time Daulat Chak also came, and joined Ghāzī Khān in Srīnagar, and they joined together and took up a position in the *'Īdgāh.* There were constant skirmishes between the two parties, but Bābā Khalīl went to 'Īdī Zīnā in order to bring about a peace. He said, "You put your trust in the Mughals, and paid no regard to the Kashmīrīs. This was not right." Having said words like this he effected a peace

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[1] The names are as I have them in the text in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., with slight differences. In the Firishtah lith. ed. some of the names are different.

[2] The word used is سرپا in one MS. and in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, and سروپا in the other MS. I cannot find either Sirpā or Siropā in the dictionary. Rodgers has translated the word as armour, and I have adopted his translation. There is a Bengali or Hindi word *Śiropā* (शिरोपा) which means an article of dress, *e.g.*, a scarf, which can be worn as a mark of distinction; for instance, in certain places of pilgrimage various different kinds of Śiropās are given to the pilgrims, according to the amounts offered by them to the presiding deity of the temple. *Śiropā* may also mean something covering the head and feet.

[3] The name is Chakpūr in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt it is چک پرتو Chakpartū.

[4] This passage with which Firishtah agrees word for word has been translated by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 122) quite incorrectly as: "the Sayyids Ibrāhīm and Yaqūb by the help of the troopers escaped from prison, and joined Ghāzī Chakk at Kamrāj." The name of the officer-in-charge is incorrectly given as جاردو Jārdū instead of جارود Jārūd in the text-edition.

[5] The numbers are very differently given. One MS. has سی هزار سوار. The lith. ed. has سی هزار کس. In the other MS. and Firishtah lith. ed. it is سی سوار; and this is followed in the text-edition. I am inclined to think that three thousand was the correct number.

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between him and the Kashmīrīs. They then sent away the Mughals with their families and dependants by way of Tibet. [1] Khānamjī, the sister of Mīrzā Ḥaidar went away to Kābul by way of [2] Paklī. The people of Tibet slew [3] Ṣabr 'Alī and the other Mughals; and Khānamjī reached Kāshghar.

Following these events news came that Haibat Khān and [4] Saiyid Khān and Shahbāz Khān Afghans, who were of the Niyāzī tribe, were coming to conquer Kashmīr; and had arrived in the *pargana* of [5] Bānihāl, and have entered the hills of [6] Lūnkōt. 'Īdī Zīnā, Ḥasan Mākrī, Bahrām Chak, Daulat Chak and Yūsuf Chak combined together, and marched out to fight the Niyāzīs. The two parties confronted each other, and fought bravely. [7] Bībī Rābe'a, the wife of Ḥaidar Khān, also fought manfully; and struck 'Alī Chak with her sword. In the end Haibat Khān and Saiyid Khān and Fīrūz Khān and Bībī Rābe'a were slain and the Kashmīrīs returned to Srīnagar with triumph and victory. They sent the heads of the Niyāzīs by the hand of Ya'qūb Mīr to Islām Khān, in the village of Ban, which is near the river Chināb.

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[1] The name is خانم جی in one MS. and خانم in the other MS. and in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah. It will be seen from page 718 and note 5 that in the account of the events which happened immediately after Mīrzā Ḥaidar's death, his widow was called Khānam in the Ṭabaqāt, but the sister's name was not mentioned; but Firishtah lith. ed. called the widow Khānmī and the sister Khānjī. I have, therefore, called the sister Khānamjī following the MS. which gives her that name. It is Khānjī خانجی in the text-edition.

[2] The name in the text-edition is بکلی Baklī. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) has Paglī.

[3] The name looks like صبر علی in one MS. and جر علی in the other, and میر علی in the lith. ed. The name is Ṣabr 'Alī in earlier passages.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. has سعید خان but later on he calls him سید خان.

[5] Firishtah also has Bānhāl, but Rodgers has Bānihāl. There is a *parganah* called Banihāl to the S.E. of Śrinagar (see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Jarratt, vol. II, p. 369).

[6] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have در کوہ لون کوت. Firishtah lith. ed. has در کوہ نون. I cannot find anything about کوہ لون کوت or کوہ لون. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) has "at the salt range"; but I do not know his authority for saying so. Of course it may be the Salt Range, which runs parallel to the Jhelum near Pind Dādan Khān.

[7] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) calls her Bībī Rāba.

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After that, hostilities again commenced among the Kashmīrīs; and 'Īdī Zīnā, in concert with Fatḥ Chak, [1] Lōhar Mākrī, Yūsuf Chak, Bahrām Chak, and Ibrāhīm Chak came to [2] Khālidgarh, and took up residence there; and Daulat Chak, Ghāzī Khān, Ḥusain Mākrī and Saiyid Ibrāhīm Khān and a band of [3] *Dūms* joining together, took up their quarters in the *'Īdgāh*. When a period of two months had passed in this way, Yūsuf Chak, Fatḥ Chak, [4] Lōhar Mākrī son of Sahu, and Ibrāhīm Chak separated themselves from 'Īdī Zīnā; and joined Daulat Chak. Then Daulat Chak mounted with a large force advanced against 'Īdī Zīnā; and he being unable to meet them, fled without fighting; and went to the village of [5] Jharō. About this time he wanted to mount a horse, but by accident the horse kicked him on the chest, and he concealed himself in the village of [6] Samnāk; and he passed away from the world on account of the pain of the accident. They brought his body to Srīnagar; and buried it in

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[1] The name is Kohrād Mākrī in one MS.; but two lines further down it is Lōhar Dānkrī and is Kōhar Dānkrī and Lōhar Dānkrī in the other and in the lith. ed. In Firishtah it is Kōhar Mākrī. I have accepted Lōhar Mākrī.

[2] The name is خالد کر Khāldkar and خالد کرہ Khāldkarah in the MS., and جالہ کر Jālakar in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is Khālidgarh, but Rodgers has Khāgarh.

[3] The MSS. have طایفہ دو مان, and the lith. ed. of Firishtah has what also looks like طایفہ دو ماہ. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has دو نان. I do not know what the طایفہ دو مان would mean. دون of course means base, vulgar, etc. and طایفہ دو نان may mean a group of the common people. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) translates طایفہ دو مان یکجا شد as "joining themselves together."

[4] See note 1 above. After لوهر دانکری words like ولنه هیو and و لسه بهوہ occur in the MSS. The lith. ed. has ولد سهو. Firishtah lith. ed. has no corresponding words. I have adopted the reading of the lith. ed. The text-edition has ولنه بهیو.

[5] The name is خیرو, and جبرہ in the MSS., and جهرو in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has هرو or it may be مرو; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) has Merv. I cannot decide between these various readings, but I certainly do not consider that Merv is the correct reading. In the text-edition it is جیرو.

[6] The name is سمناک in the MSS., and the lith. ed. has سماک; but Rodgers has Simāle.

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the [1] mausoleum of Mūsā Zīnā. The *amīrs* then rebelled and excusing Nāzuk Shāh, who had nothing of the government except a name, from that also, determined on ruling [2] themselves.

(Nāzuk Shāh) ruled nominally for [3] two months, for the second time, after (the death of) Mīrzā Ḥaidar.

[4] An account of Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, who was the brother of Nāzuk Shāh.

As 'Īdī Zīnā had passed away, Daulat Chak became the *Madār-ul-mulk*, and took up the management of affairs into his own hand. But when he saw, that there was no escape from having someone who should bear the name of Sulṭān, he raised Ibrāhīm Shāh to the seat of government, and kept him as a puppet. At this time Khwājah Ḥājī, the *vakīl* of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, came out of the [5] jungle; and went to Islām Khān. [6] And seizing Shams Zīnā and Bahrām Chak put them into the prison. When the day of the *'Īd-i-fiṭr* came, Daulat

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[1] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) translates در مزار موسی زینا as "in the village of Mūsā Zīnā".

[2] The MSS. are incorrect. One has ارادهٔ خود کردند and the other ارادهٔ خود سری کردند. I have adopted the reading in the lith. ed. which is correct, and which is also the reading in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have for the second time. Firishtah lith. ed. has for the third time. Firishtah lith. ed. and Col. Briggs have two months, but Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India have ten months.

[4] That is the heading in the MS. as well as in the lith. ed. Firishtah however calls Ibrāhīm Shāh, the son of Nāzuk Shāh. Col. Briggs calls him brother of Nazuk Shah on one page, and his son in the next page. Rodgers and the Cambridge History of India, page 289, say that he was a son of Nāzuk Shāh.

[5] It is جنکل jungle in the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah; but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) has Khaigal, and he translates پیش اسلام شاه رفت as "took refuge with Islām Shāh."

[6] This is the reading in the MSS. and also in the lith. ed. The sentence has no nominative, and the verb کردند is in the plural. Firishtah lith. ed. has درین وقت عیدی زینا و, then as in the Ṭabaqāt, which makes matters, if anything, worse, for the two defects pointed out remain, there is the additional difficulty that 'Idī Zīnā was dead. I think the nominative should be Daulat Chak and the verb should be in the singular. Rodgers tides over the difficulty, by saying that Shams Zīnā and Bahrām Chakk were thrown into prison, but he does not say by whom.

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Chak having put his troops in order, came to the foot of the [1] Qabq (to practise archery). Yūsuf Chak also rode out to the foot of the Qabq. The runner or footman, who was collecting the arrows, came among the horse's legs. [2] The horse got entangled; and Yūsuf Chak fell from his horse, and his neck was broken.

In the year 960 A.H. hostility took place between Ghāzī Khān and Daulat Chak and there was very great dissension among the Kashmīrīs. Ḥusain Mākrī and Shams Zīnā, who were in Hindūstān, came back; and in the year 961 A.H., joined Ghāzī Khān. [3] The sons of Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak went to Daulat Chak. These disputes and dissensions continued for two months; but at length a husbandman, [4] in a spirit of impertinent interference, came to Daulat Chak, and said in his ears; "Ghāzī Khān has sent me to you to enquire why you have collected these unprincipled [5] men round you, as they are all your enemies." In the same way, he went to Ghāzī Khān,

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[1] The word is قبق in one MS. It looks like قیق in one place and like صیق in another in the second; and it is فبق Fabq in both places in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is قایوق in both places. Whatever the correct word is it seems to be the name of a hillock near Srīnagar. Rodgers's translation (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 123) is "outside the city."

[2] The words are اسپ منڈ شد in one MS. and the lith. ed., and اسپ بندرہ شد in the other MS. Firishtah lith. ed. has no corresponding words. In the text-edition the reading اسپ تنڈ شد has been adopted.

[3] Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak; but Yūsuf Chak had broken his neck; and Firishtah lith. ed. has the sons of Yūsuf Chak; so I have inserted the word sons before Yūsuf Chak in the translation. The text-edition has followed the manuscripts.

[4] The words are بعنوان فضول which Rodgers has translated "assuming the garb of an ambassador." The meaning is somewhat doubtful, but I think my translation is correct. The second word is فضولی in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, but it is فضول in the other MS. In the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt the words from اختلاف و این to گفت are omitted, and in their place the words are و در گوش او گفتند, according to which the meaning would be that it was the sons of Yūsuf Chak and Bahrām Chak who spoke the words in Daulat Chak's ear.

[5] There is an adjective بی تقریب to the noun مردم in both the Ṭabaqāt and in Firishtah. Rodgers has omitted translating it. I think my translation is correct.

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and said, "Daulat Chak intends to be at peace with you. Why are you quarrelling with him." Having said things like this he effected a settlement between them. Shams Zīnā then fled and went to Hindūstān.

At this time, some Tibetans came and drove away the flocks of sheep of *parganas* [1] Khāwah and Bārah, which were allotted as the *jāgīr* of Ḥabīb Chak, brother of Naṣrāt Khān. Daulat Chak sent Ibrāhīm Chak, Ḥaidar Chak, son of Ghāzī Khān and other chief men with a large army by way of Lār to invade great Tibet. Ḥabīb Khān himself advanced with great rapidity in pursuit of the Tibetans, by the road by which the flocks had been driven away. He suddenly came up to a fort of the Tibetans, fought with the garrison, and slew their commander by the sword. The rest all fled. Ḥabīb Khān encamped there, and said to Darvīsh Chak his brother, "Do you mount with the troops, and get into Tibet." Darvīsh Chak was negligent, and did not comply with his words. Ḥabīb Chak, in spite of his [2] wounds, which were still bleeding, mounted and got into the edifices and great mansions of Tibet. The Tibetans, being unable to oppose him, fled without attempting to fight. Forty of the men, who were clinging to the roof of one of the palaces, were seized. They made much importunities, and begged that they might not be killed. They also promised to give five hundred horses, one thousand [3] pieces of *pattū* (woollen cloth), fifty yāks and two hundred *tolas* of gold. Ḥabīb Chak paid no attention to their words, and hanged them all. He mounted and rode to another fort, and destroyed it also. The Tibetans sent three thousand horsemen, five hundred pieces of *pattū*, one hundred sheep and thirty yāks for his acceptance. He also

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[1] The name of the *parganas* are as I have them in the text in one MS.; in the other they are دیارہ و دکھا, and in the lith. ed. پارہ و کہاوہ. Firishtah lith. ed. has کہا و دو بارہ and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 124) has Khāwan and Bāra. I think, however, that the flocks were taken away only from one *pargana* that of Khāwarpārah which is one of the *parganahs* to the N.E. of Śrinagar (see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Jarratt, vol. II, p. 369).

[2] One MS. inserts between زخمہا and خون میرفت the phrase که خوردہ بود و ازو.

[3] The word is پارچہ a segment, a piece. Rodgers has pieces.

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took from the Tibetans some [1] good horses of Kāshghar, which had come into their hands.

Ḥaidar Chak, son of Ghāzī Khān, sent [2] Sūkhāī, his foster brother, to Ḥabīb Chak (with the message): "The Tibetans had kept these horses for Ghāzī Khān; and it would be better that you should send them, that I may send them to him." [3] Ḥabīb Chak had Sūkhāī struck about two hundred times with a stick, and said, "What power does Ghāzī Khān possess that he should take these horses, which I have seized by the force of my sword." They wanted to fight about these horses; but men intervened to effect a settlement, and did not allow them to fight. After that they came to Srīnagar; and passed the winter there.

In the year 962 A.H., there was a great earthquake in Kashmīr, and many villages and towns were destroyed. The villages of [4] Jhalū and Dāmpūr, with buildings and [5] trees, were removed from one bank of the *Bihat* (Jhelum) to the opposite bank; and in the village of Mārwarah which is situated at the foot of a hill, owing to a landslip (*lit.* falling of the hill) [6] about sixty thousand people perished.

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[1] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 124) translates اسپان خوب کاشغر "some five Kāshgarī horses"; apparently here five is a misprint for fine.

[2] The name is سوکھائی in the MSS. and سوکھائی in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Khānī; Rodgers also has Khānī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 506) does not mention the name; and his translation of the passage is quite incorrect.

[3] Firishtah lith. ed. has a totally different account of what happened, but it appears to me less natural than that in the text.

[4] One MS. has جلو و دامپور, the other has جلو و دامپور. The lith. ed. has جلو و دامپور. Firishtah lith. ed. has نیلو و آدم پور. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 506) does not mention the first, but calls the other Dampoor. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 124) has Nīlū and 'Adampūr.

[5] Firishtah agrees. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 506) says the town was removed from the east to the west bank of the Behut river, and in a footnote he adds that it is not easy to say whether the text should be taken literally. Rodgers says that the villages were "washed away". Dāmpor, with a spring, is mentioned by Stein. دوام پور in the text-edition is apparently a mistake. The earthquake is mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa (lines 513 to 521). There is no mention of the removal of Jhalū and Dāmpūr from one bank of the Bihat, but it is said ह्रसैनपुरहोसैनपुरयोर्दूरवर्त्तिनः। नदीमुच्छङ्ग्र भूकम्पे व्युत्क्रमोऽद्यापि दृश्यते। (l. 517).

[6] The words are distinctly مقدار شصت هزار in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. Firishtah, however, has شش صد six hundred, and this is more probable.

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF ISMA'ĪL SHĀH, BROTHER OF IBRĀHĪM SHĀH.

When five months had elapsed from (the beginning of) the rule of Ibrāhīm Shāh, which was in reality the rule of Daulat Chak, the times became propitious for Ghāzī Khān, and [2] Daulat Chak was slain. Ghāzī Khān became fully independent, but for name's sake raised Isma'īl Shāh to the throne in the year 963 A.H. In this year, Ḥabīb Chak wanted to join Daulat Chak (it would appear that what was said about his being slain or defeated and blinded, as in Firishtah, was said in anticipation of a coming event) and with this determination he went towards [3] Mardā Dūn. Ghāzī Khān said to Naṣrat Chak, "Your brother Ḥabīb has joined Daulat Chak. It is right that before he arrives we should seize Daulat Chak, for after his arrival the matter

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[1] That is the heading in one MS., in which however the name is اسماعیل instead of اسمعیل. In the other MS. and the lith. ed. the words بن علی شاہ are added after Ibrāhīm Shāh, but it does not appear who 'Alī Shāh was. Ibrāhīm Shāh, according to the Ṭabaqāt, was a son of Muḥammad Shāh, and according to Firishtah a son of Nāzuk Shah (see p. 725 and note 4).

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all say دولت چک بقتل رسید. Firishtah however says Daulat Chak مغلوب و مکبول گردید, *i.e.*, was defeated and fettered. Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has a curious story (see lines 523–535). It says दौलुतचक्कक: (the change from Cakra to Cakka should be noted) attempted to stop the flow of water in the वेताळाङ्गनभूमि. Thrown by the angry Vetālas (some kind of supernatural beings) stones fell into his house. He then went to a महातपाः साधु known as अभिमन्यु, who lived in a village called Tūlamūla; and inquired of him, how the dominions could be rich and free from all fears. The *Sādhu* said मदाज्ञया वार्षिकं ब्राह्मणकरं निवारय. When Daulat Chak inquired how he could do such a thing, the *Sādhu* became रोषव्याकुलमानस; and he cursed Daulat Chak. The curse also was curious समुद्रमध्यमासाद्य चन्द्रार्कौ ते पतिष्यतः, that is, the moon and sun will fall on your reaching the middle of the sea. After इमेमाभिधभूभृत् (*i.e.*, I suppose Ibrāhīm Shāh) had reigned for one month, Ghāzī Khān himself in his avarice took his position (अग्राह तत् पदं लोभाद्गाजखानखलः स्वयं).

I have included this long quotation as it appears to me to show a great increase of superstition and a great deterioration in the historical sense of the chronicler.

[3] The name is written as مودارون and مرار دول in the MSS. and مردادون in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. also has مردادون. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed., while the text-edition has مروادون.

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would be difficult." [1] It so happened that Daulat Chak had got into a boat, and had gone to the Dal reservoir (lake) to shoot ducks. When he got out of the boat, Ghāzī Khān coming up seized his horses; and he fled and got on the [2] Jāk hill. Ghāzī Khān pursued and seized him. Ḥabīb Chak arriving at [3] Nīr, knew that Daulat Chak had been seized, and became distressed in his mind. Ghāzī Khān caused Daulat Chak to be blinded.

After that Ḥabīb Chak came, and saw Ghāzī Khān. The latter was not pleased with him. He sent for Nāzuk Chak, nephew (brother's son) of Daulat Chak, and [4] wanted to give him the trouble of becoming his *vakīl*; but he did not agree owing to the anger he felt at his uncle having been blinded, and Ghāzī Khān wanted to seize and imprison him; but he being warned fled, and went to Ḥabīb Chak.

An account of Ḥabīb Shāh, son of Isma'īl Shāh.

When two years had elapsed from (the beginning of) the rule of Isma'īl, he died; and Ghāzī Khān raised his son to the government. At the end of the year 964 A.H., Naṣrat Chak, Ḥabīb Chak, Nāzuk Chak, Sankar Chak brother of Ghāzī Khān, and Yūsuf and Hastī Khān all collected together, entered into an agreement, and determined to the following effect: "Today Ghāzī Khān has taken a [5] medicine; his brother Ḥusain Chak is in prison. We will bring the

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[1] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 125) translates ناگاه "Once upon a time", and بحوض دل "to a pond in the lake." For a description of the Dal lake, see Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, page 416, and page 417 for its islands and shores.

[2] The name is جاک in one MS. In the other it is not decipherable. In the lith. ed. it is خاک. Firishtah lith. ed. does not give the name. The text-edition following the lith. ed. has کوه خاک.

[3] The name is نیر, and نهر. in the MSS., and منیر in the lith. ed. Firishtah does not give the name of the place.

[4] The words are تکلیف وکالت باو نمود in the MSS. as well as in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah; the meaning of which is not quite clear. Rodgers's translation (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 125) is "gave Nazūk Chakk the nephew of Daulat Chakk much inconvenience and trouble."

[5] The word in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. are داروی کار خورده است. I cannot find any meaning of the word کار which would suit the context. Firishtah lith. ed. has got the same words, but the word کار is omitted. Rodgers

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latter out of prison and kill Ghāzī Khān." This news reached Ghāzī Khān. He won over Yūsuf Chak and Sankar Chak, and summoned them to his presence. Ḥabīb Chak, Naṣrat Chak and Darvīsh Chak declared, that they would either go (to Ghāzī Khān?) or would make their escape, after engagements and promises have been made in the presence of *Qaḍīs* and learned men. Naṣrat Chak went to Ghāzī Khān without any engagements, and was thrown into prison. Ḥabīb Chak, in concert with Nāzuk Chak, broke down the bridges, and rose in rebellion. Hastī Khān came with a large force and joined them. Ghāzī Khan sent a large army to attack them; and a great battle took place. Ghāzī Khān's army was, however, defeated, and some of his men were taken prisoners. Ḥabīb Chak having gained the victory went to [1] Māmūn. After his men had been defeated, Ghāzī Khān himself rode out to attack Ḥabīb Chak. He went to [2] Dūmrah, and having got hold of three or four boats crossed the river.

He had three elephants and three thousand men with him. When he arrived at the plain of Khālidgarh, Ḥabīb Chak came forward with [3] two thousand men, and engaged him in battle. After much fighting, Ḥabīb Chak got into the [4] Jamjah river; and his horse could not cross it. Hastī Ṭarīq, one of the servants of Ghāzī Khān, coming after

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(*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 125) has translated the words, "was eaten up by physic," which cannot be understood.

[1] The word is ماهون, and پاسول in the MS., and باسون in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has کوہ ماسون, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 509) has Hamoon; and Rodgers has mountains of Māmūn. I cannot find anything about any of these places, and have adopted Māmūn. The text-edition following the lith. ed. has باسون.

[2] There are different readings here. One MS. has در دومرہ رفتہ, the other has در دو مرتبہ رفتہ, while the lith. ed. has روز مرہ رفتہ. Firishtah lith. ed. has بدومرہ رفتہ. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 509) has "marched on to Domra"; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 125) has "went to Badūmara", which is certainly incorrect, as he has prefixed the preposition *Ba* to Dūmra and has made one word of them, I have adopted Dūmra, though I have failed to find its location. In the text-edition it is دو مرہ apparently a misprint for دومرہ.

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have بست کس twenty men, but this is apparently incorrect. Firishtah has بست صد twenty hundred, and I have inserted hundred after twenty; but the text-edition has followed the MSS.

[4] The name is جھجھہ; and چھچھہ in the MSS., and جانجہ in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has جھجھہ پل Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 509) has "the

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him, put his hand on his mouth, and brought him down. About that (time) Ghāzī Khān's elephant came there and he was seized. Ghāzī Khān ordered his *fīlbān* to cut off his head. When the *fīlbān* put his hand on Ḥabīb Chak's face (or into his mouth), the latter caught his fingers firmly and bit them. In the end his head [1] was severed from his body, and was taken to [2] Kalahmāt, where his house was; and hung there from the gallows. Ghāzī Khān also seized Darvīsh Chak and Nāzuk Chak, and had them hanged. After some time, Bahrām Chak came from Hindūstān to Ghāzī Khān; and the *pargana* of [3] Kahunahāmū was allotted as his *jāgīr*. He received permission to leave Srīnagar, and went to [4] Madanjah, in *pargana* Zaingar, which was his

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Muchbul"; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 125) has "at the bridge of Jamja."

Rodgers's translation (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 125) of Firishtah's version "he was compelled to flee. At the bridge of Jamja his horse stuck fast", is not correct. The correct translation would be "his horse stuck fast in the river of the Jamja bridge". Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is rather difficult to follow in the later portions; but I think the following words refer to this incident नदीमुखद्वय भूपालो युद्धं कृत्वा महत्तरं। सितानदीप्रवाहेषु चक्रमेचक्रमारथत्। (lines 551-52). It will be noticed that Ghāzī Khān is already described as Bhūpāla or king; and Ḥabīb Chak is transformed into Habhe Cakka and not Cakra. I hoped to be able to fix the locality by finding out something about the Sitā Nadī; but this has not been possible.

[1] The words سر او را از تن جدا کردند occur in only one MS., but not in the other or in the lith. ed., but as this was necessary before it could be sent to the place of his residence, and as Firishtah has سر او را جدا کرده, I have inserted them.

[2] The name is کله باب in one MS. and کله بان in the other, کله باب in the lith. ed. and کله نامت in Firishtah lith. ed. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 509) has Kulanamut, and Rodgers has only Kala thinking that the latter part of the name in Firishtah which is نامت means the name. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. IV, p. 126) translates the words بردار کشیدند which follow immediately afterwards, "hung it there on the door."

[3] The name is کهونه نامو in both MSS., and کهونه ها in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has کهوبه هامون. Col. Briggs has Kohtahamoon, and Rodgers has Khuba or Khoba Hāmūn. The nearest I can get to these in the list of *parganahs* in *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II, p. 370) is Khoihāma, in the N.W. part of the Kamrāj tract. The text-edition has followed the MSS.

[4] The name is مدنحه and امدنحه in the MS., and بدنجه in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. مدنجه has been adopted in the text-edition.

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birth-place. Then Sankar Chak and Fatḥ Chak and others went to Bahrām; and they all came together to *pargana* Suyyapūr; and began to create disturbances. Ghāzī Khān sent his son and brothers to attack them. They were unable to meet them, and fled towards the hills. On the next day Ghāzī Khān went in pursuit of them; and when he arrived in the village of Madanjah, he selected two thousand men, whom he sent in pursuit of them, so that they might capture them. The next day news came that Bahrām, [1] having been hit by an arrow, had gone away to some (unknown) place; and Sankar Chak and Fatḥ Chak had separated from him. Ghāzī Khān went with great rapidity to [2] Kahunahāmū, and for six days made great search to capture Bahrām. Aḥmad Jaurīn, [3] brother of Ḥaidar Chak, son of Ghāzī Khān, was entrusted with the duty of capturing Bahrām. Ghāzī Khān himself returned to the city. Aḥmad Jaurīn went to Shērkōt, which was the abode of the [4] *Rishīs*, *i.e.*, Sūfīs; and

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[1] There are different readings and the meaning is not quite clear. The MSS. have بهرام تیر (or تیری) خورده بجای رفته. The lith. ed. has هویمت instead of تیر or تیری. Firishtah lith. ed. has بهرام از سر کوب رفته. Col. Briggs gives no translation of the passage. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 126) has "Bahrām Chakk had escaped from Sarkob", taking Sarkob to be the name of a place, which I do not think is correct. It will be seen that a few lines further down the place is called Shērkōt in the Ṭabaqāt, though it is called Sarkōb there also in Firishtah. Shērkōt is apparently the correct name of the place.

[2] See page 732 and note 3.

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah all say برادر حیدر چک ولد غازی خان. I do not know why Aḥmad Jaurīn could not be called son of Ghāzī Khān, instead of being called the brother of his son. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 509) has Ahmud Hoorein, a son of Heidur Chuk brother of Ghazy Khan. This is probably correct. The words brother and son have become transposed.

[4] The name is written ریشان in the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah lith. ed. has ریشیان. I think the latter to be the more correct form. Col. Briggs calls (vol. IV, p. 509) them Russies; and he thinks they were the inhabitants of a "convent of Russian missionaries being in Thibet"; for he argues the philosophical and horticultural Russies can be no other, though their being there is a very extraordinary fact. Rodgers simply calls them *Rīshīs* or *Sufīs*. I have no doubt also that they were some kind of Sufīs, of whom there were apparently many sects in Kashmir (see *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 436). Mirza Haidar paints them in very dark colours, but some of them might have been peaceful rustics, as those mentioned here are described to have been.

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seized them, and in order to make them produce Bahrām had them bastinadoed. The *Rishīs* said "We took Bahrām in a boat to the village of [1] Bādhal to the house of Amīr Zīnā." The *Rishīs* are a community or a group of people, who always carry on agriculture and plant orchards, and [2] they live in a society by themselves and do not marry. [3] Aḥmad Jaurīn went to Amīr Zīnā, and after much search, got hold of Bahrām Chak; and took him to Srīnagar. He was there hanged by the neck; and Aḥmad Jaurīn received the title of Fatḥ Khān.

[4] At this time, Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī, who was in the custody of the Khakars, came with fetters on his feet mounted on the back of Yūsuf Kashmīrī. When he arrived at Rājaurī, a band of Mughals collected round him. The blind Daulat Chak and Fatḥ Chak and other Chaks and Lōhars and Ankrīs all came to him; and in the year 965 A.H., they advanced towards Kashmīr. When they arrived at Bārāmūla, Muḥammad Ḥaidar and Fatḥ Khān, who guarded the road,

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[1] The name of the village is بادهل in both MSS., and نادیل in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is بادیلی. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 510) has Nadily and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 126) Bādelī.

[2] I am not sure whether my translation is correct. The words in the Ṭabaqāt MS. and lith. ed. are اتفاق فرمایند و بتجرید گذرانند. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has کنند instead of گذرانند.

[3] The text in the Ṭabaqāt (MSS. and lith. ed.) جورین امه رینا رفنه is imperfect here. I have inserted Aḥmad before Jaurīn, and have put in نزد امیر زینا instead of امه رینا. In the text-edition it is جورین نزد اینه رفته.

[4] Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which is very meagre and very incorrect in its later pages, has some account of Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī's invasion immediately after the mention of the death or slaying of Ḥabīb Chak in lines 551-52 (see note 4, pp. 731-32). It says गते वङ्कविधे काले नोस्मीचक्रप्रचोदितः। आययौ सुभुल्लखानो यौकम्मीरजिगीषया। ग्राह अब्दोल्लमाल्लीति नाम यस्याभवद्भुवि। (lines 552-53). It is curious that Shāh Abul Ma'ālī should be called the Lord of the Mughals, when he was fleeing from them. I cannot identify Nosmī Cakka. The Cambridge History of India, page 290, describes the raid of Shah Abul Ma'ālī, as "the serious rebellion of Yūsuf Chakk who was supported by Shāh Ab-'l-Ma'ālī." This does not appear to me to be correct. No Yūsuf Chak is mentioned in connection with the reign, except one, who is said to have carried Shāh Abu-ul Ma'ālī on his back. If Yūsuf Chak should be identified with the Nosmī Cakka referred to in the early part of the note, there will be some foundation for the statement.

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fled and went to the village of Bādūkhī. Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī, having adopted the path of justice, none of his soldiers had any power to oppress the *ra'īyats*. When he arrived in the village of [1] Bārbakla, which is near [2] Pattana, he encamped on high ground. Ghāzī Khān also marched out from Srīnagar, and encamped in Pattana, in front of Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī. He made his brother named Ḥusain, the commander of his vanguard, and stationed himself in [3] *mauḍa* Khōd. The Kashmīrīs, who were with Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī, attacked without his permission, the army of Ḥusain Khān, and compelled him to turn back. Ghāzī Khān, coming to his aid, fought with great gallantry, and having slain many of the Kashmīrīs defeated Shah Abu-ul-ma'ālī. The latter seeing the state of things, without fighting turned his face to flight. When his horse became exhausted on the way, a Mughal came to him, and gave him his own horse which was fresh and strong. He then took hold of the exhausted horse, and stood on the spot, and kept back all the Kashmīrīs who were going in pursuit of Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī. When his quiver became empty, the Kashmīrīs advanced on him in a crowd, and slew him. During this time, Shāh Abu-ul-ma'ālī managed to make his escape. Ghāzī Khān then turned back and went to Pattana. He ordered every Mughal, who was brought before him, to be beheaded except *Ḥafiẓ* (one who has memorised the *Qurān*) Ḥabshī, one of the readers of His

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[1] The name of the village is مار کلہ and مار بلہ in the MSS., and باربکلہ in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is بارہ پولہ. The text-edition following the first MS. has مار کلہ.

[2] Pattana or Patan is on the side of the ancient Śaṁkarapura and lies on the direct road between Śrīnagar and Bārāmūla. According to Prājya-bhaṭṭa (l. 555) चाषवाद् स भूपालः परिहासपुरान्तिकं where I think Ghāzī Khān is referred to in the words स भूपालः. I cannot find out the distance between Parihāsapura and Pattana, but seeing that "Śaṁkaravarman is said to have carried off 'whatever was of value in Parihāsapura' in order to raise the fame of his own town" of Śaṁkarapura, where Pattan now stands (*vide* Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, p. 481), it could not have been very great. In the text-edition the name of the village is given as بین.

[3] The name in both MSS. is کہوڈ. The lith. ed. says incorrectly در یکموضع استاد. Firishtah lith. ed. has کنہور. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 510) has Gahwar and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 126) has Khanūd. In the text-edition the reading in the MSS. has been followed.

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Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī, whom he did not slay on account of the beauty of his recitation.

After this victory (Ghāzī Khān) released Naṣrat Chak out of prison, and sent him to wait upon His Majesty, the asylum of the *Khilāfat* (Akbar). Naṣrat Chak went, and saw the Khān Khānān Bahrām Khān, and the latter showed him all honour and respect.

In the year 966 A.H., there was a change in the disposition of Ghāzī Khān; and [1]he began to act with tyranny and oppression, and the people showed great detestation of him. At this time a report was conveyed to his ears, that his son, in concert with some people, wanted to seize the kingdom. Ghāzī Khān summoned [2]Muḥammad Ṣadūr, who was his *vakīl* (representative or agent), and Bahādur Bhat, and said, "People say this." They said, "What they say is true." Ghāzī Khān told them, "Give him good advice, so that he may not again allow such a thought to enter his mind." Muḥammad Ṣadūr called Ḥaidar Chak to his house, and reasoned with him, and abused him. Ḥaidar Chak got into a rage, and forcibly took the dagger from Muḥammad's belt, and struck it in his stomach and killed him on the spot. Men came in a crowd, and seized Ḥaidar; and Ghāzī Khān gave the order for slaying him. In the end he was executed and his head was taken to Zaingarh, and there hung from

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[1] Instances of his barbarity and cruelty are given in lines 558, etc. of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājatarangiṇī*. Among these is mentioned the slaying of his son named Ḥaidar, but the circumstances surrounding the incidents are somewhat difficult to understand. It is said in line 560 मातुलं स्वं जिघांसन्तं यौवनस्थं प्रतापिनं। चणाज्जघान भूपालः खसुतं हैदराभिधं ॥ This can only be explained on the supposition that صدور or جنيد (see the next note) was the maternal uncle of Ḥaidar. Prājyabhaṭṭa goes on to say that there was a great wail of lamentation on the execution of Ḥaidar (दुरात्मना। हतः पुत्रोऽप्यनेनेति हाहाकारो महानभूत्।—l. 561), which shows that the people were in sympathy with the son or at least were grieved over his death, and were hostile to Ghāzī Khān; and it is also said अष्टादशाभवंस्तस्य युवराजस्य मन्त्रिणः। सुतान्जघान भूपाल उन्मत्त इव राक्षसः। (l. 562) which means that Ghāzī Khān like a mad Rākṣasa had the eighteen councillors of the prince executed. I cannot understand the word सुतान् in this line. It may be a printer's mistake for स तान्. The description of Ghāzī Khān as a mad Rākṣasa shows the intensity of the popular hatred towards him.

[2] The name is Muḥammad Ṣadūr in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. it is Muhammad Ṣadū. The name is Muḥammad Junaid in Firishtah.

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a gibbet. Ghāzī Khān also had the men, who had conspired with him (Ḥaidar), put to death.

In the year 967 A.H., Qarrā Bahādur came from Hindūstān with a large army and nine elephants; and he had with him [1] Naṣrat Chak and Fatḥ Chak and others from among the Kashmīrīs and also a large body of Khakars. He waited for three months at [2] Lālīpūr. He had great hopes that the Kashmīrīs would join him; but at this time Naṣrat Khān and Fatḥ Chak and Lōharī and Ankrī fled from him and went to Ghāzī Khān. Owing to this, great weakness crept into Qarrā Bahādur's army. Ghāzī Khān came out of Kashmīr and arrived in Naurōzkōt. (He) sent some foot-soldiers against him and defeated him. Qarrā Bahādur fled and got into the fort of Dāiyarah. The following day he fled from the foot-soldiers; and his elephants fell into the hands of the Kashmīrīs; and five hundred Mughals were put to death.

When a period of five years of the rule of Ḥabīb Shāh had passed, Ghāzī Khān concealed him in a corner, raised the standard of his own rule, did not allow even the name of sovereignty to another, and had the public prayers read and the coins struck in his own name, and gave himself the title of Ghāzī Shāh.

[3] An account of the rule of Ghāzī Khān.

Ghāzī Khān, having ascended the throne according to the custom of the rulers of Kashmīr, commenced giving himself the titles of *Bādshāh* and *Sulṭān*. Owing to [4] leprosy, with which he had before this been afflicted, his voice at this time underwent a change; and his

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[1] The name is Naṣrat Khān Chak in one MS. It is omitted in the other. In the lith. ed. both of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah it is Naṣrat Chak.

[2] The name is Lālīpūr in the MS. as well as the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. It is Lālāpūr in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[3] The heading is as I have it in the text-edition, in both MSS. and the lith. ed. Firishtah has ذکر حکومت غازی شاہ, which is better.

[4] The attack of leprosy and the death of Ghāzī Khān or Shāh are described in Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, lines 563–567. It, however, omits all the incidents which are mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, as having occurred after his assumption of the royal title.

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fingers were about to drop off, and there were ulcers in his gums (*dar dandān, i.e.*, in his teeth). In the year 968 A.H., Fatḥ Khān and Lōharī and Ankrī and other Kashmīrīs became suspicious of him, and fleeing got into the hilly country. Ghāzī Khān sent his brother Ḥusain Khān with two thousand men in pursuit of them. As it was the season of snow, Ḥusain Khān, on arrival at [1] Baḥarārah, made a halt. The enemy getting warning, went to the village of [2] Ahlan; and a large number of them, falling under the snow, perished. The rest, who survived, went to [3] Kishtwār, and in the year 969 A.H., they were in great distress there, and sought an asylum with Ḥusain Khān. The latter prayed to Ghāzī Khān to pardon their offences, and he pardoned them, and gave them good *jāgīrs*.

In the year 970 A.H., Ghāzī Khān left Kashmīr, and took up his residence at Lār; and sent his son Aḥmad Khān in concert with Fatḥ Khān and [4] Nāṣir Kiyānī and other renowned *amīrs* for the conquest of Tibet. When they arrived within five *karōhs* of Tibet, Fatḥ Khān went into (invaded) Tibet [5] with the permission of Aḥmad Khān; and getting among the Tibetans [6] came out quickly. The Tibetans

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[1] The name is بحرارة, and بحرارة in the MSS., Firishtah lith. ed. has left out a considerable number of words from برف بود to مخالفان خبردار, and Col. Briggs and Rodgers have followed it.

[2] The name is Ahlan in both MSS., and Aslan in the lith. ed.

[3] The name is کهوار in both MSS., and کتوار in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and کهتوار in the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

[4] The name is ناصر کیانی in both MSS., and ناصر کتانی in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has ناصر کتابی, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 513) transliterates as Nasir Kutaby, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 128) has Nāsir Kibatu.

[5] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt have برخصت, *i.e.*, with the permission; but Firishtah lith. ed. has بی رخصت, without the permission; and the subsequent incident shows that the latter reading is probably correct.

[6] The reading in the Ṭabaqāt is درمیان تبتیان درامده زود بدر امد. The penultimate word is بدر in one MS. which I have adopted. In the other MS. and in the lith. ed. it is بر. Firishtah lith. ed. has a different reading; it is رفته after بشهر در آمد. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 514) translates this in the words, "proceeded to the capital"; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 129) has "went into the city" without specifying what city. It is very doubtful that Fatḥ Khān reached as far as the Capital of Tibet.

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were unwilling to fight, and sent much tribute. [1] At this time the idea came into Aḥmad Khān's mind, "Fatḥ Khān went into Tibet, and came out. If I do not do a similar deed, the people of Kashmīr will all praise him." Then he determined that he should go *jarīdah* (alone, or with a small retinue). Fatḥ Khān said, "It is not advisable that you should go; and indeed if you must go, go with a large force." Aḥmad Khān did not listen to his words, and went with only five hundred men. He left Fatḥ Khān in the camp. When the Tibetans saw that he had such a small force, they attacked him. He was unable to withstand them, and fled; on coming to Fatḥ Khān said, "Today thou be the rearguard. I am off." He did not delay anywhere. When the men saw, that Aḥmad Khān was running away, they all turned their faces in flight. Fatḥ Khān, however, halted. The Tibetans came up to him; he fought single handed with them; and was slain. On hearing this news Ghāzī Khān got into a rage, and strongly [2] criticised his son's conduct.

[3] The period of Ghāzī Khān's rule was four years.

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[1] Firishtah agrees, except in the latter part, where he says تا برویم و او هیچ توقف نکرده پیش شد تبتیان باو رسیده چون تنها دیدند بجنگ پرداختند و فتح خان از کمال غیرت تنها جنگ کرده کشته شد. The versions both in Col. Briggs and Rodgers are altogether wrong, but it would be useless to point out all their mistakes. The Cambridge History of India, page 290, gives a short summary, as follows: "His advanced guard was defeated, and instead of pressing forward to its support he fled with the main body of the force." Every statement in this sentence appears to me to be incorrect. The advanced guard was not defeated, and in fact there was no advance guard; and Aḥmad Khān could not have pressed forward to its support. He was, in fact, running away, the main body running away with him; and it was only Fatḥ Khān, whom, when he was running away, Aḥmad Khān implored or ordered to be the rearguard; and he fought bravely and was killed. It is unfortunate that a history which is believed to be a standard work should contain such a statement. The compiler, apparently, read neither the Ṭabaqāt nor Firishtah; and apparently not even the incorrect translations of Col. Briggs or Rodgers.

[2] The word اعراض (honours, reputations) in the text-edition is apparently a misprint for اعتراض (criticism, animadversion).

[3] The account of the reign of Ghāzī Shāh appears to end thus abruptly both in the Ṭabaqāt and in Firishtah; but as a matter of fact it is continued in the earlier part of the account of the reign of Ḥusain Khān or Shāh.

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[1] AN ACCOUNT OF ḤUSAIN KḤĀN, BROTHER OF GḤĀZĪ KḤĀN.

In the year 971 A.H., Ghāzī Khān left Kashmīr with the intention of conquering Tibet; and took up his quarters in [2] Maukhadah Khār; but owing to an acute attack of leprosy he lost the use of his eyes; and adopted bad manners and perpetrated tyranny on the people, and extorted sums of money as fines from innocent men. The people being aggrieved at his conduct, divided themselves into two parties. One of them united with his son Aḥmad Khān; and the other joined his brother Ḥusain Khān. On hearing this, he came back to Srīnagar; and as he had more affection and kindness for Ḥusain Khān, he raised him in his place to the *salṭanat*. The *vakīls* and *vazīrs* of Ghāzī Khān all went to Ḥusain Khan's house, and began to serve him. After fifteen days Ghāzī Khān divided all his equipages and rich stuffs into two portions. One share he gave to his sons, and made over the other moiety to tradesmen, and ordered that they should pay him its price. The tradesmen came to Ḥusain Khān praying for justice. The latter forbade Ghāzī Khān (to effect the sale and demand the price). Ghāzī Khān being annoyed with him wanted to make his son his successor. Ḥusain Khān, on being informed of this, summoned Aḥmad Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān, Abdāl Khān and other chief men; and took pro-

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[1] The heading is as I have it in the text in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah has ذکر سلطنت حسین شاہ, which is better. The Cambridge History of India, page 290, says that the new ruler ascended the throne as Nāsir-ud-dīn Husain Shāh.

The accession of Ḥusain Khān or Shāh is mentioned in line 575 of Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and the following lines describe his impartial justice, his prosperity, his fame and his pleasure, in respect of which, it says सुखं तत्सदृशं स्वर्गे स चकार न वासवः । (l. 578), *i.e.*, even *Indra* did not have such pleasure in *Svarga*. The happiness of the people is described in line 583, which says दुर्भिक्षचौरराजभ्यो भये तेन निवारिते । अमंस्त स्वर्गसदृशं लोकः कश्मीरमण्डलं । *i.e.*, famine, robberies and fear from kings having been prevented by him, the people thought Kashmīr to be like *Svarga*.

[2] The name is موکہدہ کہار Maukhadah Khār in both MSS. It is Maukandah in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Maulad Khār. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 514) has Mokudkar and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 129) has Muladghar, which is, however, not a correct transliteration of the name as given in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, where the last syllable is کہار ghār, or may be ghār but not ghar.

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mises and engagements from them, that they would remain obedient to him. Ghāzī Khān summoned and collected his own men and the Mughals. Ḥusain Khān also prepared to meet him. The people and the *Qāḍīs* intervened, and quelled the disturbance. Ghāzī Khān came out of the city, and took up his quarters in Zainpūr; but after three months he came back to Srīnagar. Ḥusain Khān [1] divided the country of Kashmīr among men.

In the year 972 A.H., Ḥusain Khān granted Rājaurī and Nau Shahr *jāgīr* to Sankar Chak, his elder brother, and sent him there. Immediately after this news came, that Sankar Chak had risen in revolt. (Ḥusain Khān) then allotted the *jāgīrs* to Muḥammad Mākrī, and sent a large force against Sankar Chak. [2] The commanders of the force were Aḥmad Khān, Fatḥ Khān and Khwājah Mas'ūd [3] Nāyak. They went, and fighting with Sankar defeated him. Ḥusain Khān advanced to welcome them, and brought them to Srīnagar. After some time Ḥusain Khān learnt, that Aḥmad Khān and Muḥammad Khān Mākrī and Naṣrat Khān had made plans for murdering him and wanted to imprison them. They on learning this came to Ḥusain Khān with a large number of followers; and he was unable to harm them in any way. When they left his presence, [3] he became anxious (knowing) that they had become acquainted with the true state of things. He,

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[1] Similar divisions have been made by other Sulṭāns also, but the reasons of such divisions is not clear. Firishtah prefaces the statement by saying حسین چک استقلال کلی بهمرسانیده, but I do not think it gives any sufficient reasons.

[2] There are differences in the readings. One MS. has سر کردان, while the other and the lith. ed. has سرداران. Then one MS. has احمد خان و فتح خان خواجه مسود نایک, the other has احمد خان و مسعود و بامک, while the lith. ed. has احمد خان و فتح خان و مسعود یامک. Firishtah lith. ed. has احمد خان و فتح خان چک و خواجه مسعود و مانک. I was inclined at first to adopt the reading in Firishtah, but I found that the construction of the sentence in the Ṭabaqāt is different, so I have adopted the reading in the first MS., though I am not quite sure about the last word. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has مسعود مانک in place of مسعود نایک in the translation above.

[3] The readings are slightly different. One MS. has متفکر شد که, while the other and the lith. ed. have متفکر شدند. I have adopted the first reading.

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therefore, sent [1] Malik Lūlī Laund to them, with the message, that they should all meet together; and make promises and engagements that none of them would attempt any hostility to the others. Malik Lūlī Laund went and made proposals of peace. They then all came together in the house of Aḥmad Khān, and agreed that they should take Aḥmad Khān to the house of Ḥusain Khān. Aḥmad Khān, after much pressing consented; and went with Naṣrat Khān and Malik Lūlī to Ḥusain Khān's house. Qāḍī Ḥabīb, who was one of the chief men of Kashmīr, and Muḥammad Mākrī were also sent for. They all met together in the *Dīwānkhāna*, which is celebrated as the *Rang Maḥal*. When night came Ḥusain Khān said, [2] "We are inclined to-night to have some *natūah-bāzi*. As the *Qāḍī* is puritanical, you go together to the first floor (*bālākhāna*) (and amuse yourselves); and I am also coming." When they went upstairs, "Ḥusain Khān sent some men and had them imprisoned."

After that, he sent 'Ālam Khān and Khān Zamān, whose original name was Fatḥ Khwājah, with a large army to attack Sankar Chak, who was near Rājaurī. They went there and defeated Sankar Chak;

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[1] The name is as I have it in the text, in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has ملک لوندنی لوند. Col. Briggs does not mention the name. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 130) has Lodnī Lond. Laund according to the dictionary means a soldier or an adventurer. It also, I think, means a Levantine, but I cannot understand how a Levantine should have made his way to Kashmīr.

[2] The text is imperfect and contradictory. One MS. has چون قاضی متشرع است شما باتفاق قاضی ببالاخانه. The other has چون متشرع است شما با اتفاق رفته صحبت دارید که من هم می ایم. The lith. ed. has چون قاضی متشرع است شما باتفاق قاضی به بالاخانه رفته صحبت بدارید که من هم می ایم. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has the same reading as the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, but leaves out the word *Qāḍī*. I consider this reading the best and have adopted it for the reason mentioned below.

I cannot find the meaning of بنتوه بازی. *Bāzī* means a game or play. In a preceding note I have said that Natuah is probably a corruption of Sanskrit *Naṭa*, an actor or a mimic. As there is a reference to the Qāḍī's being orthodox or puritanical, the *natuah-bāzī* in this case was probably some kind of indecent mimicry or acting; but according to the text in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, the Qāḍī was also invited to go to the *Bālākhāna*, where the game would be played. If the text of the lith. ed. of Firishtah is adopted and the word Qāḍī is omitted then there would be no difficulty.

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and returned with victory and triumph. Khān Zamān having acquired much credit, an order was passed that all the *amīrs* should go every day to his house.

In the year 973 A.H., (people) slandered Khān Zamān to Ḥusain Khān. The latter ordered that men should not go to his house. Khān Zamān wished to go away from Kashmīr, and was arranging to get together the things that would be required for the journey. [1] Then Ḥusain Khān went away on a hunting expedition. [2] Shams Dūbar came and said to Khān Zamān, "Why are you going away; Ḥusain Khān is gone out for hunting, and his house is unoccupied. We should go there, and take possession of all his equipages and treasure." Khān Zamān liked these words of his, and went in concert with Fatḥ Chak and Lōhar and Ankarī and others like them, and attacked Ḥusain Khān's house. They set fire to the door, and wanted to bring out Aḥmad Khān, Muḥammad Khān Mākrī and Naṣrat Khān from prison. Bahādur Khān son of Khān Zamān and Fatḥ Chak then came there. Mas'ūd Nāyak was in charge of the prison. He discharged water on the courtyard of the *Dīwānkhāna*, so that it became muddy. Daulat Khān one of Ḥusain Khān's men was

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[1] One MS. has by mistake که حسن شکاری امد. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has که حسین مکاری آمده بخان زمان گفت.

[2] There are differences in the readings here. One MS. has حسین خان بشکار رفته خانه او خالی است بخانه او باید رفت. The other MS., which has the incorrect reading mentioned in the preceding note, has پس شمش دو برامده بخانه نمان گفت چرا بدر میروی حسین خان بکار رفت خانه او خالیست بخانه او باید رفت. The reading in the lith. ed. is the same as the reading in the 2nd MS., but instead of شمش دو برامده there is ششور در نوبر امده which appears to be incorrect. I have adopted the readings in the 2nd MS., though I am doubtful as to who *Shams Dūbar* was. In the text-edition it is مکاری آمده حسین. Besides, it was not likely, that because Ḥusain Khān had gone away hunting, his house should remain unoccupied. Prājyabhaṭṭa refers to this in line 585. The line runs खानेऽमात्ननामाभून्मन्त्री तस्य मदीभतः। स निर्गते मदीपाले चस्कन्द नगरं क्षणात्। Then there are some lines which appear to be an interpolation; after which line 586 runs as तदीयसैन्यमागत्य नाशयामास तत्क्षणं। ह्रीसैनद्यपतिः प्रातरन्धकारमिवांशुमान्। These two lines (585, 586) mean that the king had a minister named Khān Zamān, who, when the king went out, seized the city in a moment. Then the king's troops came and destroyed (him) at once. The king was like the morning sun which destroys the darkness.

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standing with his quiver on his back. Bahādur Khān ran to him, and struck him with his sword. The sword fell on his quiver; and he shot an arrow into the eye of Bahādur Khān's horse, which reared up, and threw the rider. [1] Mas'ūd Nāyak and Ankrī attacked him, and cut off his head with a dagger. Khān Zamān received information of this from outside and fled. Mas'ūd Nāyak pursued and seized him, and took him to Ḥusain Khān. The latter ordered that he should be carried to Zaingarh; and his ears and nose and hands and feet should be cut off, and he should be hung from a gibbet. He also gave the designation of son to Mas'ūd Nāyak, and honoured him with the title of Mubāriz Khān, and allotted the [2] *pargana* of Bānkal as his *jāgīr*.

[3] In the year 974 A.H., Ḥusain Khān ordered that the blinding needle to be drawn across the eyes of Aḥmad Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān, Naṣrat Khān and Muḥammad Khān. Ghāzī Khān, on hearing this news, suffered great anguish, and as he was already ill, he passed away.

Ḥusain Khān then founded a college, and lived in the society of pious and learned men in its precincts, and he allotted them the *pargana* of [4] Zainpūr as their *jāgīr*.

In the year 975 A.H., Lūlī Laund informed Ḥusain Khān that Mubāriz Khān says that as Ḥusain Khān had called him his son, he

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[1] These names are variously written. One MS. has رخت ماریک وایری. the other has مانک وایری. The lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt has نازک و انکری; while that of Firishtah has مسعود نایک و انکری. The latter appears to me to be correct and I have adopted it.

[2] One of the *parganas* in the S.W. part of Kamrāj. See page 371, *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II, p. 370).

[3] This is also mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 588) which runs विरोधे क्षतवङ्गीनां वैरसंसक्तचेतसां। मच्छदखानकादीनां चकर्ष नयनानि सः। *i.e.*, he pulled out the eyes of Muḥammad Khān and others who were determined to fight with him, and whose hearts were filled with enmity towards him.

[4] The name of the *parganah* looks like بنامور and سالور in the MSS., and as نیالپور in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is Zainpūr. In the list of *parganahs* in *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarratt, vol. II, pp. 368–371) there is none that at all resembles any of the names in the MSS. or the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. There is, however, a *pargana* called Zinapur among those to the S.E. of Srīnagar. I have, therefore, substituted the name of Zaipūr, and this is followed in the text-edition.

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should give him a share of the treasure. Ḥusain Khān was much pained in his heart. One day he went to the house of Mubāriz Khān. He saw many horses in his stables. The pain in his mind became more acute; and he ordered Mubāriz Khān to be imprisoned. All affairs were now entrusted to Malik Lūlī. But in a short time he also was imprisoned on the ground that he had embezzled [1] forty thousand donkey-loads of paddy belonging to the government; and 'Alī Kōkah was appointed in his place.

In the year 976 A.H., Qāḍī Ḥabīb, who was of the *Ḥanafī* faith, coming out of the *Jāma'* Mosque on a Friday [2] had gone to the foot of Mārān hill on a pilgrimage to the tomb; when a [3] *Rāfḍī* of the name of [4] Yūsuf Andāz drew his sword, and struck the *Qāḍī*. The latter was wounded on the head. Yūsuf again struck him with the sword. The *Qāḍī* shielded his head with his hand, and his fingers were cut off. Except the bigotry that was due to the difference of their religions there was nothing else between them. Maulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn, the son-in-law of the *Qāḍī*, [5] who occupied himself with teaching in Sīālkōt, was with him at the time. Yūsuf fled after wounding the *Qāḍī*. When Ḥusain Khān heard this news, he appointed some men who found Yūsuf out, and brought him. Ḥusain Khān then assembled lawyers like Mullā Yūsuf, Mullā Fīrūz, and others like them, and ordered them that they should state whatever might be in accordance with the law (*Shara'*). They replied, that the execution of such a person by way of punishment was legal. The *Qāḍī* said, "It would

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[1] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 517) incorrectly translates چهل هزار خروار شالی as "forty thousand bales of shawls", and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 131) also incorrectly has "40,000 ass-loads of shawls."

[2] Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 131) translates در پای کوه ما ران بزیارت قبور رفته بود, "came to the zīārat in the graveyard of Yāīkoh Mārān."

[3] A man belonging to a section of the *Shī'a* sect, who renounced their allegiance to Zaid, the son of 'Alī, the son of Ḥusain. Firishtah calls Yūsuf a *Shī'a*.

[4] That is the name in both the MSS. In the lith. ed. it is Yūsuf Tandōz. Firishtah lith. ed. has only Yūsuf. Neither Col. Briggs nor Rodgers has any name. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted یوسف اندر.

[5] It is invidious to go on pointing out Rodgers's mistakes, but he translates (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 131) the clause - که در سیالکوت بتدریس اشتغال داشت نیز همراه قاضی بود in the words, "was also with him engaged in reading."

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not be right to execute this man, so long as I am alive." In the end, they stoned him to death. Members of the sect, who were united with Yūsuf in religion and faith, said to Ḥusain Khān, "There has been too much haste in executing him." Ḥusain Khān said, "I acted in accordance with the verdict of the Mullās."

About this time Mīrzā Muqīm, and Ya'qūb, son of Bābā 'Alī came to Kashmīr as ambassadors from the threshold of the servants of the asylum of the *Khilāfat*. When they arrived at Hīrahpūr, Ḥusain Khān sent men to welcome them, and he himself came to the plain of [1] Sālah; and erected a pavilion and awnings and all the furniture of an assembly. When he heard that the ambassadors had come near, he came out of the pavilion and greeted them. Then they all came into the pavilion, and sat down in one place. After that the ambassadors got into a boat, and Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ḥusain Khān, also went with them. Ḥusain Khān did not go in the boat, but went to Kashmīr (Srīnagar) on horseback. He allotted the house of Ḥusain Mākrī to the ambassadors.

After some days Mīrzā Muqīm said, "Send the *Qāḍī* and the *Muftīs*, according to whose decision Yūsuf was executed, to me." Ḥusain Khān sent the *Muftīs* to him. *Qāḍī* Zain who was of the same religion as Yūsuf said, "The *Muftīs* made a mistake in their verdict." The *Muftīs* said, "We did not give a decisive verdict for his execution. We said that the execution of such a person by way of punishment was lawful." Mīrzā Muqīm insulted the *Muftīs* in the assembly; and made them over to Fatḥ Khān *Rāfḍi* and tortured them. Ḥusain Khān embarked in a boat and went away to Kamrāj. Fatḥ Khān had the *Muftīs* put to death, by order of Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm, and had their bodies dragged round the lanes and bazārs by ropes tied to their feet. Ḥusain Khān sent his daughter with fine gifts and presents with the ambassador for the service of the asylum of the *Khilāfat*. The ambassadors taking his daughter and the [2] tribute with them went back to Āgra.

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[1] That is the name in both MSS. The lith. ed. has in the plain of Shāhzāda. Firishtah does not mention the name of the place.

[2] One MS. inserts هدایا و after بپیشکش and both have رسیدند instead of رفتند. I think رفتند is better and I have retained it. It is رسیدند in the text-edition.

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[1]AN ACCOUNT OF 'ALĪ SHĀH, BROTHER OF ḤUSAIN.

In the year 977 A.H., news came that His Majesty the Ḵẖalīfa-i-Ilāhī had ordered Mīrzā Muqīm to be executed, in retribution of the unjust executions which he had perpetrated in Kashmīr; and he had also rejected Ḥusain Ḵẖān's daughter. On hearing this news, Ḥusain Ḵẖān had an attack of dysentery or bloody flux, and he continued to be ill for three or four months.

At this time, [2] Muḥammad Bhat incited Yūsuf, son of 'Alī Ḵẖān, to rebel against Ḥusain Ḵẖān. When this news reached Ḥusain Ḵẖān, he said to Yūsuf to go to his father, *i.e.*, 'Alī Ḵẖān, who was at [3] Sūyyapūr and to remain there. When Yūsuf went to 'Alī Ḵẖān, other men also fled one after another, and went to 'Alī Ḵẖān. When the going of the people, and also of his son to 'Alī Ḵẖān became a certainty, Ḥusain Ḵẖān sent men to 'Alī Ḵẖān with this message: "What offence has been committed by me? I sent your son to you without any objection or censure." 'Alī Ḵẖān said: "I also am not guilty in any way. People come to me fleeing from you; and although I advise them, it has no effect."

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[1] The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. and the lith. ed. The account of Ḥusain's reign ends abruptly, but some account of it is continued in that of the next reign. Prājyabhaṭṭa does not mention the incident of Qāḍī Ḥabīb or of the arrival of Akbar's ambassadors. He describes some spring and Śrī Pañcamī festivities of Ḥusain Khān (lines 589–594), and then, in lines 595-6, he says that he had ग्रपग्मा(ग्मा)रदोष; and हौसैनशाह ग्रौनांग्रौ ग्रस्तेऽपग्मारराऽणा। दुर्व्विचाराम्बकारेभ्यो जनो भौत्याकुलोऽभवत्। *i.e.*, the Ḥusain Shāh Moon having been swallowed up by the *Rāhu* of epilepsy the people became frightened of the darkness of injustice. The next line describes, in somewhat curious language, that bestowing the kingdom on his brother the king Ḥusain went to paradise, which he had acquired by his bounty, as if incited by his curiosity. The next line says he was always happy in his reign, which extended to seven years.

[2] Firishtah lith. ed. has incorrectly دریںوقت محمد خان و بہٹ یوسوف ولد علی خان چک را برین داشت. Col. Briggs makes no mention of Muḥammad Bhat or Yūsuf; he calls (vol. IV, p. 520) the place where "Ally Khan" was, "Shewpur." Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 132) translates Firishtah correctly, but "Bihut Yūsuf" is curious. The place of 'Alī Ḵẖān's residence is called Sonpūr.

[3] One MS. has Sūyyapūr, the other has Rasūlpūr. The lith. ed. is defective and omits a part of the sentence. Firishtah lith. ed. has Sonpūr.

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In the end, 'Alī Khān advanced towards Srīnagar, and encamped at a distance of seven *karōhs* from there. Malik Lūlī Laund now fled, and went to 'Alī Khān. Ḥusain Khān came out of the city, and went to [1] Jahlah Ḥājam, which was one *karōh* from it. Aḥmad and Muḥammad and Ankrī, who were his door-keepers and *amīrs*, fled that night and went to 'Alī Khān. [2] Daulat, who was one of his near relations said to Ḥusain Khān, "As all men are running away from you, it would be better that you should send the emblems of royalty, about which there is always dispute, to 'Alī Khān. He is your brother, and is not a stranger." Ḥusain Khān then sent the royal umbrella and the yāk-tales, and all other insignias of royalty to 'Alī Khān by the hand of his own son Yūsuf; and said, "My only offence was this that I became ill." After that 'Alī Khān came to Ḥusain Khān's house, and enquired about his health; and they wept together.

[3] Then Ḥusain Khān made over the city to 'Alī Khān; and he came to Zainpūr, and took up his residence there. 'Alī Khān assumed the title of 'Alī Shāh, and the duties of royalty devolved upon him; and [4] Dūkha, who was the *vakīl* of Ḥusain Khān was put in charge of the public affairs. After three months Ḥusain Khān departed from the world. 'Alī Khān went to meet his bier, and he was buried in the vicinity of *Ḥairān Bazār*.

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[1] The name in one MS. is جله حاجم without any dots, in the other it is جاجم جد which is probably Ḥahadjājam. The lith. ed. has جله حاجم. Firishtah lith. ed. has جله باجم. Col. Briggs does not mention the place. Rodgers calls it Jalahājam.

[2] There is no affix to the name in the MSS. or in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has Daulat Chak.

[3] Prājyabhaṭṭa is silent over all that happened prior to the transfer of the sovereignty; but line 600 reads **आलेखानाश्रिते राज्ये तुतुषुः सकलाः प्रजाः। उदयाद्रिङ्गते सूर्ये प्रातः कमलिनी यथा।** *i.e.*, the kingdom having devolved on 'Alī Khān, all the people were happy as in the morning the lotus (blooms) when the sun goes to the mountain of the dawn.

[4] The name appears to be Dūkha, though there are slight variations. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 522) calls it Dookna. Rodgers does not mention the name. Dūkha meaning "sorry", "poor" is quite a humble name; and the man was apparently of humble origin.

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At this time Shāh 'Ārif *Darvīsh*, coming from Ḥusain [1] Qūlī Khān at Lāhōre arrived in Kashmīr. 'Alī Khān gave him his daughter in marriage; and believed him to be the *Mahdī* of the end of the world. 'Alī Chak, son of Naurōz Chak, and Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān, placing great faith in him, bowed in worship before him; and considering him to be fit (for such honour) decided to place him on the throne. When this news reached 'Ali Khān's ears, he became annoyed with him, and wanted to injure him. Shāh 'Ārif, coming to know of this, gave out, that he would not remain there, and that he would go to Lāhōre or some other country in the course of one day; and hid himself, so that people might believe that he had disappeared (by some occult power). After two or three days, it became known, that he had paid two *ashrafīs* to some boatmen, and embarking in their boat, had arrived at Bārāmūla, and from there had got into the mountains. Some men were sent, and he was brought from there, and was placed in the custody of guards. When he fled a second time, he was brought back from the mountain of Mehtar Sulaimān. This time 'Alī Khān took from him a thousand *ashrafīs* in exchange for the *mihr* of his daughter, and obtained *ṭalāq* (divorce) for her from him; and he was permitted to go away to Tibet; and the two eunuchs, that he had with him, were separated from him and kept under surveillance.

In the year 979 A.H., 'Alī Chak son of Naurōz Chak, came before 'Alī Khān and said, "Dūkha has come into my *jāgīr* and has created disturbance there. If you will not forbid him, I shall cut open the stomachs of my horses." 'Alī Khān understood that these words were a hint that he would cut open 'Alī Shāh's stomach. He became angry, and had him seized and sent to Kamrāj. He fled from there and went to Ḥusain Qulī Khān, the governor of Lāhōre; but as at the interview he did not perform the ceremonies, which were customary, his going there was of no avail, and he fled from Lāhōre and returned to Kashmīr.

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[1] The name is Ḥusain Qulī Khān in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. In the other MS. it is Ḥusain Khān by mistake while it is Ḥusain Qūlī Khān in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah says he described himself as a descendant of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafvī, and was a *Shī'a*.

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He was seized and brought to Srīnagar, and was kept in prison. After some time he escaped, and fled to Nau Shahr. 'Alī Khān sent some troops against him, and he was again seized and brought before 'Alī Khān.

In the year 980, 'Alī Khān sent an army to invade Kahtwārah (Kishtwār); and, taking the daughter of the ruler of the country, made peace with the latter, and returned.

During this time Mullā 'Ishqī and *Qāḍī* Ṣadr-ud-dīn came as ambassadors from the threshold of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. 'Alī Khān sent the daughter of his nephew for the service of the fortunate prince Sulṭān Salīm, with Mullā Ishqī and *Qāḍī* Ṣadr-ud-dīn, with other fine presents and tribute; and the public prayers and the coins of Kashmīr were adorned and embellished with the renowned name of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. These events happened in the year 980 A.H.

At this time Yūsuf Shāh, son of 'Alī Khān, had Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān, executed on the accusation of Muḥammad Bhat, without obtaining the consent of his father; and for fear of the latter he and Muḥammad Bhat fled, and went to Bārāmūla. 'Alī Khān, on hearing this, was much pained in his mind. But men prayed for the pardon of Yūsuf's offence, and he was summoned; and Muḥammad Bhat, who was the cause of this disturbance, was imprisoned.

In the year 982 A.H., 'Alī Shāh sent an army to invade the country of Kahtwārah, which is also called Kishtwār; and taking the daughter of the ruler of that country (in marriage) for his grandson Ya'qūb made peace with him; and returned to the city.

In the year 983 A.H., 'Alī Khān went with his family and dependants to see Jamalnagarī. Ḥaidar Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh, one of the descendants of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, who had been in Gujrāt, and when the servants of His Majesty went there, had waited upon him and had come to Hindūstān at his stirrups. From Hindūstān he had come to Nau Shahr. There was a cousin of his, Salīm Khān, there. A large body of men joined him (*i.e.*, Ḥaidar Khān). 'Alī Khān sent a large body of troops with Lōhar Chak to remain at Rājaurī. Muḥammad Khān Chak, who was at Rājaurī, was jealous of Lōhar Chak having been made the commander; he seized him and taking all the troops with him, went to Ḥaidar Khān at Nau Shahr, and said to

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him "Send [1] Islām Khān, who is a brave man, with me, so that I may go and conquer Kashmīr for you." Ḥaidar Khān being deceived by his words, sent Islām Khān with him. When they arrived in the village [2] of Jaukas, Muḥammad Khān, in the morning, treacherously slew Islām Khān, and returning from there came to Kashmīr and going to 'Alī Shāh became the recipient of favours from him. [3] 'Alī and Ankrī and Dāūd Kadār and others, who had intended to help Ḥaidar Khān, were imprisoned.

In the year 984 A.H., there was [4] a great famine in Kashmīr, and many people died of the great hunger.

In the year [5] 986 A.H. (the Sulṭān) climbed to the top (platform in front?) of the mosque, and joined in an assembly of learned and

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[1] Apparently the man who was described as the cousin of Salīm Khān a few lines before. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 134) wrongly describes him as "his" (*i.e.*, Ḥaidar Khān's) cousin Salīm Khān.

[2] The name is so written in both MSS. In the lith. ed. it is Jaukash. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is موضع جکیم. Col. Briggs does not mention it. Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 135) calls it "the town of Jakūn." Rodgers translates اسلام خان را بعذر کشته. "Leaving Islām Khān with an excuse." In the text-edition the name of the village is موضع جنکس.

[3] The names are as I have them, in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah they are علی ماکری و داود کذار 'Alī Mākrī and Dāūd Kadār. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted علی دانکری و داؤد کدار.

[4] Prājyabhaṭṭa mentions the accession of 'Ali Khān in line 600 (see note 3, p. 748) and then describes in the next five lines his impartial justice, and the happiness of the people; and then says in line 606 चकस्माद्रणीभूतं बभूवाथ दिशां मुखं। भाविदुर्भिक्षसंहाररौद्रकालानलोपमं। *i.e.*, suddenly the face of the quarters became red, like the fire of the terrible times indicating the destruction to be caused by the coming famine. The horrors of the famine are described in lines 607 to 614. All family ties were broken asunder, the people clamoured for the flesh of an elephant which had died at the king's gate, and even a boy was killed, and his flesh was sold for human consumption. Then there was a great storm and a great conflagration (lines 615–621). Then in line 622 it is said नववर्षाजितान् भोगान् भुक्त्वा स धरणीपतिः। दुर्भिक्षपौडाविज्ञप्तिं कर्त्तुमिव ययौ दिवं। *i.e.*, the Lord of the world, having enjoyed all pleasures for nine years, went to heaven, as if to give information of the hardships caused by the famine.

[5] The year is 985 in Firishtah lith. ed.

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pious men. Then bringing a book called the [1] *Mishkuāt* to that assembly, he, in accordance with a tradition which had come down in respect of the excellences of repentance, repented of his sins, and after making ablutions occupied himself with offering his prayers and reading the *Qurān*. After he had finished these, he mounted with the intention of playing *Chaugān* (polo); and going to the field of *'Īdgāh* engaged in the game. Accidentally he was hit on the stomach by a wooden bow of his saddle; and died of that injury.

An account of Yūsuf Khān, son of 'Alī Shāh.

When 'Alī Shāh passed away, his brother [2] Abdāl Khān did not, for fear of his nephew Yūsuf Khān accompany the funeral procession. Yūsuf sent [3] Saiyid Mubārak Khān, and Bābā Khalīl to him with the message, "Come and bury your brother. If you accept me as the Sulṭān then it is all right, otherwise you be the ruler and I shall be [4] your subject." When they took Yūsuf Khān's message to Abdāl

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[1] The word is مشكات in the MSS., and مشكوة in the lith. ed. both of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. The correct name is مشكواة. It is a very popular collection of the Traditions by *Al-Khaṭīb-At-Ṭabrīzī*, who was an eminent Traditionist, and who flourished in the first half of the 8th century Hijra. The work is an enlarged recension of an older book by *Al-Baghavi*, who died A.H. 516, A.D. 1142, entitled *Maṣābīḥ-As Sunna*. The full title is مشكواة المصابيح, *Mishkuāt-al-Maṣabiḥ* (Niches for the lamps).

[2] According to Prājyabhaṭṭa, Abdāl Khān was enraged at Yūsuf's succeeding his father 'Alī Shāh. He claimed that the succession should pass to the brother. Lines 623-24 say, 'तस्मिन् प्रयाते चिदिवं नरेन्द्रे राज्यं गृहीते च तदीयपुत्रे। अब्दालखानोऽपि चकार कोपं पित्र्य एतस्य महीभृतोऽपि। यद्यपि म्रियते भ्राता भ्राता गृह्णाति तत्पदं। इत्थं कुलक्रमोऽस्माकं कथं राज्यं स इच्छति। Then line 625 says there was a fight between Abdāl and Yūsuf, who is called योऽभङ्गाद्, at Sekandarapura, about which place I cannot find anything; and the former हत्वारिसैनिकं। कुतूहलेनेव दिवं ययौ भ्रातृदिदृक्षया। (l. 626), *i.e.*, after slaying the troops went to heaven as if with curiosity to see his brother.

Yūsuf Khān is said to have given away much treasure to blot out the memory of Karṇa, Māndhātā (line 627).

[3] Firishtah also has Saiyid Mubārak Khān and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 525). Syud Moobarik Khan, but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 135) has Sayyid Mubāriz Khān.

[4] One MS. omits the word شما. The other has تديع instead of تابع. Firishtah lith. ed. is more explicit, and has من تابع شما خواهم بود.

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Khān, the latter said, "I am coming relying on your words, and I am girding up my loins in your service. If I receive any injury that will be on your shoulders" (*i.e.*, you will be responsible for it). Saiyid Mubārak, who was on bad terms with Abdāl, said, "We have also to go to Yūsuf, and take promises and engagements from him." With this agreement, the meeting broke up. When (Saiyid Mubārak) went to Yūsuf, he said to him, "Abdāl Khān did not come in compliance with your words." Abdāl Bhat said, "We should go very quickly, and attack him; and then we could bury 'Alī Shāh." Yūsuf Khān mounted at once and marched and attacked him (Abdāl Khān). The latter came, and met him, and was slain. Ḥasan Khān, son of Saiyid Mubārak Khān was also slain in the skirmish. The next day he buried 'Alī Shāh, and Yūsuf became the ruler in the place of his father.

After two months, [1] Saiyid Mubārak Khān and 'Alī Khān and others crossed the river with the intention of creating a revolt. Yūsuf Khān advanced against them in concert with [2] Muḥammad Khān, the murderer of Salīm Khān, and Muḥammad Khān, who was the commander of the vanguard, taking time by the forelock, came and confronted the enemy with sixty men, but was slain. [3] Yūsuf asked

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[1] See line 628 of Prājyabhaṭṭa which says मोमारखानोऽग्रदूरं युद्धचिकीर्षया, *i.e.*, Mubārak Khān went away to a distance, wishing to fight (with Yūsuf); and line 629 says Muḥammad Khān, Yūsuf's servant fought with Mubārak Khān in the neighbourhood of Diddā *Maṭha*, which according to Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, page 448, is now the large quarter of Didamar, which forms the western end of the city of Śrīnagar on the right river bank. The *Maṭha* was built by queen Diddā for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. The fact of Muḥammad Khān being slain is mentioned in line 631.

[2] See page 750 where he was described as Muḥammad Khān Chak. Firishtah lith. ed. has a different reading. It says محمد یوسف شاہ باتفاق ماکری که هر اول او بود . The correctness of the Ṭabaqāt is proved by Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 629). See the preceding note.

[3] Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 633) says, Yūsuf after enjoying the pleasures of rule for two and half months, अगाम खशलोकानां मार्गं पर्व्वतदुर्गमं *i.e.*, he went to the inaccessible mountains, the country of the Khaśas. These, it may be said parenthetically, belonged to a tribe, which is mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (ca. 500 A.D.), and they have been identified with the

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for quarter, and came to Hīrahpūr; and [1] Saiyid Mubārak Khān sat on the seat of authority.

After some time Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, acting on letters sent to him by (some) Kashmīrīs, made an attempt on Kashmīr. Saiyid Mubārak Khān on hearing this news arrayed his troops and started to fight with him. Yūsuf Khān was again unable to withstand him, and went to the village of [2] Barsāl, which is situated in the jungle. Saiyid Mubārak Khān hastened in pursuit of him, and a battle took place. Yūsuf Khān fled to the mountains round about; and Saiyid Mubārak Khān came to Kashmīr with victory and triumph. He deceitfully summoned 'Alī Khān, son of Naurōz, and imprisoned him. The other Chaks, such as Lōhar Chak, Ḥaidar Chak and Hastī Chak did not come to him through fear. (Saiyid Mubārak Khān) sent Bābā Khalīl and Saiyid Barkhūrdār to them, and summoned them after making conditions and engagements. They all came to him, and having obtained his permission, went away to their respective places.

On the way [3] they settled among themselves, that Yūsuf should be sent for, and placed on the throne. They sent a messenger to Yūsuf Khān from the place where they were. Saiyid Mubārak Khān on hearing this was dismayed, and sent [4] Muḥammad Khān Māksī to Yūsuf, so that he might tell the latter, that he (Saiyid Mubārak

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present Khaka tribe, to which most of the petty chiefs in the *Vitastā* valley below Kashmīr and in the neighbouring hills belong.

[1] The usurpation of Saiyid Mubārak Khān does not appear to be mentioned in so many words by Firishtah; but it is mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa, line 634, and by the Cambridge History of India, page 292.

[2] The name is Barsāl in the MS., and Barmāl in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and Parthāl in that of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 525) has Hurunpal Nursak, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 136) has Parthāl. Prājyabhaṭṭa does not mention the place, but proceeds at once to mention Yūsuf's going to Akbar, who is called **समस्तपृथिवीपालज्यक्लालदीनभूपति ।** (l. 635).

[3] Prājyabhaṭṭa in lines 636, 637 says that gradually the people became hostile to Mubārak Khān, and he died **(उवास देवतागारे)** after having enjoyed happiness for one and a quarter month **(सपादस्थैव मासस्य सुखं कृत्वा)**.

[4] The name is as I have it in the text in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. it looks like Muḥammad Khān Kasī, and this has been followed in the text-edition. The name is not mentioned in Firishtah or elsewhere.

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Khān) would accept him as the Sulṭān, and was repentant of what he had done. Muḥammad Khān on leaving him joined his enemies. Saiyid Mubārak Khān became still more distressed, and determined that he would go with his sons and slaves to Yūsuf Khān, and with this determination left the city and went to the *'Īdgāh*. He took 'Alī Khān, the son of Naurōz Bhat, whom he had imprisoned, with him. Daulat Khān, who was one of his *amīrs* fled from him. He in greater confusion released 'Alī Khān from confinement, and went alone to the *Khānqāh* of Bābā Khalīl. [1] Ḥaidar Chak said to 'Alī Khān, "All our exertions and endeavours were for your release." Yūsuf, son of 'Alī Khān, said to his father, "Ḥaidar Chak wants to act treacherously towards you"; but 'Alī Khān refused to believe him and started in company with Ḥaidar Chak. Lōhar Chak and others like him had assembled together. When 'Alī Khān came, they seized and imprisoned him; and [2] decided among themselves that they would place Lōhar Chak on the throne.

At this time Yūsuf Khān arrived at [3] Kākpūr; and he then learned, that the Kashmīrīs had decided to place Lōhar on the throne. He came from there to the village of [4] Dhail, and taking all his men

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[1] Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 638) says that Ḥaidar Chak and his companions defeated Mubārak Khān, and installed Lōhar Chak as the ruler of the country मोमारखानं निर्जित्य चक्कहैदरकादयः। राज्ये निवेशयामासुः श्रीमल्लक्करचक्ककं। It goes on to say that during Lōhar Chak's reign, there was great loss of life caused by lions. I mention this as a curious fact, for what it is worth, but I cannot find any mention of lions in Kashmīr anywhere else; तस्मिंल्लक्करभूपाले भूमिं शासति सर्व्वतः। बभूवोपद्रवो नित्यं सिंहेभ्यो ग्रामवासिनां। राजौ यो यः प्रतिग्रामं गृहद्वारादिनिर्गतः। निहतः स स सिंहेन पिशाचेनेव भक्षता। (lines 639, 640).

[2] One MS. omits by mistake the words from قرار دادند to که لوهر را. In the text-edition it is لوهر only instead of لوهر چک as in the translation.

[3] The name is کاکپور in one MS. In the other the clause in which the name occurs is omitted in the preceding note. The lith. ed. has کا کا پور, while the lith. ed. of Firishtah has کالپور, and this name is used by Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 136). I cannot find anything about Kākpūr or Kālpūr but there *is* a village of the name of Kākapōr, which forms as it were a riverside station or port of Śupiyan on the *Vitastā* (see Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. I, p. 183, footnote 695 and vol. II, p. 474).

[4] The name is ذیل and زیل in the MS., and ریل in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, and زاهل in that of Firishtah. Col. Briggs does not give the name

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with him, went to Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Lāhōrī by way of Jammū. He then went to Fatḥpūr with Saiyid Yūsuf Khān, and Rāja Mān Singh; and was honoured by being allowed to wait upon His Majesty the [1] Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. From there [2] he sent his Ya'qūb to Kashmīr. The government of Kashmīr was confirmed on Lōhar.

In the year 987 A.H., Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān started with Saiyid Yūsuf Khān and Rāja Mān Singh from Fatḥpur to conquer Kashmīr. When they arrived at Sīālkōt, he [3] without taking their help went to Rājaurī, and took possession of it; and he then arrived at the station of [4] Thatha. At this time Lōhar sent Yūsuf Kashmīrī to fight with Yūsuf Khān; and Yūsuf Kashmīrī, after leaving Lōhār's presence went to Yūsuf Khān and joined him. Yūsuf Khān then went by way of [5] Jhavail, which was the most difficult route, and

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but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 136) calls it Zāhil. I cannot find anything about any of these places. ذابل in the text-edition.

[1] Both MSS. have بندگان خلافت پناهائی, but the lith. ed. has حضرت خلیفه الهی. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has ملازمت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه.

[2] Firishtah explains that Ya'qūb was sent ahead, so that he might gain the people over to his father's side, and create disturbances in Lōhar Chak's government.

[3] One MS. and the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqat and of Firishtah have بمدد ایشان مقید نشده, but the other MS. has by mistake بمدد مقید شده.

[4] One MS. has بمومل تهته, the other has بمنزل تهه. The lith. ed. has بمنزل تهته, and that of Firishtah has بمنزل تهّته. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 526) has Lassa, and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 137) has Thatta; but neither of them explains why or how he went to these distant places. Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 642) says श्रीमत्स्वय्यपुरग्रामं वितस्ताजलदुर्गमं। शिश्रिये स महीपाल उदयाद्रिमिवांशुमान्। This is definite: he took shelter in *Svayyapura*, which was inaccessible on account of being surrounded by the waters of the *Vitastā*. If Svayyapura be identical with Suyyapūr, the modern Sōpūr, it was situated a short distance below the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur. It is, however, very difficult to identify *Svayyapura* with Thatha or any other name like it.

[5] The name is جهبول in both MSS. and جهبوتل in the lith. ed. In Firishtah lith. ed. it looks like جهبول or جهویل. I cannot find anything about this place; but the correct name appears to be Jhavail. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 526) has Jeehbul; and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 137) has Jhūpul.

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marched rapidly and entered the fort of [1] Sūyyapūr. Lōhar came in concert with Ḥaidar Chak, [2] Shams Chak and Hastī Chak and confronted Yūsuf Khān. The armies encamped on the bank of the river Bihat (*i.e.*, the Jhelum). After some days [3] there was a great battle. From the auspiciousness of the attention of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, the victory fell to Yūsuf Khān.

After the victory, (Yūsuf Khān) marched to Srīnagar, and entered it. Lōhar came, through the intervention of *Qāḍī* Mūsā and Muḥammad Bhat, and saw [4] Yūsuf Khān. In the first meeting, the interview was satisfactory; but in the end Lōhar was put into prison. A large number of the rebels were also cast into prison. When Yūsuf Khān's mind was set at rest in respect of his enemies, he divided the country of Kashmīr. He separated good *jāgīrs* for [5] Shams Chak, son of Daulat Chak, and Ya'qūb Chak, and Yūsuf Kashmīrī, and made all the rest his own *Khālṣa*. On the accusation of some Kashmīrīs he had the blinding needle drawn across Lōhar's eyes.

In the year 988 A.H., Yūsuf imprisoned [6] Shams Chak and 'Ali Shēr and Muḥammad Khān, on the suspicion that they were about to

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[1] The name is سویہ پور in one MS. In the other it is سونہ, and in the lith. ed. it is سویہ. Firishtah lith. ed. has سونپور Sōnpur. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 526) has Showpoor and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 137) Sonpūr. I think Sūyyapūr is the correct name. See note 4, page 756.

[2] The name is Shams Chak in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; it is Shamsī Chak in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt.

[3] The battle is mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa (lines 645, 646), who says ज्ञात्वा योसोभभूपालसत्तद्रिपुविचेष्टितं। वितस्ताजलमुल्लङ्घ्य युयुधे लक्करेण सः। विधाय तमुखं युद्धं सर्व्वप्राणिभयावहं। मन्त्री लक्करखानस्य ममाराब्दालमेरकः।

[4] This is also mentioned by Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 648) लक्करखानो योसोभखानपादमश्रियत्। सभ्रातरमसुं सोऽपि निर्नेचमकरोत् क्षणात्।

[5] There are some differences in the names. In one MS. Ya'qūb Chak is written as Ya'qūb Bēg. In the other Shams Chak, son of Daulat Chak, is converted to Shams Chak and Daulat Chak. Ya'qūb Chak appears, according to Firishtah, to be Yūsuf's son.

[6] The names are as I have them in the text in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah lith. ed., however, has the suffix of Chak to the name of 'Alī Shēr, and calls the third man Muḥammad Sa'ādat Bhat. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 527) calls the second man Ally Chuk and the third Mahomed Khan; while Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 137) transforms the third name to Muhammad Saādat Bihut.

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rebel against him. Ḥabīb Khān fled for fear and went to the village of [1] Kasr. Yūsuf, son of 'Alī Khān, who had been imprisoned by Yūsuf Khān, effected his release, and with his four brothers joined Ḥabīb Khān in the above-named village. From there they all went to [2] Ran Mal the Rāja of Tibet, and came back after obtaining reinforcements from him. When they arrived near the frontier of Kashmīr, they, owing to the differences which developed among them, were unable to do anything, and parted from one another without doing anything. Yūsuf and Muḥammad Khān were seized, and brought before Yūsuf Khān; and their ears and noses were cut off. Ḥabīb Khān concealed himself in the city.

In the year 989 A.H., His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, returning from the conquest of Kābul, made his grand encampment in Jalālābād. He sent [3] Mirzā Ṭāhir, a relation of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil as ambassadors to Kāshmir. When they arrived at Bārāmūla, Yūsuf Khān hastened to welcome them, and taking the (imperial) *farmān* in his hand showed reverence for it. He came into Srīnagar with the ambassadors and sent his son Ḥaidar Khān, with many rich presents to wait on His Majesty. Ḥaidar Khān remained in attendance for a period of one year, and then he, and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī obtained leave to return to Kashmīr.

In the year 989 A.H., Yūsuf Khān went on a visit to Lār and Shams Chak fled from the prison and went to [4] Kahwār; and joined [5]

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[1] The name looks like کسر Kasr in both MSS. It is Kashūr in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt; while Firishtah lith. ed. has کہیر. The text-edition following Firishtah has کھیر. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 527) has Gaheer and Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 137) has to the town of Khū. I cannot find any place in Kashmīr which resembles any of these names.

[2] The name is رو نمل in both MSS., and رنمل in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The name is not quite distinct in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and both Col. Briggs and Rodgers omit it. I think Ran Mal (Sanskrit Ranamalla) is better and I have adopted it. In the text-edition it is رو بمل.

[3] According to Firishtah Mīrza Ṭāhir was a relation of Mīrzā Saiyid Khān Shahīdī.

[4] The name is written as کتوار and کہوار, but it is the same as Kishtwār or Khatwārah. See note 3, page 758.

[5] This is apparently referred to by Prājyabhaṭṭa (lines 649, 650) where, however, it is said that Ḥaidar Chak took shelter in आङ्गल देश and there was a battle between him and Yūsuf.

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Ḥaidar Chak who was there. Yūsuf receiving information of this event sent an army to attack them. They separated and fled; and Yūsuf Khān returned victorious and triumphant towards Srīnagar.

In the year 990 A.H., Ḥaidar Chak and Shams Chak advanced towards Kashmīr from Kahwār in order to fight with Yūsuf Khān. The latter advanced to meet them; and made his son Ya qūb the commander of the vanguard. He was victorious in the battle, and returned to Srīnagar. He, at the intervention of the Rāy of Kahwār, pardoned Shams Chak's offence, and granted him a *jāgīr*. [1] Ḥaidar Chak came out of the place where he was, and went to Rāja Mān Singh.

[2] In the year 992 A.H., Ya'qūb, son of Yūsuf Chak, was exalted by having the honour of kissing the threshold of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. When the latter arrived in Lāhōre with grandeur and good fortune, Ya'qūb wrote to Yūsuf, that His Majesty intended to go to Kashmīr. Yūsuf Khān determined that he should advance to welcome him. At this time information reached him, that Ḥakīm 'Alī and [3] Bahā'-ud-dīn having come as ambassadors from the servants of His Majesty had arrived at [4] Thatha. Yūsuf Khān advanced to welcome them, and putting on the robes conferred on him by the emperor made repeated obeisances; and with a firm determination wished to present himself at the threshold. [5] Bābā Khalīl

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[1] This is referred to in line 651, which says, **व्यक्षालदीनभूपस्य ययौ हैदरचक्कः। सकाशं वसुभिर्हीनो भास्करस्येव चन्द्रमाः।**

[2] Compare Prājyabhaṭṭa (l. 659) **व्यक्षालदीनभूपालसेवनार्थं कृतोद्यमः। याकोभराजपुत्रोऽपि प्रहितस्तेन भूभृता।**

[3] One MS. has Bahā-'ud-dīn Kambū, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. do not have Kambu after Bahā'-ud-din. Firishtah lith. ed. omits the name of Bahā'-ud-din altogether, and mentions Ḥakīm 'Alī Gīlānī as the only ambassador.

[4] See note 4, page 756. ثته is the name of the place in the text-edition.

[5] Prājyabhaṭṭa (line 658 and the following lines) gives a different reason for the final breach of the friendly relations between Akbar and Yūsuf. It says that the prince Yaqūb was sent by Yūsuf to render service to Akbar, **व्यक्षालदीनभूपालसेवनार्थं**. Akbar on seeing the rich presents placed before him by Ya'qūb became anxious to conquer Kashmīr, **काश्मीरविजयोत्कण्ठा सम्बभूव महीभृतः।** He accordingly gave orders to Bhagwān Dās and other commanders, **(इत्याज्ञा भगवद्दासप्रमुखानां महीभृतां)**. Coming to know of this, Ya'qūb left Akbar's

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and Bābā Mahdī and [1]Shams Dūbī [2]being perplexed about him kept him back from carrying out his determination; and resolved that if Yūsuf Khān went towards the threshold, they would put him to death; and would raise his son Ya'qūb in his place. For fear of this, (Yūsuf) postponed the carrying out of his intention; and gave leave to the imperial ambassadors to return.

The servants of His Majesty then appointed Mīrzā Shāh Rukh and Shāh Qulī Khān and Rāja Bhagwān Dās to invade Kashmīr. Yūsuf Khān came out of Kashmīr (Srīnagar), and encamped with his army at Bārāmūla. When news came that the victorious army had arrived at [3]Bhimbar, [4]Yūsuf Khān (separating himself) from the

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service, and came secretly to Kashmīr, त्यक्त्वा भूपालसेवनं। प्रत्याययौ स्वकश्मीर-देशं मार्गादलक्षितः. He came and informed his father, and pointed out that the greatness of the great who are weak is of no avail (महतोऽप्यसमर्थस्य महत्त्वं याति निष्फलं। पर्व्वतसदृशाकारं कुञ्जरं हन्ति केशरी). Then they all set out for war; but after this there was a long controversy between Yūsuf Khān, who argued that it was not within their capacity to withstand Akbar's power, and his ministers who advised war: They even said, भवन्तः सन्तु दूरस्थाः कुर्म्मस्त्वत्कार्य्यनिर्णयं। आङ्गलं देशमाश्रित्य योत्स्यामः प्रत्यहं वयं (l. 677), *i.e.*, you remain at a distance; we will decide your work; we will take shelter in the forest, and carry on daily skirmishes; but their arguments were of no avail; and he went to Rājā Bhagwān Dās, इति निश्चित्य भूपालो ज्येष्ठालदीनभूपतेः। चरणं शरणीकर्त्तुं भगवद्दासमाश्रयत्। (l. 691). Then Ya'qūb ascended the throne, and he pleased the people by distributing the treasures collected by his father; but as usual, in the later history of Kashmīr, there were mutual jealousy and quarrels. After that Akbar sent Qāsim Khān to conquer Kashmīr. कासेमखाननामानं चक्रहैदरसेवितं। प्रेरयामास भूपालः कश्मीरविजयेच्छया। (l. 705).

[1] The name is Shams Dūbī in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah; but the suffix is doubtful in the MSS., it is Dūnī in one and Dūlī in the other. Col. Briggs omits the name, but Rodgers (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LIV, p. 138) calls the man Shams Dadlī. شمس دونی in the text-edition.

[2] The word is موس in both MSS. and the lith., ed. and موسوس in the text-edition.

[3] There are differences in the readings. The MSS. have بہ پرم and بہنیر; and the lith. ed. has بہ بہنر. Firishtah lith. ed. has بہ بہو لباس کہ سرحد کشمیر است. The text-edition following the MSS. has adopted پرم.

[4] The sentence appears to me to be confused and incomplete. I have thought it necessary to insert the words جدا شدہ to complete the sentence.

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army took up his station in the village of Nagar, with the intention of loyally serving His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī in concert with Mīrzā Qāsim, son of Khwājah Ḥājī, and Mahdī Kōkah and Ustād Laṭīf. Mādhō Singh came to the above-mentioned village in order to receive Yūsuf Khān; and took him with himself to Rāja Bhagwān Dās. The latter sent him a horse and a [1] *Siropā* after the meeting; and marching from there advanced towards Kashmīr (Srīnagar). The Kashmīrīs received him peacefully, and agreed that they would send every year a fixed sum for the imperial treasury. [2] Rāja Bhagwān Dās returned from there after concluding the peace; and obtained the honour of kissing the dust of the threshold at Atak. Yūsuf Khān also came with him, and obtained the distinction of kissing the threshold, which is the semblance of paradise.

SECTION X. [3] THE SECTION ABOUT THE RULERS OF SIND.

It is narrated in the history of *Minhāj-ul-Masālik*, which is known as the *Chach-nāma*, that when the turn of the *Khīlāfat* came to Walīd, the son of 'Abd-ul-malik, the son of Marwān, [4] Ḥajjāj, the son of Yūsuf, sent Muḥammad Hārūn towards India, and he advanced into the country of [5] Mekrān, in the early part of the year 86 A.H.; and commenced collecting revenue there. At this time news became

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[1] See note 2, page 722.

[2] The history of Kashmīr, after the treaty concluded by Rāja Bhagwān Dās and which Akbar refused to ratify, will be found in the history of Akbar's reign in this volume. The Cambridge History of India, page 293, gives a summary.

[3] The heading in both MSS. is as I have it in the text. The lith. ed. has ذکر طبقہ سلاطین سندھ.

[4] He is described in Muir's *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (1883, p. 445) as "At this period (A.H. 71) the right arm of the Umayyad Caliphs" and who afterwards for twenty years was Walīd's Viceroy in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate.

[5] "The ancient Gedrosia, that torrid region, extending in land from the northern shore of the sea of 'Omān" (*Cambridge History of India*, p. 1). I think it would have been much simpler, and more intelligible to call it by its modern name of Balūchistān.

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current, in the capital city of Baghdād that Malik [1] Sarandīp (who I suppose was the governor of Ceylon, but who is also called the king of Ceylon) had sent by sea a ship filled with rich and beautiful articles and male and female *Ḥabshī* slaves for the servants of the capital. When the Shaikh arrived in the neighbourhood of [2] Dēbul,

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[1] Sarandīp is usually identified with Ceylon, but Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 325) calls it Saran-Dīp and identifies it with Kachchh Bhuj.

[2] Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 403) says that Deebul is identical with "Modern Tutta on the Indus." The Cambridge History of India (p. 2) has Debul "Dāhir's principal seaport," and says further on that it was "about twenty-four miles to the south-west of the modern town of Tatta." دیبل in the text-edition.

The exact position of Dēbul (though the correct transliteration of دیبل which appears to be the form of the name in Persian would be Dabīl) is as doubtful as the correct pronunciation of the name. There is a very long note, No. 316, in Major Raverty's paper in "*The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries*" (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, 1893) which extends from page 317 to page 331, in which he says all that could be said about Debal, and perhaps a good deal more, if I may say so, and in the course of which he says (p. 324), "Having clearly shown that Debal or Dewal was not Ṭhaṭhah, nor 'Bambura', nor Lāhrī Bandar, nor Karāchī, and stated that the latter was not founded for centuries after the 'Arab conquest, I will now show, as near as possible, where it was." The note goes on for pages, and although Debul is occasionally mentioned, as on page 326, where Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Din Muḥammad-i-Sām is said to have marched against it in 578 A.H. (1182-83 A.D.), and again on the same page where Sinān-ud-Dīn Chanīsar of Debal is mentioned as one of the seven petty *Rānās* in Sind, when Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ḳabā-jah declared his independence and assumed the title of Sulṭān, I cannot find any indication of the exact situation of the place.

Earlier in the note (pp. 319–321), however, Raverty gives some information about Debal from the accounts of the early English travellers. One of the earliest of these, Walter Paynton, who accompanied Captain Christopher Newport in 1612 says (p. 320) that, "Boats were sent from Diul (Dewal) for conveying the Ambassadors goods and people.....*Tata* a great Citie one dayes journey from Diul, *both cities* standing in the Great *Mogolls* Dominions." Subsequent to this W. Paynton, then Captain Paynton (p. 321) mentions "*Diul* near the mouth of the river *Indus*." He then mentions the account of Diul in the narrative of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy in 1615 and of Thevenot in 1665-66, and comes to the conclusion that "Debal or Dewal is said to have been in 1666, southernmost town of Sind; and its position is plainly stated in the account of Captain Newport's landing ..... The distance given as fifteen miles from

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the turbulent people of that place looted that ship and seven other ships, and took possession of all the property in them. They also seized, with the object of making them slaves, a number of Musalmān women, who had embarked in the ship, with the object of circumambulating the *Ka'ba*. When these things were happening, a number of men fled and going to Ḥajjāj complained to him. Ḥajjāj, the son of Yūsuf, wrote a letter to [1] Rāy Dāhir, who was [2] the ruler of Hind and Sind, and sent it to Muḥammad Hārūn, so that he might send it by the hand of some of his trusted servants to Rāy Dāhir. When Muḥammad Hārūn sent the letter to him, he wrote in reply that the act had been committed by robbers (pirates); and their power and pomp were so great that they could not be destroyed by his exertions and endeavours.

When this reply reached Ḥajjāj, he solicited permission for the invasion of Sind and Hind from Walīd, the son of 'Abd-ul-malik,

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Ṭhaṭhah by the river, would bring us very near to the Shrine of Pīr Patho, at the foot of the Makkahlī hills, and near the Bhāgar branch of the Indus" (p. 322). Debal, he, therefore, concludes, lay "in the vicinity of that Shrine, but a little further the south-westward perhaps."

There are three maps in this paper, one without a date has Debal a little to the north of what is marked as Pīr Patho and about twenty-four miles to the west and a little to the south of Tatta, a second which is said to be from Purchas about 1615 A.D., which places Diul some distance almost due south, but a little to the west on the same bank of what appears to be the main estuary of the Indus, and a third, which is described as an old map published about the year 1700, which places Dobil or Dioul on the coast some distance to the south-west of Thata.

[1] Rāy Dāhir, according to the old Arab historians, was the son of Chach, the Brahman minister of the Rāy dynasty founded by the white Huns who settled in Sind, whose throne he then usurped, and became the ruler of the country. He had his capital at Alor. The *Chach-nāma*, extracts from the translation of which are given in H. M. Elliot's *History of India* (vol. I, pp. 140–152), contains a long account of Chach the father of Dāhir. It is said in the preface to the translation of the extracts from the *Chach-nāma* (p. 137) that Nizam-ud-dīn Ahmad, Nūru-l-Hakk, Firishta and Mir Ma'sūm and others have drawn their account of the conquest of Sind from it.

[2] One MS. has والى سند omitting the words و هند after it; and the other has والى سند و هند. I have adopted the reading of the second MS. In the text-edition it is only والي سند as in the first MS.

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the [1] son of Marwān; and sent [2] Badīl with three hundred warriors to Muḥammad Hārūn, and wrote to him, that he should send three thousand great warriors (*mard jangjuī khūnrēz*) with him for the capture of Dēbul. When Badīl arrived in the neighbourhood of Dēbul, he after making great exertions, attained the good fortune of martyrdom. The heart of Ḥajjāj was distressed on hearing of this defeat and became very sad and sorrowful. Although 'Āmir, son of 'Abd-ul-lah, had intended to take the command of the army for the invasion of Sind, Ḥajjāj in consultation with astrologers, who knew the niceties of their science, prevented [3] 'Imād-ud-dīn Muḥammad Qāsim, son of 'Aqīl Thaqfī, who was the son of his uncle and also his son-in-law, and was in his seventeenth year, and sent him with [4] six thousand men chosen from the chief men of Syria for the conquest of Sind by way of Shīrāz.

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[1] One MS. omits بن مروان, while the other has مروان but omits بن. In the text-edition, however, as in the translation, the words بن مروان or the son of Marwān have been included.

[2] He is called Badīl in the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt and the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 403) calls him Budmeen. Al Bilādurī (*vide* Elliot, vol. I, p. 119) says there were two expeditions, one under 'Ubaidu-llah and the second under Budail son of Tahfa, both of which were unsuccessful and both the commanders were slain.

[3] The Cambridge History of India, page 2, insists on calling him Muhammad, and says that he should not be called Qāsim or Muhammad Qāsim, as he is sometimes called by European historians and directs that "this vulgar error, arising from a Persian idiom in which the word 'son' is understood, but not expressed, should be avoided." It appears, however, that this error is shared by Musalmān historians. Both Niẓām-ud-dīn and Firishtah call him Muḥammad Qāsim, and as to the word 'son' being understood, it would appear that he was the son *not* of Qāsim but of 'Aqīl Thaqfī. It must be noted, however, that Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 324) also calls him "Muḥammad, son of Ḳāsim." According to Al Bilādurī (Elliot, vol. I, p. 119) his full name was Muhammad, son of Kāṣim, son of Muhammad, son of Hakim, son of Abū 'Ukail.

[4] Al Bilādurī (Elliot, vol. I, p. 119) says, "Hajjaj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muhammad, and others besides. He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needle." According to the Cambridge History of India (p. 2), there were besides the six thousand Syrian horses, a camel corps of equal strength, and a baggage train of three thousand camels.

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After traversing the stages and reaching the end of their journey they laid siege to the fort of Dēbul, and after a few days captured it, and an immense quantity of plunder fell into their hands. Among those there were four hundred slave girls of matchless beauty. Muḥammad Qāsim divided the booty among his soldiers, and sent the daughter of the Rāy of Dēbul, with a fifth part of the booty to Ḥajjāj. The [1] daughter of the Rāja of Dēbul fled and went to Jay Sinha, son of Rāy Dāhir, who was the governor of the fort of [2] Nīrūn. Muḥammad Qāsim advanced with a stout heart against him. Rāyzāda [3] Jay Sinha having placed the bridle of bravery and manliness in the hand of shamelessness, and making over the defence of the fort of Nīrūn to some trusted men crossed the [4] Mehrān river and went to the ancient fort of [5] Brahman-ābād. When Muḥammad

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[1] Firishtah does not agree with the Ṭabaqāt in saying that the princess was sent to Ḥajjāj. He says that seventy-five slave girls with the fifth part of the booty were sent to Ḥajjaj.

[2] According to Ibn Ḥauḳal quoted by Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, 1893, p. 215) "Nirūn is a city situated between Debal and Mansūriyah on the road thither, and is situated on the west side of the Mihrān." According to Al Bilādurī (Elliot, vol. I, p. 121) the inhabitants of Nīrūn had, already before the arrival of Muhammad, sent two *Samanīs* or priests to Ḥajjāj to treat for peace; and on Muhammad's arrival they furnished him with supplies and admitted him into the town, and they were allowed to capitulate. The Cambridge History of India (p. 3) says that Nīrūn was about seventy-five miles to the north-east of Debul and near the modern Haidarābād (Hydrābād). بيرون in the text-edition is apparently a misprint for نيرون.

[3] The name looks like جيسية Jaissīah in one MS. and حبشة Ḥabshah in the other and حيسية Ḥaissīah in the lith. ed. Firishtah calls him son of Dāhir Faujī. The Cambridge History of India (p. 3) calls him Jai Singh. Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 232) has Jai Siṇha.

[4] "The Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, Āb-i-Sind or Indus, from the time that we possess any authentic records respecting it, was a tributary along with the other rivers now forming the Panch Nad or the Panj Āb, of the Hakṛā or Wahindah, which having all united into one great river at the *Dogh-i-Āb* (literally meeting of water or waters-meet) as related by the old 'Arab and Sindī writers, formed the Mihrān of Sind or Sind-Sāgar" (Raverty, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 316).

[5] The name is written حصار برهمنان باد, and حصار برهمان بار in the MSS. and حصار برهمنا باد in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has بقلعة برهمنا باد The correct name of the place, however, was Bahman-ābād or Bahman-nih, the Bahman-no of the Sindīs. It was "founded centuries before, by Bahman son of Isfandiyār,

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Qāsim arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of Nīrūn, the residents of the city, being in the first instance frightened by the onsets of the arrival of the army shut themselves up in the fort; and later having arranged and provided for the necessaries of the army (*i.e.*, I suppose Muḥammad Qāsim's army) joined it, shouting the word *Al-amān* (quarter or safety). Muḥammad Qāsim granted them quarter, took the heads of the different groups of people with him; and leaving his own superintendent or commander in the fort of Nīrūn, advanced to conquer Sīwistān, which is now known as Sihwān.

[1] A number of the inhabitants of Sīwistān went to Bachhrā, who was the ruler of the place, and was the son of the uncle of Rāy Dāhir, and said, "Our religion is safety, and to pardon is our faith, and according to our tenets, slaying and being slain are not allowed. It is advisable that we should petition for protection from the commanders of the army." Rāyzāda Bachhrā relying on his strength and power uttered harsh and unfitting words (towards them); but in the end after enduring the siege for a week took the path of flight and

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in the reign of Gushtāsib sovereign of I-rān-Zamīn, who made conquests in valley of the Indus and western Hind, which were retained up to within a few years of the fall of the I-rānī empire" (*vide* note 102, p. 196 of Raverty's paper, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i). In another note, No. 105, page 196, Raverty says "This place Bahmanābād or Bahman-nih, notwithstanding that more than one old author distinctly states by whom it was founded, European writers (and Nizam-ud-din and Firishtah also) insist in calling 'Brahmanābād', because it is incorrect, seemingly."

[1] There are differences in the readings here. One MS. has مردم انولایت نزد ممحمد که حاکم انجا و ابن عم رای داهر بود. The other has و جمعی از سکنهٔ سیستان بحر اگر دید که حاکم انجا و ابن عم رای دابر بود; and the lith. ed. has و جمعی از سکنهٔ سوستان نزد بچرا که حاکم انجا و ابن عم رای دابر بود. Firishtah lith. ed. has مردم سیوستان که همه برهمی بودند نزد حاکم خود کچرای که ابن داهر بود. It appears from comparing these that the inhabitants, who, according to Firishtah, were all Brahmans went to the ruler of the place, who according to one MS. of the Ṭabaqāt was called, apparently incorrectly, Muḥammad but according to the other and the lith. ed. Bachehra and according to Firishtah Kachraī, and said that they did not want to fight the invaders. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 405) calls the governor of Sehwan Kucha Ray; the Cambridge History of India (p. 3) calls him "Bajhrā, son of Chandra and cousin of Dāhir"; and Raverty also (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 233) has Bajhrā.

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prayed for shelter to the Rāy of the fort of [1] Sīsams. Early next morning Muḥammad Qāsim, in concert with the leaders of the different sections of his army, entered the fortress the Sīwistān; and granted quarter to those who had not accepted the advice of or shown goodwill to Rāyzāda Bachhrā. He divided the booty and the fruits of the conquest of Sīwistān among the troops, after setting apart a fifth part (to be sent to Ḥajjāj); and then turned his face towards the fort of Sīsam. After the conquest of that fort he advanced to engage Rāy Dāhir, who was the head of the disturbance, and the chief of the disturbers.

While this was going on, there was a [2] dearth of commodities in the army of Muḥammad Qāsim; and most of the beasts of burden became lame (and unfit for work); and owing to this anxiety and distress regarding the condition of the troops became apparent. Ḥajjāj, son of Yūsuf, becoming acquainted with the true state of things, after making necessary preparations, sent to Muḥammad Qāsim two thousand horses from his own stables, and the soldiers having gained fresh strength advanced to attack Rāy Dāhir. After the parties met, a series of battles took place one after another. They say that while these things were going on, Rāy Dāhir sent for the astrologers to attend on him in his private chamber; and asked that the circumstances and the aim of the 'Arab army to be explained to him. The astrologers, who knew the stars, said, "We have read in ancient books that in the lunar year 86, the 'Arab army would take possession of the country

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[1] The name is written as ششم in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Firishtah lith. ed. has سلم, and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 406) has Sulim. The Cambridge History of India (p. 4) has Sīsam. Raverty calls it Sīsam, Sahbān and Sīlam of others (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 233). In the text-edition it is ششم.

[2] This dearth is also mentioned by Arab historians (*vide* Raverty, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 237). Muḥammad had to build a bridge of boats to take his army over to the Bahmanābād side of the Mihrān. The bridge was constructed, and the army crossed without much opposition on the part of Dāhir. Major Raverty also says that the writers do not mention the difficulties he had to encounter, such as the delay in obtaining boats, the want of food and forage, and the consequent loss of men and horses from disease, and months that elapsed in the meantime. It is not clear where he got the information about the delay and the difficulties.

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round Dēbul; and that in the year 93 they would gain possession of the whole country of Sind." As he had repeatedly examined the astrologers, he knew that in forecasting the influence of the stars, they were sure and protected against all errors and mistakes, he grappled (with the difficulties of his position); and as the cup of his life had begun to overflow, he, on Thursday the 10th of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān in the year 993 A.H., turned the face of his spirit with the greatest vigour to the [1] battle-field; and with the help of the greatest endeavour and exertion, shot every arrow, which he had in the quiver of his devices, at the enemy, and struck by the arrow of fate died. A summary of the circumstances attending the death of Dāhir Rāy is as follows: that on the day of battle he, riding on a white elephant, took his place in the centre of the line of warriors and exerted himself with great gallantry and showed himself to be an expert archer. While the brave men of the two sides and the warriors of the two armies were mingled with each other, a thrower of *naphtha* (or an archer) shooting arrows tipped with *naphtha* struck a flame of fire at the *howdah* of the white elephant on which Rāy Dāhir was seated. The elephant was frightened and began to run away; and although the driver struck it with the hooked goad [2] it had not even the power of a whip with which one strikes an 'Arab horse. The elephant fled and got into the river. The warriors of Muḥammad Qāsim's army pursued it from behind, and sent the message of death by the tongues of their arrows from different directions. After he had received many

[1] The account of the battle in the Ṭabaqāt, which appears to be copied from the *Chach-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 170), is encumbered in the earlier part with Dāhir's consultation with the astrologers and much figurative language. The actual circumstances attending the death of Dāhir, due to the elephant on which he was riding being frightened are, however, described here clearly. Firishtah's account is somewhat different and more matter of fact. The account given in Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 239) is rather brief, and gives no details. The Cambridge History of India (p. 5) gives a circumstantial account, which agrees mainly with that given by Firishtah and may have been taken from it.

[2] The words are in one MS. حکم تازیانه نداشت که بر اسپ عربی بزنند. In the other MS. and in the lith. ed. are the same, with the difference that the word is داشت in one MS. and نداشت in the other and in the lith. ed. In the text-edition داشت has been adopted.

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wounds,[1] he returned to the bank of the river. The elephant came out in its own way and made the horsemen run away in all directions. At this time acting with great gallantry Rāy Dāhir, wounded as he was,[2] descended from the elephant by such device as he could think of, and confronted one of the brave 'Arab warriors. The latter with one blow carried to its end that half-finished life. The Rāys and Rājpūts, on seeing this, threw the dust of misery on their heads and took the way of flight; and the brave 'Arab warriors mingling with the Rājpūts pursued the latter as far as the gate of the fortress. They cast down many of the infidel warriors after aspersing them of cowardice by the thrusts of their spears. So much plunder and booty fell into the hands of the soldiers that these were beyond one's ideas and estimates.

[3] Rayzāda Jay Sinha, after making the fortress strong by putting into it a garrison of brave warriors, wanted to come out and again engage in a drawn battle; but the representatives and ministers of his father did not permit that he should again fight a battle, and they carried him away to the old fort of Brahaman-ābād (Bahmanābād). Rāy Dāhir's widow, however, disagreeing with her son, strengthened

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[1] The readings here are also different. The MSS. have و بر کنار دریای شور و شغب شد, while the lith. ed. has در کنار دریا شور و شغب شد. Firishtah has no passage, which is exactly similar to this. I cannot find any meaning of شعب or شغب which will at all fit in with the context. The Cambridge History of India (p. 5) has "the driver arrested his flight in midstream, and induced him once more to face the enemy." This seems to be the meaning but I cannot get the word to fit in. The account of the battle in the *Chach-nama* (*vide* Elliot, vol. I, p. 170) is "Dāhir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves."

[2] On the other hand, Firishtah and the Cambridge History of India (p. 5) say that he was struck by an arrow and fell from the elephant. For accounts of the events just before the battle see note No. 187 in Raverty's paper (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 239), but it does not give any detailed account of the final battle. It only says, "the Arabs made a general attack on Dāhir and his forces; and he was finally killed near the fort of Rāwar, between the Mihrān river and the canals of Dadahah Wāh, in endeavouring to reach the fortress, and his troops were overthrown with great slaughter, and pursued to the gates of that place." These details do not agree with the accounts of the battle as given by Niẓam-ud-dīn or Firishtah or the Cambridge History of India.

[3] The following account agrees with that in Raverty's paper (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 239). The widow was named Rānī Bā'ī, and she is stated to have been a sister of Dāhir.

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the gates of the fortress; and making fifteen thousand Rājpūts join her prepared to defend it. 'Imād-ud-dīn Muḥammad Qāsim, [1] considering the conquest of the fortress of [2] Rāwar to be easy, and thinking that this should be done before the destruction of Jay Sinha, turned his bridle from the battle-field for the capture of the fortress of Rāwar, and surrounded it. After some days, when the people of the fortress were reduced to straits, they lighted a [3] great fire and threw their women and children into it; and opening the gates of the city prepared for battle and slaughter. The Syrian warriors, drawing their blood-drinking swords from the scabbards, entered the fortress and slew six thousand Rājpūts; and thirty thousand were seized as slaves. The daughters of Rāy Dāhir, who fell into the hands of the conquerors among the prisoners, were sent as a present for the service of the *Khalīfa*. When they came before the latter's eyes, he made them over to the servants of the harem, so that they might attend to their wants for some days, and then had them brought to his presence. He wanted that he would have [4] one of them to share his bed. She

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[1] The readings are different and none of them appears to be quite correct. One MS. has تسخیر حصار وا کردہ حصار مذکور را درمیان گرفتند. The other has تسخیر حصار را در راہ اسان دانستہ شغل انرا بر دفع جسہ مقدم دانست و از جنگ گاہ عنان بصوب تسخیر وا گردانیدہ حصار مذکور را درمیان گرفتند. The lith. ed. has تسخیر حصار دژ راہ اسان دانستہ شغل انرا بر دفع جسنہ مقدم داشت و از راہ جنگ گاہ عنان بصوب تسخیر دژ گردانید - حصار مذکور را درمیان گرفتند. It would be seen that the 2nd MS. and the lith. ed. agree very much. If the حصار دژ is a mistake for حصار راور, the reading in the lith. ed. may be accepted, after substituting راور for دژ, and I have made my translation accordingly.

[2] The name of the fortress is not mentioned in the text-edition.

[3] The *Jauhar* could not have been very complete.

[4] The words are یکی را بملک الیمین تصرف نماید. The circumstances of the accusation made by Dāhir's daughter, which she afterwards declared to be false, and which she said she had made to avenge the killing of her father are mentioned by Firishtah, but not by Al Bilādurī, who says (*vide* Elliot, vol. I, p. 124) that after Walīd's death his brother Sulaimān became the Caliph. He appointed Sālih to collect a tribute of 'Irāk. Yazīd was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad was sent back a prisoner, and was kept in prison at Wāsit, where he was put to torture with other members of the family of Abū 'Ukail, until they

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submitted, "I do not possess the status of being honoured with the association of the Khalīfa's bed, for 'Imād-ud-dīn Muḥammad Qāsim had kept me for three nights in his own harem." The *Khalīfa*, being overpowered by an access of rage, wrote an order with his own hand that Muḥammad Qāsim, wherever he might have arrived at the time (the order should reach him), should put himself (sew himself up) in raw hide, and should start for the capital. The helpless man had himself sewn up in a raw hide, and ordered that he should be placed in a box, and should be sent to the capital. He died in the course of two or three days. They carried him in the way described.[1]

In short, when the country of Sind came, without dispute and hostility into the possession of the agents of the government of 'Imād-ud-dīn Muḥammad Qāsim, he appointed his own officers and agents in each town and city.

Historical works are wanting and destitute of accounts of the events which happened in Sind (after this date), and in no history are the circumstances connected with the events and the people of the country narrated either as a whole or in detail. But the writer of the history called the Ṭabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī has given the name of some of those who were engaged in the government of the country in certain years, and has written only this much in reference to each of them, that he was occupied with the work of government for some years. I, Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, the compiler of this history, relying on the history of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī, [2] follow in his service by

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expired, for Hajjāj (Muhammad's cousin) had put Adam, Sālih's brother, who professed the creed of the Khārijīs, to death. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol. XXII, p. 395, 1908) repeats the story of Dahir's daughters. The Cambridge History of India, page 7, says that the story of Muhammad's death is related by some Chroniclers, and has been repeated by European Historians, but is without any foundation.

[1] The lith. ed. inserts here و باقی غنایم را برین قیاس باید کرد *i.e.*, and the remaining booty might be estimated in accordance with this; but as these words do not appear in either of the MSS., I have not inserted them in the text.

[2] The meanings of the words اقتدا بخدمتش مینماید are not very clear. It is not possible to be definite as to who is intended to by the pronomial ش unless it is Akbar.

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narrating the names of some of them, and [1] some of the circumstances which were included in the things known to the slave of the threshold of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī Akbār Shāh. And all help and all defence is from God!

The compiler of the history called the Tabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī says, that in the earlier times the government and the rule of the country of Sind were vested in the children of [2] Tamīm Anṣārī. Afterwards as among the *zamīndārs* (land-holders or chiefs) of that country, the [3] Sūmrās were distinguished by great power and numbers of followers, they, in the course of time, having gained great power, became invested with the work of government. For [4] five hundred years the government of the country remained with the house of Sūmrās. But as it is incidental with the revolution of the skies, or rather as it is incidental with all governments, that they are transferred from one tribe to another, after five hundred years the chieftainship of the country of Sind was transferred from the Sūmrās to the

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[1] The word بندی in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. is meaningless in reference to the context. I have ventured to change it to چندی, while in the text-edition نبذی.

[2] Tamīm, the son of Dhaid-ul-'Utbā, succeeded Junair in Sind, when the latter was promoted to the Viceroyalty of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate.

[3] For an account of the *Sumras* see the translation of the extract from the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* or *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 215–223). It is described as an account of the *Samma* dynasty but is really an account of the *Sumras*. The account of the *Sammas* does not begin till page 223. It is said on that page that "some men of the tribe of *Samma* had previously come from Kachh and had settled in Sind." M. Hidayat Hosain has زمیداران آن ناحیه سومرکان in the text-edition.

[4] Firishtah lith. ed. has one hundred years, but Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 411) agrees with the Ṭabaqāt and makes the period of domination of the Soomura five hundred years. The Cambridge History of India only mentions the Sūmras, on page 54, where it mentions Malik Sinān-ud-dīn Chatīsar, eleventh of the Sūmra line, a Rājput dynasty the latter members of which accepted Islām, submitted and was permitted to retain his territory as a vassal of Iltutmish (commonly called Altamsh). Wunār, another chief of the Sūmras, is mentioned on page 147 in connection with the account of Moorish traveller in his *Tuhfat-un-Nazzār fi Gharāib-il-Amsār*, who visited India in the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq.

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dynasty of [1] Sēmmas. Of this dynasty fifteen persons were engaged in the [2] government (of Sind).

An account of the Government of [3] Jām Ānar.

He was the man in the tribe of Sēmmas who was vested with the office of government and rule. The tribe of the Sēmmas considered themselves to be descended from Jamshīd, and traced their genealogy to him. This word Jām, which they gave to their leaders and chiefs, preserves the memory of that connection. The period of the rule of this Jām was three years and six months.

[4] Jām Jūnān.

When Jām Ānar drank a draught from the full cup of death, his brother, Jām Jūnān, in [5] virtue of a mandate or testament, became

[1] They appear to be mentioned for the first time in the *Chach-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 191) as coming to receive Muhammad Kāsim "ringing bells and beating drums and dancing." Kharīm, the son of 'Umar, pointed out to Muhammad Kisām they were submissive and obedient to the 'Arab. Muḥammad Kasīm laughed at the words and told Kharim, "You shall be made their chief," and made them dance and play before him. They are called Sammās in the Cambridge History of India (p. 500), and are described there as a Rājput tribe of Cutch and lower Sind and who ousted the Sūmras. On page 518, it is said that the "Sammā Rājputs of Sind fleeing from that country before the Sūmras, who had superseded them as its rulers, found an asylum with the Chāvada Rājputs who ruled Cutch." M. Hidayat Hosain has بطبقه سيمكان in the text-edition.

[2] Firishtah inserts an account of Nāsir-ud-dīn Qubācha before giving an account of the Sēmmas. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 413–421) also devotes some nine pages to the reign of Naseer-ood-Deen Kubbacha.

[3] He is called Unar in the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 224) and in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol. XXII, p. 396) and is described "as a Muhammadan with a Hindu name, a fact which seems argue recent conversion." The *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* gives an account of the conquest of Siwistān or Sihwān by him. He is called جام افراء in the lith. ed. of Firishtah and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 423) calls him Jam Afra. جام آنّر Jām Ānar in the text-edition.

[4] The *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* and the *Imperial Gazatteer* and Firishtah call him Jām Junā. In his reign Bhakkar was rested from the Turks or Arabs. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 423) calls him Jam Choban. In the text-edition the heading is ذكر حكومت جان جونان.

[5] There are differences in the readings here. One MS. has بحكومت وصايت يا وارث, the other has بحكم وصايت يا وراثت while the lith. ed. has بحكم وصايت

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vested with the rule and chieftainship of the country of Sind. In the time of his greatness the buds of the desire and hopes of the people blossomed. The period of his rule was fourteen years.

An account of [1] Jām Malitha, son of Jām Ānar.

When Jām Jūnān passed away Jām Malītha [2] rose to demand the inheritance of his father's dominions and made the people combine with him. And Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh came repeatedly to the country of Sind with his army, and the above-named Jām arranging his troops in the field of battle attempted to withstand him. But at last, on the third occasion, the country passed into the possession of his servants. Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh took the Jām with him to Dehlī; and as the latter performed praiseworthy services, the Sulṭān conferred many favours on him, gave him the (royal) umbrella, and again entrusted the government of the country of Sind to him, and granted him permission to return there. [3] The particulars of these transactions have been written in the section about (the Sulṭāns of) Dehlī.

The total period of his rule was fifteen years.

An account of the Government of [4] Jām Tamāchī.

After the death of his brother he sat on the bed (*Chahār bālish, i.e.*, a raised bed with four bolsters round it) of rule and carried out

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بوارثت. I think the last is the best reading, and this is followed in the text-edition.

[1] The name is مالی تهتة in one MS. and مالهتة in the other, and مالی تهسة in the lith. ed. Firishtah calls him جام بانی. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 423) has Jam Bany. Neither *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* nor the *Imperial Gazetteer* includes him in the list of the Jāms. Both make Jām Tamāchī succeed Jām Junā. In the text-edition it is ذکر حکومت جام بان هتیه بن جام انر.

[2] One MS. substitutes باتفاق امرا مصدی حکومت گردید in place of بطلب وراثت ملک پدر بر خواسته مردم را بخود موافق ساخت which is in the other and in the lith. ed.

[3] See page 247 of vol. I of the English translation.

[4] The name is Jām Tamāchī in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It is Jām Tamājī in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 424) has Jam Timmajy. The *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* and the *Imperial Gazetteer* make him the successor of Jām Jūna. The former (Elliot, vol. I, p. 225) says that the troops of 'Alāu-d-din took him prisoner and carried him with his family to Dehli.

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the work of government for some time. He passed away after ruling for thirteen years and some months.

[1] JĀM ṢALĀḤ-UD-DĪN.

He was vested with the duties of government after the death of Jām Tamāchī, and passed away after eleven years and some months.

[2] JĀM NIẒĀM-UD-DĪN, SON OF ṢALĀḤ-UD-DĪN.

After the death of his father, he became the successor of the latter; and the great men and nobles of the country of Sind were pleased with his rule and chieftainship. He enjoyed the pleasures and delights of this great position for two years and some months.

[3] JĀM 'ALĪ SHĒR.

After the death of Jām Niẓām-ud-dīn, 'Alī Shēr, [4] claiming the dominion of his father, Jām Tamāchī, rose up and made the great men of the kingdom, and the chiefs of his tribe join and unite with him.

After his death his son Malik Khairu-d-din who had been taken to Dehli returned to Sind and assumed the government. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (p. 396) says it was Fīroz Tughlaq who retook Bhakkar and carried Tamāchī and his son Khair-ud-dīn as prisoners to Dehli. After Tamāchi's death, Khair-ud-dīn was released and was allowed to assume the government of Sind.

According to the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind*, Jām Khairu-d-dīn was succeeded by Jām Bābaniya. He was defeated by Sultān Fīroz (Shāh Tughlaq), and was taken captive to Dehli, but was afterwards reinstated to the government of Sind. The *Imperial Gazetteer* does not give a list of the Jāms after Khair-ud-dīn, but only mentions Jām Nizām-ud-dīn, better known as Jām Nanda who was the most powerful ruler of the dynasty. جام تماچی Jām Tamājī in the text-edition.

[1] The MSS. have only Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn. But the lith. ed. has: An account of the government of Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn.

[2] The MSS. have only "Jām Niẓām-ud-dīn" but the lith. ed. has: An account of the government of Niẓām-ud-dīn, son of Ṣalaḥ-ud-dīn, and this has been followed in the text-edition.

[3] Both MSS. have the heading I have in the text. The lith. ed., however, has: An account of the rule of Jām 'Alī Sher. According to *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 228) he was murdered by men headed by Sikandar Karan and Fatah Khān, sons of Tamāchi. In the text-edition the title is ذکر حکومت جام علی شیر.

[4] One MS. inserts امرا را بخود یار و موافق ساخته, before بطلب ملک پدر خود.

Owing to this union the different sections of the people enjoyed the peace in (seats of) safety, during the time of his rule. He passed away after ruling for six years and some months.

[1] Jām Karn, son of Jām Tamāchī.

When Jām 'Alī Shēr drank what was left at the bottom of the brimming goblet of death, Jām Karn, imagining that when a man's father was the king and ruler of a country he should, also, even without the help and favour of providence, attain to that greatness, sat with audacity on the seat of the great. But as time does not tolerate such acts, after a day and a half it poured a draught of failure and death into his throat.

[2] Jām Fatḥ Khān, son of Sikandar Khān.

As the country remained vacant and unoccupied by the person of a ruler, the great men of the tribe and the nobles of the kingdom made Jām Fatḥ Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, who possessed the necessary skill for that high office, the ruler of the country. He died of natural death after having occupied this noble position for fifteen years and some months.

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[1] The heading in the MSS. is as I have it in the text. But one MS. has Karān instead of Karn. The lith. ed. prefixes ذکر حکومت before جام کرن. According to the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 228, 229) he was displeased with the nobles and the great men of the city, ...to slay some, and confine the rest. On the day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a public court, and summoned all men great and small to attend. He addressed them in conciliatory terms. Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber, when a party of men who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him to pieces. In the text-edition ذکر حکومت is added before the heading as given above.

[2] The heading in the MSS. is what I have it in the text, but one MS. omits the word Khān after Sikandar. The lith. ed. prefixes *Dhikr* before Jām and also omits Khān after Sikandar. The *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 229) says that it was in Jām Fath Khān's time that Mīrzā Pīr Muhammad, grandson of Tīmūr, seized the towns of Multān and Ūch. It also relates that one Saiyid Abū-l L'aīs interceded with Mīrzā Pīr Muhammad for the people. Here again ذکر حکومت is added before the heading in the text-edition.

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[1] JĀM TUGHLAQ, SON OF SIKANDAR KHĀN.

When Jām Fatḥ Khān passed away, Jām Tughlaq his brother was invested with the duties of government; and after twenty-eight years accepted (the summons of) death.

[2] JĀM MUBĀRAK.

When Jām Tughlaq was overtaken by that which is unavoidable, Jām Mubārak who was one of his relations, and to whom the office of his [3] usher or chamberlain appertained, considering himself to be fit and deserving of that noble office, sat on the seat of the great; but he was not allowed to hold it for more than three years.

[4] JĀM ISKANDAR, SON OF JĀM FATḤ KHĀN, SON OF SIKANDAR KHĀN.

When the field of the minds (of men) was purified of the dust of the rule of Jām Mubārak, the great men of the country of Sind raised

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[1] According to the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 230) Jām Sikandar succeeded Jām Tughlik, but he was young in years, and his uncles whom his father had appointed to be the rulers of Siwistān and Bhakkar refused to obey him and quarrelled. Sikandar left Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakkar, when Mubārak, who had been chamberlain in the time of Tughlik, suddenly came into Thatta, and seized the throne; but his rule lasted only for three days, and Sikandar was sent for and reinstated on the throne. As in the case of the last reign ذکر حکومت is again added in the heading in the text-edition.

[2] The heading in the text-edition is ذکر حکومت جام مبارک and not only جام مبارک.

[3] One MS. has پردہ داری while the other has بردباری and the lith. ed. has هرچه داری. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has پرده دار. I have adopted پردہ داری.

[4] According to the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 230) Iskandar or Sikandar was succeeded by a man of the name of "Rāī Dan" who had lived in Kachh, and "had a considerable body of tried men to whom he paid great attention." After Sikandar's death he came with his followers to Thatta; and although he disclaimed all desire for the throne, he was selected. In the course of a year and a half he conquered much territory. After he had reigned for eight years and a half Sanjar, one of his attendants, gave him poison in his drink; and on his death after three days Sanjar became Jām (p. 231). The latter was a handsome youngman, and he was on friendly terms with an excellent *darwesh*, through whose prayers he became Jām. The country was very

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Jām Iskandar, who in addition to the rights of inheritance possessed the qualifications for the government of the empire, to be the ruler (of the country). He passed away after performing the duties of the government for one year and six months.

JĀM SANJAR.

When Jām Iskandar after partaking of worldly pleasures passed away to his appointed place (*i.e.*, died), the chief men of Sind selected Jām Sanjar, who at that time was occupied in the performance of the duties of the government, to be their chief. He accepted the summons of death, after having been engaged with the performance of the work of government for eight years and some months.

JĀM NIẒĀM-UD-DĪN, WHO IS KNOWN AS JĀM NANDĀ.

After Jām Sanjar, Jām Niẓām-ud-dīn who is known as Jām Nandā, occupied himself with the performance of the duties of the government. In his reign the country of Sind acquired new grandeur. He was contemporaneous with Sulṭān Ḥusain Lankāh ruler of Multān. [1] In his time also in the year 899 A.H., Shāh Bēg came from Qandahār, and having conquered the fort of Sēwī, which was in the charge of Bahādur Khān the Jām's agent, returned to Qandahār, leaving his younger brother Sulṭān Muḥammad there. Jām Nandā sent Mubārak Khān to attack Sulṭān Muḥammad, and the latter being killed in the battle which ensued, Sēwī again came into the Jām's possession. On hearing this news, Shāh Bēg sent Mīrzā 'Īsa Tarkhān to avenge the death of his brother. Mīrzā 'Īsa fought with the Jām's army, and defeated it. After that Shāh Bēg also arrived there and took possession of the fort of [2] Bhakkar, by the capitulation of [3] *Qāḍī* Qādan, the agent

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prosperous in his time. He improved the judicial administration by increasing the pay of the Kāzīs, who had before been badly paid; and used to take money from both plaintiffs and defendants of suits they tried (p. 232). In the text-edition there is ذکر حکومت before the heading of this Jām also.

[1] The account of Shāh Bēg's invasion given in the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 234) differs materially from that in the Ṭabaqāt, according to the former it was altogether unsuccessful, but Firishtah agrees with the Ṭabaqāt.

[2] The name of the Bhakkar fort in the text-edition is given as بکر.

[3] The name is *Qāḍī* Qādan in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah, but it is *Qāḍī* Dādan in both MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt. A Kāzī Kāzim is mentioned

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of the Jām, and left it in charge of Fāḍil Bēg Kōkaltāsh. At that time the fort of Bhakkar was not so strong as it is now. He also seized the fort of Sihwān, and making it over to Khwājah Bāqī Bēg returned to Qandahār. Jām Nandā repeatedly sent armies to recover possession of Sēwī; but it was of no avail.

Jām Nandā, who had ruled for sixty-two years, now passed away.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JĀM FĪRŪZ.

Jām Fīrūz the son of Niẓām-ud-dīn succeeded his father, and the duties of the *vazārat* became vested in Daryā Khān, who was one of his near relations, and he acquired all power. Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn, who was a relation of Jām Fīrūz, and considered himself to be the

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on page 310 of Elliot, vol. I, as a most distinguished scholar by whose strenuous exertions the outrages which were being committed by order of Shāh Beg's soldiers on their entry into Thatta were put an end to. If this be the correct name it would be written according to the rules of transliteration now followed as *Qāḍī* Qāzim.

[1] Neither of the MSS. has the heading giving the name of Jām Fīrūz; but after گذشت goes on as و پسر او جام فیروز. The lith. ed. has usual heading of ذکر حکومت جام فیروز. I have followed the heading in the lith. ed. according to the *Tārīkhu-s-Sind* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 234, 235). Jām Fīroz was of tender years, and Salāhu-d-dīn, who was the son of Jām Sanjar's daughter, had pretensions to the throne; but Daryā Khān and Sārang Khān, who were powerful slaves of Jām Nizāmu-d-dīn, placed Jām Fīroz on the throne, with the consent of the nobles and the head men of Thatta. After Salāhu-d-dīn had gone to Guzerāt, Jām Fīroz gave himself up to low pleasures; and Daryā Khān retired in disgust to his *jagīr*. The nobles being on the verge of ruin, owing to Jām Fīroz's dissipation, sent a messenger to summon Salāhu-d-dīn. He came and Jām Fīroz's followers led the latter out of the city on one side, while Jām Salāhu-d-dīn entered it on the other. Then Jām Fīroz's mother took the latter to Daryā Khān and he was induced to collect troops, and to advance to attack Salāhu-d-dīn. The latter wanted to go out, and meet the enemy; but his *wazīr* Hājī told him not to do so, and himself went up. He defeated Daryā Khān's troops; and sent a messenger to inform Salāhu-d-din of the victory. The messenger was intercepted by Daryā Khān, who substituted a letter, which purported to come from the *wazīr*, and in which Salāhu-d-dīn was informed that his army had been defeated, and he must leave Thatta at once with his family. He did so, and Daryā Khān took Jām Fīroz to Thatta where he reigned securely for some years, until the end of 916 A.H. (1511 A.D.) when Shāh Beg Arghūn invaded Sind. A foot-note says that 916 A.H., is a mistake, and 926 A.H. (1520 A.D.) is the correct year.

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heir to the kingdom, commenced hostilities and warfare; but as he could not effect anything, he fled to Gujrāt, and prayed Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī for help. As the wife of Sulṭān Muẓaffar was the daughter of the uncle of Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn, he extended the hand of his support, and spread the wing of his affection over his head; and sending a considerable army with him, gave him leave to go to Thatha. As Daryā Khān, who was all-powerful and on whom everything depended, had now combined with Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn, the country of Sind came into the latter's possession without any dispute or fighting. Jām Fīrūz betook himself to a corner, hoping for the blowing of the breeze of prosperity, and waiting for the rising of the star of good fortune. In the end Daryā Khān, who had the reins of power of the kingdom in his hands, summoned Jām Fīrūz, and raised him to the chieftainship.

Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-din, scratching the back of his head, went again to Gujrāt. Sulṭān Muẓaffar again made preparations to help him, and [1] in the year 920 A.H., sent him to Sind; and he turned Jām Fīrūz [2] *Khwajahdār* out of Sind and himself took possession of the country. Jām Fīrūz had necessarily then to seek for help from [3] Shāhī Bēg Arghūn. The latter sent his slave, who had the name of Sanbal Khān, to help him. He brought Shāhī Bēg's army with him and had a drawn battle with Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn in the neighbourhood of Sihwān; and Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn and his son Haibat Khān were slain in this battle; and the country of Sind again, as at an earlier time, came to the possession of Jām Fīrūz.

At this time, which was the time of interregnum, Shāh Bēg into whose mind a desire for the conquest of Sind had found its way, and who was watching for an opportunity, marched out from Qandahār, and in the year 927 A.H., took possession of Thatha. The date of the capture of Thatha has been found in the words *Kharābī-i-Sind* (the ruin of Sind). Daryā Khān, who was in charge of Jām Fīrūz's

[1] Both MSS. have 928 A.H., but the lith. ed. has 920 A.H. As Shāh Bēg Arghūn invaded Sind in 926 A.H. (see the last part of the preceding note) I think 920 A.H., is the correct year.

[2] This word has occurred twice previously, but it has not been possible to find its exact meaning.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have Shāhī Bēg, but the other MS. has Shāh Bēg.

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government, was put to death. Jām Fīrūz being completely helpless abandoned Sind, and sought the protection of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī. As at this time Sulṭān Muẓaffar died a natural death, Jām Fīrūz again came to Sind; but, as he saw, that he was unable to effect anything, he returned to Gujrāt. He gave his daughter in marriage to Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrātī; and became enlisted among the latter's *amīrs*. The power of the dynasty of the *Sēmmas* having been cut off, the duties of government now devolved on Shāh Bēg.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF SHĀH BĒG ARGHŪN.

[2] This Shāh Bēg was the son of Mīr Dhūalnūn Bēg, who was the *Amīr-ul-umarā* (chief nobleman) and *sipāhsālar* (commander-in-chief) of Sulṭān Mīrzā, and *atāliq* (guardian) of the son, Badī'-uz-zamān Mīrzā. From before (the time of) Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā he held the government of Qandahār. [3] Amīr Dhūalnūn Bēg was slain in the battle with [4] Shāhī Bēg Ūzbak, who was at war with the sons of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. [5] The government of Qandahār descended to his son

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[1] The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS. In the other the word Arghūn is omitted. In the lith. ed. it is ذکر حکومت شاہ بیگ.

[2] For a detailed history of Shāh Beg, and his father Amīr Zū-n Nūn, see the *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 303–312). The Cambridge History of India, (p. 501) only gives the years of Shāh Beg's invasion of Sind, and of his death.

[3] The name is ذوالنون بیگ in this passage in both MSS., but the prefix *Mīr* is omitted in the lith. ed. As he is generally called Amīr Zū-n Nun Beg in the *Tarkhān-nāma* and other histories, I have changed the Mīr to Amīr. In the text-edition, however, میر is retained.

[4] The name is incorrectly written as Shāhī Bēg Ūzbak in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has, somewhat more correctly, سبیک خان اوزبک. The name in the *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 304) is Muhammad Khān Shaibānī Ūzbek.

[5] As a matter of fact, according to the *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 306–309) Shāh Beg who succeeded his father in 913 A.H. found his position in Kandahār precarious in 915 A.H., owing to his being threatened on one side by Shāh Isma'īl the second, who had conquered Khurāsān, and on the other by Bābar, who had seized Kābul, and had determined to seize the Sīwī territory as a future asylum. Accordingly in 917 A.H., he defeated Sulṭān Purdilī Bīrlās, who ruled there, and took possession of Sīwī, and left a garrison there under

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Shāh Bēg, who became his successor, and having conquered the greater part of the country of Sind, gained great power.

[1] He had great literary accomplishment also; and he wrote a [2] commentary on the *'Aqā'id-i-Nasafī*, and a commentary on the *Kāfiā* and a *Ḥāshīa* (super-commentary) on the *Maṭāli'-i-Manṭiq*, and was also a man of pure morals. In the lines (of battle), he always advanced in front of every one, and although people forbade him from doing so and said, "This kind of reckless bravery is not right for a leader," it had no effect. He always said, "At such a time I lose all control over myself, and it comes into my mind that no one should stand in front of me." [3] He died in the year 930 A.H., and his son Shāh Ḥusain took his place.

Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān. In 919 A.H., Bābar again invaded Kandahār, but went back to Kābul without conquering it. Shāh Beg did not, however, consider his position to be safe there, and resolved to conquer Sind. Bābar invaded Kandahār again in 921 and 922 A.H.; and Shāh Beg, wearied by these repeated invasions, made over Kandahār to Bābar by an amicable settlement. After that he passed two years in Shāl and Sīwī in great penury and distress; but in 924 A.H., he invaded Sind; and after defeating Daryā Khān in a great battle occupied Thatta.

[1] There is nothing about Shāh Beg Arghūn's literary works in the extract from the *Tarkhān-nāma* as given in Elliot.

[2] The *Sharh bar Aqa'id Nasafī* is a commentary on scholastic theology called *Al-'Āqā'id an Nasafīya*. The full name of *Nasafī* was Najm-ud-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar *bin* Muḥammad-an-Nasafī; he was born in 460 A.H., and died in 537 A.H., 1142 A.D. (*vide* Brocklemann *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. I, p. 427, 1898). عقائد نفسی in the text-edition.

The *Ḥāshīa bar Maṭāli' Manṭiq* is a super-commentary on the commentary of *Maṭāli'-al-Anwār*. The first part of the work deals with logic. The author of the *Maṭāli'* was Maḥmūd *bin* Abī Bakr-Al-'Urmavi, who died in 682 A.H., 1283 A.D. (*vide* Brocklemann, vol. I, p. 467).

The *Sharḥ bar Kāfīa* is a commentary on Ibn Ḥajīb's well-known work on syntax called *Kāfīa*. The full name of Ibn Ḥājī was 'Uthmān *bin* 'Umar, who died in 646 A.H., 1248 A.D. (*vide* Brocklemann, vol. I, p. 303).

[3] The year is 930 in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. The Cambridge History of India (p. 501) agrees with this date and gives 1524 A.D., as the year of Shāh Beg's death. The *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 312) however, says that he died in Sha'bān 928 A.H. (June, 1522) *Shahr Sha'bān* is given in it as the chronogram of his death. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol. XXII, p. 397) has 1522 as the year of Shāh Beg's death, and agrees with the *Tarkhān-nāma*.

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[1] An account of Shāh Ḥusain.

[2] When Shāh Ḥusain succeeded his father, (he) acquired many followers and much power; he went and attacked Sulṭān Maḥmūd the ruler of Multān, and took possession of that territory from him, and having now gained complete and undoubted possession of the

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[1] There are slight differences in the heading. One MS. has the heading as I have it in the text. The other prefixes Mīrzā before Shāh Ḥusain. The lith. ed. as usual inserts the word *Ḥakūmat* before Shāh Ḥusain.

[2] The *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 313–323) gives a much longer account of the rule of Shāh Husain Arghūn. In the first place he marched against Thatta where Shāh Beg had appointed Jām Fīroz to be the governor. The latter on hearing of Shāh Beg's death assumed a hostile attitude, but on Shāh Husain marching against him, he fled to Kach, whence he returned with a large following. The force, however, was destroyed with great slaughter. In 931 A.H., he advanced against Uch, and on arriving near it he defeated the Multān army which met him there, and seized Uch. Sultān Muhammad Langāh (he is however called Sultān Maḥmūd further on) collected a large army. Shāh Husain remained on the bank of the Ghāra awaiting an attack. At this time the Sultān was poisoned by his son-in-law Shaikh Shujā' Bukhāri, who was detected in an intrigue in the royal harem. The Langāhs placed Sulṭān Maḥmūd's son on the vacant throne, and sent a holy man to negotiate for a peace, and a peace was effected. But one Langar Khān came and asked Shāh Husain to capture the city; and the latter then laid close siege to the fort. At length a great scarcity took place in the city; and after some time it was captured. Mirzā Shāh Husain then passed fifteen years in peace and tranquillity. Then Humāyūn came to Sind in 949 A.H., fleeing before Shīr Khān Afghān. He wrote to Shāh Husain reminding him of the ties of amity and friendship between him and the emperor Bābar. Shāh Husain wrote to him that if he wanted to conquer Guzerāt, he would accompany him with his whole army in the expedition. Shāh Husain wanted to present himself before Humāyūn, but the Arghūn nobles dissuaded him; and Humāyūn unsuccessfully besieged Siwistān or Sīhwān for seven months, after which he went away towards Jodpur on the invitation of Rājā Māldeo. After the birth of Akbar, he had again to return to Sind and took up his residence in the neighbourhood of the town of Jūn. Then after some fighting with Shāh Husain's army he determined to march to Kandahār.

Towards the end of his life, Shāh Husain appears to have been attacked by a fatal sickness. The Arghūns and Tarkhāns then combined against him; and chose Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān governor of Fath Bāgh as their leader. A sort of civil war followed, in the midst of which Mirzā Shāh Husain became very ill. After further negotiations Shāh Husain made Mirzā Sālih, the second

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whole of Sind, he became very powerful. He also rebuilt the fort of Bhakkar, and also built a fort of Sihwān; and having occupied himself with the work of government for thirty-two years passed away in the [1] year 962 A.H.

[2] An account of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān.

[3] Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān ruled at Bhakkar and Thatha respectively, independently of each other. There was sometimes peace and sometimes war between them. Mīrzā 'Īsā ruled for a period of thirteen years, and passed away in the year 975 A.H.

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son of Mirzā 'Īsā, the governor of Thatta; and returned towards Bhakkar and died on the way on the 12th Rabi'u-l-Awwal A.H. 961.

[1] The year is 962 A.H., in both the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt, Firishtah lith. ed. also has 962 A.H.; but as will be seen from the preceding note, the *Tarkhān-nāma* has 961 A.H., 1564 A.D. The Cambridge History of India (p. 502) gives 1556 as the year of Shāh Husain's death.

[2] The heading is as I have it in the text in both MSS. The lith. ed. has *Ḥukūmat* before 'Īsā, and omits *Tarkhān* after it.

[3] Firishtah's account agrees with that in the text; and he very candidly admits that he does not know how the government was transferred from the Arghūns to the *Tarkhāns*.

The *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 323–336) says, that Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān appointed Mirzā Sālih his second son to be his successor, and made the government over to him, and only retained the name of king. Mirzā Sālih soon after marched against Sīwīstān; and wrested it from Mahmūd Khān Bhakkarī. After that Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān led a large force to conquer Bhakkar, but peace was affected, Bhakkar being left to Mahmūd Khān, while he surrendered Siwistān to Mirzā 'Īsā. After that Mirzā Muhammad Bākī, 'Īsā Tarkhān's eldest son, rebelled against him. He was defeated, but afterwards a reconciliation was effected and Mirzā Muhammad Bākī was sent to Bhakkar. In 970 Mirzā Sālih was assassinated by a Bulūch named Murīd. Mirzā 'Īsā then nominated Mirzā Jān Bābā, his third son, as the heir apparent. People interested themselves in favour of Mirzā Muḥammad Bākī, who was then granted Siwistān as a *jagīr*. Some of the Arghūns then rebelled against Mirzā 'Īsā, but they were defeated, and fled to Bhakkar for succour. They were helped by Mahmūd Khān, and besieged Siwistān. Mirzā 'Īsā advanced from Thatta, and defeated the rebels, and their allies, Mahmūd Khān's men; and at last a peace was affected. Mirzā 'Īsā died in 974, after reigning for fourteen years; and Mīrzā Bākī succeeded him, through the help of Māh Begam, although Mirzā 'Īsā had nominated Mirzā Jān Bābā as his heir.

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[1] An account of Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqī, son of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān.

His (Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān's) eldest son Muḥammad Bāqī Khān, by [2] virtue of his rectitude, and of the number of his followers, defeated his younger brother Jān Bābā, and took the place of his father. [3] In the manner of the latter, he sometimes had peace and

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[1] The heading is as I have it in the text in one MS. In the other the word Mīrzā is left out before the name of Muḥammad Bāqī. In the lith. ed. the word *Ḥukūmat* is inserted after *Dhikr* and the word Khān after Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqī; and the words بن میرزا عیسی ترخان are omitted. The extracts from the *Tarkhān-nāma* (Elliot, vol. I, p. 326) ends with the account of Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān; and there is no account of the succeeding Tarkhāns in that volume. The *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī* (Elliot, vol. I, pp. 282–284) contains an account of Mirzā Muhammad Bākī Tarkhān sending his daughter Sindī Begam to Akbar, and the latter's returning her.

[2] Firishtah's account is somewhat similar but he omits the word رشد. For the circumstances under which Mirzā Bāqī succeeded Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān as told in the *Tarkhān-nāma*, see the latter part of note 1 above. The name of Jām Bābā is written as Khān Bābā in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and as Hān Bābā in the other MS. The Cambridge History of India (p. 502) says that Mīrzā Muhammad Bāqī crushed the revolt of his younger brother.

[3] One MS. inserts here:

خزاین جمع ساخته در وقت کشیدن سیلان اکثر سرداران ارغون که باودم استقلال میزدند غافل ساخته بتیغ بیدریغ گذرانید - و قلیلیکه ازان تهلکه فرار نموده بودند متفرق شده سر در بیابان گذاشته بعضی نزد محمود خان به بهکر رفتند - و جمعی گریخته بگجرات نزد راجه کچهه نوکر شدند - و از شامت خون ناحق در اخر عمر ما خولیا بهمرسانید - و هزیان میگفت و خدمات عمده سرکار خود را بمردم ارازل و کم اصل سپرد - و هر جا بزرگ واکابر بود همه را بخدا و مکر بقتل بهمرسانید - چنانچه میرک عبد الرحمان را بقتل رسانید و شیخ عبد الوهاب را بتیغ بیداد کشت - صلابت و بدخوئی بدرجه داشت که هیچکس حرف راست باو نمی گفت - جان بابا برادر خود را قسم کلام مجید طلبیده میر سید علی را که از اجلهٔ اکابر اند یار بود درمیان اورده شب و روز او را نیز مستهلک ساخت - آخر خبط او بلند خود را نیز در شبی بکشت *

i.e., having much treasure, he made most of the Arghūn *sardārs*, who effected to be his rivals and equals, careless at a banquet, slew them with a merciless sword; and the few who escaped from the fatal meeting, dispersed and betook themselves to the jungles. Some of them went to Maḥmūd Khān at Bhakkar, and a number of them fled and entered the service of the Rāja of Kachh in Gujrāt.

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was sometimes at war with Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He ruled for a period of eighteen years, and then passed away from the world in the [1] year 993 A.H., and the duties of the government devolved on Mīrzā Jānī Bēg.

An account of Mīrzā Jānī Bēg.

[2] After Muḥammad Bāqī, the government became vested in Mīrzā Jānī Bēg; and in the year 1001 A.H. he became enlisted among the servants of the threshold; and the country of Sind was added to the countries occupied (by Akbar).

[3] An account of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the ruler of Bhakkar, sat on the *masnad* of rule for twenty years. He was insane and a shedder of blood. Whenever

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Owing to the bad luck, which follows the shedding of unrighteous blood, he, in the latter part of his life, suffered from melancholia, and (often) talked nonsense, and entrusted great appointments in his government to base men and men of low origin. Wherever there were noble and great men, he had them all put to death by deceit and treachery. For instance, he had Mīrak 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān executed, and slew Shaikh 'Abd-ul-wahāb with the unrighteous sword. He had such rigour and evil nature that no one spoke (or dared to speak) the truth to him. He summoned his brother Jām Bābā, under an oath on the sacred word (the *Qurān*), and bringing Mīr Saiyid 'Alī, who was one of the nobles and great men of the country, between them, kept him in fear of death for nights and days. At last his insanity becoming very severe he one night killed himself.

There are some slight verbal mistakes in the above passage, but it appears to contain some facts about Mīrzā Bāqī, which are correct and which do not appear in the other MS. or in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt or in Firishtah. I have, accordingly, thought it fit to transcribe it in a note, though I have not inserted it in the text.

[1] Firishtah also gives 993 A.H., and Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 440) 993 A.H., 1584 A.D. as the year of his death. The Cambridge History of India (p. 502) says, he committed suicide in 1585 A.D., in a fit of insanity. His son Mīrzā Pāyanda Muḥammad Tarkhān was also insane, and so the succession passed to his son Mīrzā Jānī Bēg Tarkhān.

[2] He was the grandson of Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān. The final conquest of Sind by Khān Khānān 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān, and its inclusion in Akbar's dominion have been described in the history of Akbar's reign.

[3] One MS. has no heading. The other MS. has only the word Sulṭān Maḥmūd. I have adopted the heading in the lith. ed. but have omitted the word *Ḥukūmat*. In the text-edition the account of Sulṭān Maḥmūd forms a part of the description of the reign of Mīrzā Jānī Bēg.

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he had the least suspicion of anybody, he at once put him to death. He kept the roads of Sind [1] closed from all sides.

SECTION XI. [2] AN ACCOUNT OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SULṬĀNS OF MULTĀN.

Let it not remain concealed that the affairs of the country of Multān have not been written in any history from the date of the introduction of Islām, which resulted from the exertions of Muḥammad Qāsim in the time of Ḥajjaj, son of Yūsuf. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ġhaznavī took it out of the possession of the *Mulāḥids* (heretics), it remained for a long time in the possession of his descendants. When the power of the Ġhaznavīs became enfeebled, the country of Multān again fell into the possession of the *Qarāmiṭah* sect. Then from [3] the time, when it came into the possession of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muḥammad Sām, till the year 847 A.H., it remained in the custody and possession of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī. From that year, when there were rulers of different tribes in various parts of India, the rulers of Multān also began to act as independent rulers and Multān went out of the possession of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī; and a number of these rulers ruled in succession.

Shaikh Yūsuf about two years.

Sulṭān [4] Quṭb-ud-dīn, sixteen years.

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[1] Firishtah relates, as in fact is mentioned in the history of the reign of Akbar, that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān conquered the whole territory except the fort of Bhakkar. After that Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent a petition to Akbar that he would surrender the fort to anyone, except Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, whom he might send. Akbar accordingly sent Gīsū Khān, but before he arrived, Sulṭān Maḥmūd died; and Gīsū Khān took possession of the fort without any opposition in the year 982 A.H.

[2] The heading in the MSS. is طبقه حکام ملتان and طبقه ملتان. The lith. ed. has ذکر سلاطین طبقه ملتان. I have kept the heading in the lith. ed. as the rulers are called Sulṭāns in the MSS. also. In the text-edition the heading is ذکر طبقهٔ سلاطین ملتان.

[3] I have adopted the reading of the MSS.; but the lith. ed. has از سنه احدی و سبعین و خمسمائه *i.e.*, from the year 571 A.H., instead of ازان زمان.

[4] One MS. has Lankāh after the name of Quṭb-ud-dīn, but neither the other MS. nor the lith. ed. has it.

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[1] Sulṭān Ḥusain, according to one statement thirty-four years, and according to another statement thirty-six years.

[2] Sulṭān Firūz, the period of his rule is not known.

[3] Sulṭān Maḥmūd *bin* Sulṭān Fīrūz *bin* Sulṭān Ḥusain, twenty-seven years.

[4] Sulṭān Ḥusain, the period of his rule is not known. According to one statement it was one year and some months.

An account of Shaikh Yūsuf.

When in the year 847 A.H., the turn of the rule of the empire of Dehlī came to Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of [5] Farīd Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of Khiḍr Khān, the work of government and the affairs of the empire fell into disorder; and in the country of India the chiefs of (different) tribes or bands came into existence. The country of Multān remained without a ruler owing to a succession of onsets of the wrath of the Mughals. As the greatness of the noble family of the Shaikh-ut-Ṭarīqa (the Shaikh of the path of truth) Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī, may the Great God sanctify his soul! had made such an impression on the hearts of the residents of Multān and of the *zamīndārs* (petty chiefs), that nothing greater than it can be imagined, all the people high and low, and all

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[1] One MS. has سی و چہار سال 34 years; but the other MS. and the lith. ed. have what I have in the text.

[2] This name occurs in one MS. only but not in the other or in the lith. ed.

[3] The heading I have in the text is in one MS. In the other MS. it is Sulṭān Maḥmūd 27 years; while the lith. ed. has Sulṭān Maḥmūd 27 years and some months. Probably there was only one Sulṭān Maḥmūd. There is considerable divergence in the lists of the Sulṭāns of Multān given in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. has Shaikh Yūsuf, Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, Sulṭān Ḥusain, Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭān Fīrūz. The other MS. has the first four names, but has Sulṭān Ḥusain II, instead of Sulṭān Fīrūz. The list in the lith. ed. only consists of the first four names. Firishtah has after the first four Fīrūz Shah, and then Maḥmūd Shāh, then Shāh Ḥusain II. The correct names and the sequence of the rulers will appear in the course of their history.

[4] This name occurs in one MS. only.

[5] The MSS. have Farīd Shāh, and the lith. ed. has Fīrūz Shāh. Both these are incorrect. Muḥammad Shāh was really the son of Shāhzāda Farīd, son of Khiḍr Khān, and he was adopted by Mubārak Shāh as his son. See page 322, vol. I, of the English translation of this work.

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the residents and the inhabitants of that neighbourhood elected Shaikh Yūsuf Zakariyā Quraishī, to whom the superintendence of the *Khānqāh* and the supervision of the surroundings of the sacred tomb of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā appertained, as the ruler of the country; and had public prayers read in his name from the pulpits of Multān and Ūcha and some other towns. He then engaged himself in the administration of the government and made a beginning by increasing the number of his retainers and by enlarging his army. He made the hearts of the *zamīndārs* or petty chieftains attached to him; and gave increased currency and splendour to the government of the country.

It so happened, however, that one day Rāy Sahrah, who was the chief of the tribe of *Lankāhs*, and to whom the town of Sēwī and that part of the country appertained, sent a message to Shaikh Yūsuf that "As from the time of my ancestors, the relationship of discipleship and belief to your family has remained on a sound basis; and the empire of Dehlī is not free from disturbances and disorder; and they say that Malik Bahlūl Lūdī has taken possession of Dehlī, and has had public prayers read in his name, if His Holiness, the Shaikh would with the utmost promptitude turn his attention to the tribe of the *Lankāhs*, and consider me among his soldiers, I shall not in every service and expedition, which may take place, consider myself excused from rendering loyal and devoted service, even to the extent of sacrificing my life. Also, at present, in order to strengthen the relationship of being disciple and of devotion and loyalty, I shall give my daughter to you (in marriage), and will accept you as my son-in-law." The Shaikh on hearing these words was delighted in his heart, and took the daughter of Rāy Sahrah in marriage. He (*i.e.*, Rāy Sahrah) sometimes [1] came from Sēwī to Multān to see his daughter and [2] brought fitting presents for the service of the Shaikh. The latter, as a matter of caution, did not allow that Rāy Sahrah should have a mansion in the town of Multān, and therefore, he took up his residence outside the town, and he went alone to see his daughter.

On one occasion, he collected all his men and started for Multān and wanted that with deceit, and the [3] power of trickery and fraud,

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[1] One MS. has میرسید instead of می امد.

[2] One MS. has برای شیخ می اورد instead of بخدمت شیخ می گذرانید.

[3] One MS. omits the word دستیاری.

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he would seize Shaikh Yūsuf and himself become the ruler of Multān. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city he sent the following message to Shaikh Yūsuf, "I have this time brought all the *Lankāhs* with me, so that after inspecting them, you might allot various services to them, according to their qualifications. The simple-minded Shaikh Yūsuf had become careless of the fraud of the age and the deceit of the time, and met him with affection and kindness. Rāy Sahrah, after displaying his grandeur and retinue, came one night to see his daughter attended by only a single servant. He had directed that servant to cut the throat of a kid with his knife in some corner of the house and to bring the blood after heating it, and pouring it into a cup. When the servant carried out the order, Rāy Sahrah drank off the cup of blood. After a time he, acting with deceit and trickery, cried out that he had a severe pain in his stomach; and from time to time his groans and lamentations became louder. At about midnight he summoned the *vakīls* (representatives) of Shaikh Yūsuf to attend, so that he might give his last directions to them; and in their presence he vomitted blood. In the meantime, in the course of giving his directions, which were mixed with groans and lamentations, he sent for his retainers and adherents, in order to bid them farewell. As the representative of the Shaikh found the condition of Rāy Sahrah so bad (*lit.* of another kind), they did not at all object to the coming of the Rāy's relatives and adherents. When most of his men had entered the fort, he raised his head from the bed of illness with the intention of seizing the kingdom. He sent his trusted servants, and others who had his confidence to watch and guard all the four gates, so that they would not permit the servants of the Shaikh to come from the outer fort into the city. Then he went to the private apartments of the Shaikh and seized him.

The rule of Shaikh Yūsuf lasted for about two years.

An account of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Lankāh.

When Rāy Sahrah seized the Shaikh, he had the public prayers (read), and the coins (struck) in his own name; and assumed the title of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn. As the people of Multān were satisfied with his government, and rendered allegiance to him; he sent the Shaikh by the gate which was in the north, and near the tomb, which was the

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recipient of rays of refulgence of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā, and gave him leave to go to Dehlī; and gave orders that the gate should be blocked up with burnt bricks. They also say, that to this day, which is the year 1002 Hijrī that gate has been kept blocked up. He then raised the standard of sovereignty; and occupied himself with the work of government. When Shaikh Yūsuf arrived at Dehlī, Sulṭān Bahlūl received him with great courtesy and honour; and united his daughter in the bond of marriage with the son of the Shaikh, who bore the name of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah and was better known under the name of Shāh 'Abd-ul-lah. With his promises [1] he always kept the Shaikh [2] strengthened in his heart, and pleased and hopeful. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn ruled independently in the country of Multān, till, after a long time in the year [3] 865 A.H. he accepted (the summons of) the just God.

The period of the rule of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn was prolonged to sixteen years.

An account of Sulṭān Ḥusain, son of Sulṭān [4] Quṭb-ud-dīn.

When Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn surrendered his borrowed life to the true owner of it (*i.e.*, God), the *amīrs* and the pillars of the state of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, after the ceremonies of mourning, gave the title of Sulṭān Ḥusain to his eldest son, and had the public prayers read in his name in Multān and the territories surrounding it. And he was

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[1] The word is مستظهر in one MS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, مستضاد in the other MS., and منتظر in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. I have adopted the first.

[2] In other words, with promises of helping him to regain the possession of Multān. The Cambridge History of India (p. 504) says, that Buhlūl twice set out for Multān, with the object of restoring Shaikh Yūsuf's power, once in 1452 A.D., and again after 1458 A.D.; but he was compelled to return on the first occasion, by the advance of Mahmūd Shāh of Jaunpur, and on the second by the menacing attitude of Husain Shāh also of Jaunpur.

[3] The year is هشتصد و شصت و پنج in one MS. In the other the space for the year is left blank. In the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt it is 860 A.H., and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah it is 874 A.H. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 384) has 874 A.H., 1469 A.D. The Cambridge History of India (p. 503) has 861 A.H., 1456 A.D.

[4] قطب الدين لنكاه in the text-edition.

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extremely able, and always ready (for all emergencies) and [1] worthy of the descent of divine favours. In the days of his rule the status of learning and wisdom became exalted, and learned and wise men found support from him.

In the beginning of his reign he advanced to the fort of [2] Shōr. They say, that at that time the fort of Shōr was in the possession of Ghāzī Saiyid Khān. When the latter heard that Sulṭān Ḥusain was coming to attack that country, he made his men ready, sallied out of the fort, and advancing ten *karōhs* engaged Sulṭān Ḥusain in battle, and after doing justice to his courage and bravery, left the field of battle and turned his face in flight; and without reaching Shōr went towards the town of [3] Behrah. The family and the retainers of Ghāzī who were in Shōr occupied themselves in guarding and strengthening it, and were helping for the arrival of reinforcement from the direction of Behrah and [4] Khānāwāl and Khūshāb, which were in the possession of the Saiyid Khānī *amīrs*. When the siege had lasted for some days, and they became hopeless about the coming of the reinforcements,

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[1] The text appears to me to be incorrect and imperfect here. One MS. has ورود الطاف خداوندی بود, the other has رود الطاف خداوندی بود. The lith. ed. has ورود الطاف خواندهٔ بود. Firishtah lith. ed. has in the corresponding passage و سزاوار ورود الطاف خداوندی بود. I think the insertion of the words و سزاوار is necessary to complete the meaning; and this has been adopted in the text-edition.

[2] The name is شور in the MS., but in one place it looks like شیور Shēvur, though later even in that MS. it is Shōr, and in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and of Firishtah. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 385) calls it Sheevur. The Cambridge History of India (p. 504) calls it Shorkot. The Imperial Gazetteer also calls the *tehsīl* and the modern town (which are situated in the Jhang district of the Punjāb) Shērkōt; but I doubt whether at the time of Ḥusain Lankāh it was called Shōrkōt. The name was evidently شور Shōr or Shūr.

[3] The name is written as بهرهٔ in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of Firishtah; and بهیرهٔ in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 385) has Bheemra. It is بهرهٔ in the text-edition.

[4] The name is written as چنوت and جنوت in the MSS., and جوت in the lith. ed. of the Ṭabaqāt. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has چنیوت. Col. Briggs does not mention the place. I have adopted Khānāwāl which is the name of a place which on the maps is situated ten or eleven miles to the N.E. of Multān. In the text-edition چنوت is adopted throughout.

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they prayed for quarter, and surrendered the fort, and went away to Behrah.

Sulṭān Ḥusain remained for some days in Shōr, in order to attend to matters connected with the country; and then advanced towards Khānāwāl, and Malik Mājhī Khōkhar who, from before Saiyid Khān, was the Superintendent (*dārōgha*) of that place as a matter of honour endured the hardships of a siege for some days; and then asked for quarter, and surrendering the fort of Khānāwāl, retired to Behrah. Sulṭān Ḥusain, after regulating the affairs of the country, returned to Multān; and after resting there for some days marched towards the fort of [1] Kōt Karōr; and brought the country near it, as far as the boundary of the fort of Dhankōt, into his possession.

As Shaikh Yūsuf had on many occasions complained to Sulṭān Bahlūl of the injuries he had suffered (from Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn), and had prayed for justice, at this time, when Sulṭān Ḥusain had gone away to the fort of Dhankōt, Sulṭān Bahlūl, taking advantage of such an opportunity, sent his son Bārbak Shāh, the circumstances connected with whom have been narrated in the section about Dehlī and Jaunpūr, to conquer Multān; and he also directed Tātār Khān Lūdī to reinforce Bārbak Shāh with the army of the Punjāb. Bārbak Shāh and Tātār Khān marched by successive stages in the direction of Multān. It so happened, that at this time, the brother of Sulṭān Ḥusain, who was the governor of the fort Kōt Karōr rebelled against him, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn. Sulṭān Ḥusain considered the suppression of the disturbance in the fort of Kōt Karōr as of primary importance, and betook himself there on wings of speed. He seized Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn alive, and placing iron shackles on his feet returned towards Multān. At this time his scouts brought him the news, that Bārbak Shāh and Tātār Khān had encamped in the neighbourhood of Multān near the mosque or prayer ground of the 'Īd, which was situated to the north of the city, and were occupied with preparations of materials for seizing the fort and capturing the citadel. Sulṭān Ḥusain crossed the river Sind in the course of a night, and towards morning entered the fort of Multān.

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[1] The name is کوٹ کرور and کرور in the MSS., and کوٹ کہرور in the lith. ed. Firishtah lith. ed. has کوٹکر. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 386) has Hoot and the Cambridge History of India (p. 504) has Karor.

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He collected all his soldiers that very night, and told them, "I cannot hope that you will all be able to strike with your sword (*i.e.*, fight boldly); there are some of you the large number of the members of whose family and their other dependants would interfere with fighting. These men, although they might not be of any use in the matter of actual fighting, yet in other matters such as the guarding of the fort, and increasing the number of the troops, etc. they would be of use." After emphasizing on this matter he said, "Everyone of you, who would strike with his sword should, without any hesitation, go in the morning out of the city, and the remainder of the troops should occupy themselves with guarding the fort." Accordingly ten [1] thousand cavalry and infantry decided to go out (of the fort) to fight.

When the standard of the dawn rose in the east of the horizon, they beat the drum of battle, and, going out of the city, [2] stationed themselves so that they might have the Dehlī army in front of them. Sulṭān Ḥusain then ordered all the horsemen to dismount. In the first instance he himself dismounted. Then he ordered that each one of the soldiers should in common concert shoot their arrows at the enemy. When in the first instance twelve thousand arrows leaped at once from the bow strings, great confusion and distress appeared in the enemy's ranks. On the second shot, they separated themselves from one another; and on the third they turned their faces to the desert of flight; [3] and (the fear of the enemy) had in such a way taken possession of their hearts, that when in the course of their flight, they arrived near the fort of Shōr, they did not at all turn towards it; and they did not draw the bridles of their horses, till

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[1] That is the number in both MSS., but the lith ed. and Firishtah lith. ed. have twelve thousand; and this number is correct, as will appear a few lines further down.

[2] The MSS. are incorrect here. One has و سپاه ابی پیش روی خود دادی and the other has سپاه ابی را در پیش روی خود داده. The lith. ed. of Firishtah has سپاه دهلی را پیش روی خود کرده. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has adopted و سپاه آبی را در پیش روی خود کرده.

[3] Here also the MSS. appear to be defective. They have و بطوری هول در دل دشمن جای گرفته بود. Firishtah lith. ed. has و بطوری حول اش در دل ایشان راه یافته بود. هول and not حول seems to be the correct word; but otherwise Firishtah's reading conveys the correct meaning.

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they arrived near the town of Khānāwāl. From this [1] defeat (or rather victory), the army of Multān acquired much ammunitions of war and power and prestige.

When Bārbak Shāh and Tātār Khān arrived at the fort of Khānāwāl, they induced the *thānadārs* of Sulṭān Ḥusain with three hundred other men to come out of the fort by making promises and engagements, but they afterwards treacherously made them food for their swords. Sulṭān Ḥusain considering this defeat (of his enemies) a great boon, did not allow the intention of recovering Khānāwāl to enter his mind.

At this time Malik Suhrāb Dūdāī, who was the father of Isma'īl Khān and Fatḥ Khān, came from [2] Kach and Mekrān, with their tribesmen and dependants, and joined the service of Sulṭān Ḥusain. The latter, considering the arrival of Malik Suhrāb a matter of good omen for him, conferred the whole of the country from the fort of Kōt Karōr to the fort of Dhankōt on him and his tribesmen as their *jāgīrs*. After hearing this news many Balūchīs (from Balūchīstān) came to the service of Sulṭān Ḥusain; and the numbers of the latter's adherents increased from day to day. Sulṭān Ḥusain then made over the remainder of the country situated on the bank of the river Sind, which was well cultivated and populous, to other Balūchīs in lieu of their service. Gradually the whole country from Sītpūr to Dhankōt was allotted to the Balūchīs.

It was also at this time that Jām Bāyazīd and Jām Ibrāhīm, who were the chiefs of the tribe of the [3] Thathwas (?), being angry with Jām Nandā, who was the ruler of the country of Sind, entered the service of the Sulṭān. The particulars of this comprehensive statement are: that the greater part of the country which is situated between Bhakkar and Thatha appertain to the tribe of Thathwa, who consider themselves to be the descendents of Jamshīd; and this tribe was distinguished above all the other tribes for bravery and

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[1] The word is شکست in the Ṭabaqāt; and if this word is retained, the word اعدا should be inserted after it. The lith. ed. has افغانان after شکست. Firishtah has فتح victory.

[2] The name is کیچ instead of کچ in the text-edition.

[3] The name looks like سهتہ and تهتہ in the MSS., and میسہ in the lith. de. of Firishtah. In the text-edition سهیتہ has been adopted.

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management. Jām Nandā, who was of the tribe of [1] *Sēmmas*, also considered himself to be a descendant of Jamshīd, and was always hostile to the Thathwa tribe. It so happened that among the chieftains of the Thathwa tribe some differences and enmity took place. Jām Nandā, considering this to be a great blessing, took the side of those who were hostile to Jām Bāyazīd and Jām Ibrāhīm who two were brothers. The latter becoming aggrieved in their hearts with Jām Nandā turned towards Sulṭān Ḥusain. As the mother of the latter was a sister of Jām Bāyazīd, he welcomed his arrival with respect and honour; and allotted the country of Shōr to Jām Bāyazīd, and that of Ūch to Jām Ibrāhīm, and gave them permission to go to their *jāgīrs*.

As Jām Bayazīd was not wanting in the accomplishments of erudition, he always associated with men of learning and wisdom. Whenever he heard of any learned man in that neighbourhood, he offered so much kindness to him that the latter was obliged almost without any power over himself to come to the *majlis* of Jām Bāyazīd [2] and was never again separated from h[i]m. They say that the affection of Jām Bāyazīd for wise and learned men was such that with great earnestness he conferred the appointment of his *vazir* to Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī, who was one of the sons of Shaikh Ḥākim Quraishī, and who had acquired various kinds of learning in Khurāsān although his eyesight had become destroyed; and making over his political affairs to him, passed his own valuable time in the society of learned and wise men. He carried out the divine commandments in such a way that on one occasion when he began to build a house in Shōr, it so happened that a treasure was found there. He withdrew his hands from the possession of it, and sent it whole and intact to Sulṭān Ḥusain. The latter on account of this act of his had very great faith in him.

When Sulṭān Bahlūl was united with the Divine mercy, and the term of sovereignty came to Sulṭān Sikandar, Sulṭān Ḥusain sent a letter of condolences and congratulations with elegant articles and presents by the hand of ambassadors, and began a policy of peace and

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[1] سهیّنه instead of *Sēmma* in the text-edition.

[2] The reading in one MS. is و ازو منقطع نمیگست. The other MS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah have و از و منقطع میگشت *i.e.*, he profited by him, which is somewhat sordid, and does not appear to me to be so good.

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friendship. As the desire to follow the law of the Prophet and the fear of God were strong in Sulṭān Sikandar, he agreed to a specific settlement; and it was agreed that the two parties should follow the path of friendliness and attachment, and should be the well-wishers of each other; that the armies of neither should transgress their own frontiers, and whichever of them should be in need of help and assistance, the other should not consider himself excused from granting it. After the treaty had been written, and had been adorned with the signatures of the nobles and the great men of the kingdom, Sulṭān Sikandar granted robes of honour to the ambassadors, and gave them permission to return.

They also say that Sulṭān Ḥusain kept up a correspondence with Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh; and the doors of letters and epistles were opened from both sides. On one occasion Sulṭān Ḥusain sent a man of the name of Qāḍī Muḥammad, who was adorned with wisdom and accomplishment, as an ambassador to the court of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī; and he told him, "At the time of obtaining the Sulṭān's leave to return you should ask him to send a servant with you so that you might go and see the various palaces of the Sulṭān." The object of Sulṭān Ḥusain in saying this was that he might build a palace in Multān like one of the palaces of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt. When Qāḍī Muḥammad arrived in Aḥmadābād, and presented the beautiful presents, he, at the time of his taking leave, made the prayer which he had been ordered to make. Sulṭān Muẓaffar sent a servant with him, so that he might show all the palaces to him in detail. When Qāḍī Muḥammad came back to Multān, he, after delivering the letter (he had brought from the Sulṭān of Gujrāt), wanted to describe some of the beauties of the palaces of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt. He said that the tongue of description is dumb and the foot of its horse is lame; and in a spirit of arrogance said that if the entire revenues of the kingdom of Multān be expended in building one palace, it was not certain whether even that would be completed. Sulṭān Ḥusain became sorry and sad on hearing this. [1] 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak, who was charged with the duties of the *vazārat*, put forward the foot of daring, and said, "May the kingdom last till the day of resurrection!

[1] It is عماد الملک بویک in the text-edition.

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I do not know the reason of your grief." The Sulṭān said, "The reason of it is this, that people have attributed the name of *Bādshāh* to me; and I am destitute of the meaning of *Bādshāhī*. And in spite of the fact that I shall rise up with the other *Bādshāhs* on the day of resurrection I shall not be their equal." 'Imād-ul-mulk said, "Let not the heart of the *Bādshāh* be pained and grieved on this account; for the great and holy God has distinguished each kingdom by some special excellence which is held in great respect and honour in other kingdoms. Although the kingdoms of Gujrāt, Deccan, Mālwa and Bengāl are very fertile, and the materials of enjoyments are found there in the best possible way, yet the kingdom of Multān produces *men*; for wherever the great men of Multān went, they were highly respected and honoured. May there be praise and thanks to God! that there are present in Multān some persons belonging to the noble family of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā, may the mercy of God be on him! who are superior in all noble qualities to Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī, to whose son Sulṭān Bahlūl has given his daughter in marriage, and whom he holds in great honour. In the same way there are some persons in Ūch and Multān, belonging to the Bukhārīa family, who in bodily and mental perfections are superior to His Holiness Ḥājī 'Abd-ul-wahāb; and among learned men Maulānā Fatḥ-ul-lah and his pupil Maulānā 'Azīz-ul-lah have been produced out of the holy earth of Multān. (And these great men are such) that if the entire country of Hindūstān were to pride itself on their account, it would not at all be doing what would be called absurd." When 'Imād-ul-mulk said words like this, the constriction of the heart of the Sulṭān was changed to expansion.

An Account of Sulṭān Fīrūz.

When Sulṭān Ḥusain was overtaken by old age, he in his presence raised his eldest son, who had the name of Fīrūz Khān on the throne, and gave him the title of Fīrūz Shāh, and had the public prayers read in his name. He then occupied himself with devotion and the worship of God. The duties of the *vazārat* remained confirmed as before on 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak. As Sulṭān Fīrūz Khān was inexperienced and the emotion of anger was strong in him and dominated over all his other emotions, and as liberality was also wanting in his nature, he

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was always envious of [1] Balāl, son of 'Imād-ul-mulk, who was adorned with wisdom and liberality and other accomplishments. On one occasion he said to one of his slaves, who was in his confidence "Balāl has been embezzling the *Bādshāhī* property and wants to create a disturbance, and having got men to combine with him wants to usurp the throne. It befits my state that before the disturbance begin, I should take measures to crush it." The misguided slaves intending to murder Balāl waited for an opportunity. It so happened that one day Balāl went out on a boating excursion, and after the evening prayer was about to return to the city. That slave jumped out of a hiding place, and shot an arrow in his breast; it did not only lodge in the body but passed through it. The innocent and helpless Balāl surrendered his life to the [2] Creator. 'Imād-ul-mulk within a short time caused poison to be administered to Sulṭān Fīrūz and avenge the murder of his son in the best way. When this calamity happened to the Sulṭān in his old age, he surrendered his bridle of patience into the hands of groans and lamentations, and wept with many sighs and exclamations of sorrow. In order to guard his kingdom, and avenge the murder of his son, he had the public prayers again read in his own name; and made Maḥmūd Khān the son of Sulṭān Fīrūz his heir; and, as before, kept the affairs of the government in charge of 'Imād-ul-mulk; and did not at all display any annoyance or pain. After a few days he sent for Jām Bāyazīd into his private chamber; and said, "You are my maternal uncle and you know the pain in my heart. You should make such a plan, that I should have my revenge of this faithless and ungrateful wretch." Jām Bāyazīd accepted this work with much eagerness and obtained permission to leave. At night he said to his crier or herald, that he should proclaim in his [3] army, that his troops should appear in the morning fully armed and accoutred at the gate of the palace. Early next morning

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, p. 504, has Bilāl.

[2] Both MSS. have جان بجانان تسلیم نمود, but the lith. ed. and Firishtah lith. ed. have جان بجان آفرین تسلیم نمود.

[3] The readings in the MS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah differ a little from each other and the meaning is somewhat doubtful; but I think my translation conveys it fairly well. In the text-edition the clause که سلطان از ما سامان واجب طلبیده is inserted between ندا بکنند and علی الصباح.

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Jām Bāyazīd came to the gate of the palace with his men fully armed and ready (for any emergency). When the news reached the Sulṭān, he ordered 'Imād-ul-mulk to go and find out the exact facts of the preparations of Jām Bāyazīd's and his retainers. When 'Imād-ul-mulk came before Jām Bāyazīd's troops they immediately seized him, and put him in chains. Sulṭān Ḥusain made over the duties of the *vazārat* that very hour to Jām Bāyazīd, and added the duties of the guardianship of Maḥmūd Khān, son of Fīrūz Shāh, to those of the *vazārat*. After some days Sulṭān Ḥusain passed away on account of bodily ailments. His death took place on [1] Sunday, the 6th of the month of Ṣafar in the year 980 A.H., and according to another statement in 940 A.H., and the period of his reign was thirty-four years, and according to another statement 30 years. The writer of this history Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad (may there be pardon for him!) submits, that in the accounts by the author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī, two or three errors have occurred in this matter. One is that he has called Sulṭān Maḥmūd the son of Sulṭān Ḥusain; and the other is that he has placed the accession of Sulṭān Fīrūz after that of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. (As a matter of fact, Sulṭān Maḥmūd was the son of Sulṭān Fīrūz, and his accession took place after that of the latter.) Another is that he has described Sulṭān Fīrūz as the brother of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but in fact Sulṭān Maḥmūd was the son of Sulṭān Fīrūz, and his accession was after those of Sulṭān Fīrūz and Sulṭān Ḥusain.

An account of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz.

When Sulṭān Ḥusain passed away on account of illness (*i.e.*, died a natural death), on the following day, which was [2] Monday the 27th Ṣafar, Jām Bāyazīd, in concert with the nobles and the great men and men of high birth, raised Maḥmūd Khān, in accordance with the directions of Sulṭān Ḥusain, to the seat of authority, and arranged for his accession. But as he was of immature years he associated

[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. have Sunday the 26th Ṣafar, 908 A.H., the other has Saturday the 6th Ṣafar 980 and, according to some, 904. This is incorrect. Firishtah lith. ed. has Saturday the 26th Ṣafar 908. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 391) follows Firishtah, but makes it Sunday instead of Saturday; and he gives 29th August, 1502, as the date according to the Christian era. The Cambridge History of India (p. 504) gives August 31st, 1502, as the date.

[2] This is the date according to both MSS. and the lith. ed. of Firishtah.

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himself with low people and collected common and vulgar people round him; and his time was spent in jesting and buffoonery. Owing to this great men and men of good lineage kept at a distance from him. When people acquired an ascendency over him they devoted all their energy to turn his mind against Jām Bāyazīd. In order to gain their object, they made [1] wonderful plans. Jām Bāyazīd on hearing of this, did not come to Multān from the camp which he had established on the bank of the river Chanāb, at a distance of one *farsukh* from Multān; and attended to the affairs of the State at that place; and passed his time in pleasant amusements.

While these things were happening, one day he sent for the headmen of some town, in order to collect revenue from them, and for other matters. As some of the headmen showed some turbulence, Jām Bāyazīd said, "Let the hair on the heads of these men be shaved off, and let them be paraded round the city." The slanderers went to Sulṭān Maḥmūd and told him that Jām Bāyazīd had commenced to punish and to insult even some of the servants of the Sulṭān, that he does not present himself in the *Dīwān* (or the royal court) and sends his son 'Ālam Khān. It is advisable on the score of the Sulṭān's greatness that 'Ālam Khān should be insulted in the Sulṭān's *majlis*, so that there might be a stain on the condition and dignity of the Jām, and he be disgraced and degraded in the eyes of men.

'Ālam Khān was a young man of ability, and was distinguished above the men of his rank for the elegance of his person and of his nature. It so happened that he came one day to offer his respects to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He was totally unaware that the men who were envious of him had made a plan for humiliating him. When he arrived in the presence of the Sulṭān, one of the courtiers asked him, "What fault had been committed by such and such headmen, that Jām Bāyazīd should have had the hair of their heads shaved off and should otherwise have disgraced them. It would be just that in return for that, the hair of your head should be shaved off." As such words had never before been used to 'Ālam Khān, he protested and

[1] The words look like تفقسان عجب in one MS.; in the other the adjective is omitted but the other word looks like لقیفها. Firishtah lith. ed. has the very simple word تدبیرها. In the text-edition it is قصها.

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said, "What has come to you, man, that you use such language to me in the *majlis* of the Sulṭān." He had not yet finished his words when twelve men fell upon him from all sides; and the first thing they did to him was to take off the turban from his head, and then cuffed and kicked him with great violence. At this time 'Ālam Khān with great difficulty drew his dagger from the scabbard and lifted up his hand. By accident the point of the dagger struck the forehead of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who, standing at the head of the men who were wrestling together, was amusing himself; and he fell down on the ground groaning and lamenting and bleeding profusely from the wound. The men who had fallen upon 'Ālam Khān now kept their hands off him, and turned to the Sulṭān. 'Ālam Khān, who had received many blows, fled bare-headed for fear of his life. When he reached the gate he found that it was locked; but exerting all his strength he broke the boards of the door and went out and taking a sash from one of his servants, bound it round his head, and proceeded on his way.

When he arrived in the presence of the Jām Bāyazīd and explained what had happened, the Jām said, "Oh my son, what you have done has become the cause of (our) shame in both the worlds; but as it is not possible to remedy it now, go to Shōr with all quickness, and send the whole of the army with all despatch; so that before Sulṭān Maḥmūd should have collected all his troops, I may send all my men to Shōr." He sent 'Alām Khān immediately to Shōr, and when his army arrived from there, he struck the drum for the march, and started for Shōr.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd on hearing this news nominated some of the *amīrs* to pursue him. When the two armies approached each other, Jām Bāyazīd turned round, and took up a position and the war-like men belonging to the two armies went forward and fought bravely with each other. In the end, Jām Bāyazīd defeated the Sulṭān's army, and proceeded towards Shōr. When he arrived there, he had the public prayers read, and the coins struck, in the name of Sulṭān Sikandar, son of Bahlūl; and explaining all that had happened in a petition, sent it to him. The latter sent a *farmān* of encouragement, and a robe of honour to Jām Bāyazīd; and wrote another *farmān* to Daulat Khān Lūdī, who was the governor of the Punjāb to the effect, that "As Jām Bāyazīd has appealed to me for protection, and has read the public prayers in my name, it behoves you that you

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should make yourself acquainted with all the circumstances, and should not hold yourself excused from helping and assisting him; and whenever he should be in need of any reinforcement, you should go yourself to give it to him."

After some days, Sulṭān Maḥmūd collected all his army, and advanced towards Shōr. Jām Bāyazīd and 'Ālam Khān, in concert with their men, came out of Shōr, and met them at a distance of ten *karōhs* from that place, and encamped with the river Rāvī in front of him. Jām Bāyazīd also sent a letter to Daulat Khān Lūdī, and notified him with what had happened. No battle had yet taken place between the armies of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Jām Bāyazīd, when Daulat Khān came with the army of the Punjāb to reinforce Jām Bāyazīd; and sending men, in whom he had confidence, to wait on Sulṭān Maḥmūd began negotiations for an amicable settlement; and in the end through his exertions a settlement was effected on the basis of the river Rāvī being recognized as the boundary between the territories of the two parties; and neither party transgressing it. Daulat Khān Lūdī then sent Sulṭān Maḥmūd to Multān, and escorted Jām Bāyazīd to Shōr and from there he went back to Lāhōre. But in spite of the fact, that a man like Daulat Khān Lūdī had intervened to effect the peace, it did not have any stability.

About this time [1] Mīr Jākar Zand came to Multān from the direction of [2] Sēwī with his two sons Mīr [3] Allahdād and Mīr Shahdād. Mīr [4] Shahdād was the first man who promulgated the Shī'a religion in Multān. As Malik Suhrāb Dūdāī was held in great honour by the

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[1] The name looks like مرجا کردند Mīr? Jākar Dand or Zand in one MS.; and برجا کردوزید Bar Jākar Dūzīd in the other. In the lith. ed. of Firishtah the name looks like میر عماد کرویزی Mīr 'Imād Karwīzī. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 396) has Meer Jakur Zund, and he says in a footnote that the name Jakur occurs among the early Suljook Toorks. It is میرچاکراند in the text-edition.

[2] The name is سوی in both MSS. It is سولی in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, and Solypoor in Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 396).

[3] The names are الله داد and میر الله داد or میر شهداد in the two MSS. Firishtah lith. ed. has what looks like مرزا شهید and مرزا سهدا. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, p. 396) calls them Meer Sheheed and Meer Shahida.

[4] Firishtah takes exception to this statement of Niẓām-ud-dīn, and says that the latter does not say who Mīr 'Imād was, and whence he came, etc.

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Lankāhs, Mīr Jākar Zand could not remain there; and sought an asylum with Jām Bāyazīd. As he was the head of a clan, Jām Bāyazīd received him with much honour, and bestowed on him and his sons a part of the territory which was in the *Ḵẖālṣa* or crown land.

Jām Bāyazīd was a man of high moral character and of a generous disposition; and showed much kindness to learned men and was generous to the men of piety. They say that at the time of the hostility (between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and himself), he sent gifts and arms to learned and pious men by boats from Shōr to Multān, and one after another many favours were shown by him to the great men of Multān. Many wise men leaving their birthplace took up their residence in Shōr, and he summoned a number of them with much eagerness. Among them he prayed His Holiness Maulānā 'Azīz-ul-lah, who was a disciple of Maulānā Fatḥ-ul-lah, with great solicitude to come to Shōr. When the latter arrived near Shōr, he met him with great respect, and bringing him with great honour into the city, took him with great courtesy to his own harem; and ordered his own servants that they should pour water over his hands, and he also directed that they should pour that water at the four corners of the house, for the sake of the good fortune which it would bring to it.

A wonderful story has been told of Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī who was the *vakīl* (minister) of Jām Bāyazīd, which, though it has no bearing on the subject matter (of this history), but, on account of its miraculous nature and to guard it from the evil of neglect, is being written down here with the pen of musk-like fragrant writing. They narrate that when His Holiness Maulānā 'Azīz-ul-lah came to Shōr and was received with great respect and honour, greater than what the men of the age had expected, from Jām Bāyazīd and the latter took him into his own harem, and ordered the maid-servants to wait on him. Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Quraishī sent a man to wait on the Maulānā with the message that the Jām Bāyazīd sends his prayers (for the Maulānā's well-being), and his object in ordering the maids to attend before him was this that as he had come unattended by any one, if he would notify whichever of them finds favour in his eyes, she would be sent to serve him. The Maulānā sent a verbal reply to the effect that "God forbid! that any man should cast an evil eye on the maids in the service of his friend; and besides the age and years of this *faqīr* do not agree with such an insinuation." When the servant

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of Maulānā 'Azīz-ul-lah went and gave the message to Jām Bāyazīd, the latter said, "I have no knowledge whatever of such a message." The Maulānā was ashamed, and said, "May the neck of the man who has done this thing be broken"; and without going to see the Jām he took his way to his own house; and before the news could reach the Jām, he had passed beyond the boundary of the latter's territory. In the end, it came to pass as had been said by the Maulānā, for when Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn returned from the service of Sulṭān Sikandar, and came to Shōr, one night his foot slipped, when he was on the terrace (of his house), he fell on his head, and his neck was broken.

When His Majesty Firdūs Makānī Ẓahīr-ud-dīn Bābar Bādshāh Ghāzī took possession of the Punjāb in the year 930 A.H., and marched towards Dehlī, he sent a *farmān* to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Thatha, that he had bestowed Multān and the neighbouring territory on him. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn crossed the river near the fort of Bhakkar; and the blast of the wrath of the God began to blow and inundation of arrogance began to flow. Sulṭān Maḥmūd on hearing this news trembled for fear, and collected his troops, and coming two stages out of the city of Multān, sent Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Quraishī, who was the successor of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakarīya, may his soul be sanctified! as his ambassador to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain; and he made Maulānā Bahlūl, who in the beauty of his diction and in the expression of his meaning was far in advance of the age, to be the assistant of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn. When the latter arrived in the camp of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, the latter treated them with courtesy and respect; and after the former had performed his duties as ambassador, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain said in reply, "My object in coming was to look after the training of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and for making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn." Maulānā Bahlūl said, "What would happen, if the training of Sulṭān Maḥmūd should be left to His Holiness the asylum of the Prophetship, may the benediction of God be on him and on his descendants! for he has given him the necessary spiritual training; and as to the second matter Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn has himself come to attend on you, and what necessity is there for your taking further trouble in the matter." When Shaikh Bahā'-ud-dīn came back to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the latter died the next night of an attack of colic. The surmise of some men was, that Langar Khān, who was a slave of the dynasty, had

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administered poison to him. His death took place in 931 A.H.; and the period of his rule was twenty-seven years.

AN ACCOUNT OF SULṬĀN ḤUSAIN, SON OF SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd had passed away, Qawām Khān Lankāh and Langar Khān, who were the commanders of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, took the path of flight and joined Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain. They received such favours as their hearts wished for, and brought the towns (appertaining) to Multān under the rule of the Mīrzā. The rest of the *amīrs* of the Lankāh tribe, being discomfited, returned to Multān. There they gave Sulṭān Ḥusain, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who had not yet passed the age of infancy, the title of Sulṭān Ḥusain; and read the public prayers in his name. Although they gave the name of Sulṭān to him, yet Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk Bukhārī, who was the son-in-law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, assumed the name of *vazir*, and took upon himself the administration of all matters of State. He was, however, without any experience, and although they did not have provisions sufficient for even one month in the fort of Multān he decided on defending it. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain considering the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the means of his conquering Multān gave the people of the city no time for preparation for defence; and galloped in, and laid siege to the fort. When the siege had lasted for some days, the soldiers distressed by hunger, came to Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk,[1] who was the minister responsible for the ruin of the country of Multān, and said to him, "Our horses are yet fresh, and we find the strength of fighting in ourselves. It is better, that having divided the troops, we should advance to the field of battle. It may be that the breeze of victory and triumph would blow on us. The other alternative is to guard the fort in the hope of reinforcement and help; but there is

[1] The readings are different. One MS. has که عمدهٔ فرابی ولایت ازو بود, while the other has که عمدهٔ ولایت ملتان از پیش او بودهٔ. Firishtah in the corresponding passage has که عمدهٔ خرابی ملک از پیش او بود. None of the readings is quite clear. The word عمدهٔ, one of the meanings of which is a minister, is the stumbling block. The reading of the first MS. and of Firishtah may mean: who was the minister who was responsible for the ruin of the country; and I have adopted this reading. In the text-edition the passage reads که عمداً خرابی ولایت ملتان از پیش او بودهٔ.

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no such hope from any side." Shaikh Shuja'-ul-mulk gave them no reply at the interview; but he summoned some of the trusted leaders to a private conference, and said, "The rule of Sulṭān Ḥusain has not yet acquired any strength or stability. If we go out of the city with the determination to fight, there is a very strong likelihood that most of the men would, in the hope of obtaining favour from Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, go to him and render him homage; and the few who are bound by a sense of honour, would stand firmly in that field of battle, and would be slain."

[1] It is related that Maulānā Sa'd-ul-lah Lāhōrī, who was one of the wise men of the age, said, "I was at that time in the citadel of Multān. When the siege had gone on for some months, the troops of Mīrzā Ḥusain shut up all the entrances and exits in such a way that no one could send any help to the garrison from outside and nobody going out of the fort could betake himself to a nook or corner of safety. Gradually the subsistence and the life of the men in the garrison were reduced to such straits, that if by accident, a cat or a dog fell into their hands, they devoured its flesh like that of a kid or lamb. Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk appointed a [2] *pājī* of the name of Jādā to be a commander of three thousand infantry men of the town and nominated him to be the defender of the fort. That misguided man went to the house of any poor man, who he imagined had any grain in his possession, and without any enquiry plundered it. Owing to these improper acts of his, men raised their hands in prayer and according

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[1] The MSS. say here و مولانا سعد الله لاهوری که از افاضل وقت بود میگفت and then go on to say, what he said had happened during the siege. This cannot be correct, as the siege was yet going on, and the incidents mentioned by the Maulānā had not yet happened. I have accordingly substituted what is written in the lith. ed. of Firishtah, in which what the Maulānā had said has been recorded as a matter of tradition. The name of the Maulānā is Sa'd-ud-dīn in the lith. ed. of Firishtah. I have, however, retained the name of Sa'd-ul-lah, as that is also the name given by Col. Briggs. The text-edition has followed the MSS.

[2] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. calls the man جادهٔ نام باجی while the other has جادهٔ نام پاجی and Firishtah lith. ed. has جادا نام پاجی. Then one MS. has by mistake بسرداری سرکار پیادهٔ قصباتی instead of بسرداری سه هزار پیادهٔ قصباتی as in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. of both the Ṭabaqāt and the Firishtah.

In the text-edition it is جادو نام پاجی instead of جادا نام پاجی.

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to the purport of the saying that : any change is for the better though it may involve our loss, prayed for the ruin of Shujā'-ul-mulk. In the end [1] men having considered their being slain easier, threw themselves from the ramparts into the ditch below; and Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain having become aware of the terrible distress of the men in the fort, stopped his men from slaying them. After this when the siege had been prolonged for a year and some months, one night towards morning the servants of the Mīrzā entered the fort, and stretching out the hand of rapine from the sleeve of oppression began to slay and devastate. The residents of the city from the age of seven to that of seventy years, who escaped the sword, were taken into slavery; and every one against whom there was a suspicion of his having any gold, suffered much insult and torture. This calamity occurred about the end of the year 932 A.H."

Maulānā Sa'd-ul-lah has narrated the following about himself, "When the citadel was taken by the Arghūns, a number of men entered our house; and at first a man seized my father, who bore the name of Maulānā Ibrāhīm Jāma', and who seated on the *masnad* or carpet of teaching had for five and sixty years given lessons in various branches of learning; and had towards the end of his life become blind, and began to treat him with insult and contumely. Others came in, and suspecting from the cleanliness of the house, and the elegance of the buildings that the inmates were wealthy people, one of them seized me as a captive. It so happened that that man took me as a present to the *vazīr* of the Mīrzā; and it also so happened, that the *vazīr* was seated at that time in the courtyard of a house on a wooden seat. He gave orders, in compliance with which the man put a chain on my feet and tied the end of it strongly to a leg of the *vazīr's* seat. The tears were flowing freely from my eyes, and I was weeping chiefly on account of the condition of my father. After a little while the *vazīr* sent for a [2] receptacle for pens, etc., and after mending his pen

[1] Firishtah explains that as everyone who attempted to go out by the gate was killed by the besiegers, the men in the garrison threw themselves from the ramparts.

[2] The word looks like مجرہ in one MS. and in the lith. eds. of the Ṭabaqāt and Firishtah, but it is قلمدان in the other MS. In the text-edition M. Hidayat Ḥosain has used the right word محبرہ, which is a synonym for قلمدان.

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wanted to write something. [1] At that time it entered his mind that he should again perform his ablutions, and then begin to write. He got up and went to a place for easing nature. As there was no one in the house I drew myself close to the seat, and wrote down this couplet from the *Qasīda'* [2] *Burda* 'What has happened to your eyes, that when I ask them to stop weeping they start weeping more vehemently than before? What is wrong with your heart that when I order it to be calm, it gets more excited?' on a piece of paper, which the *vazīr* had brought out for writing on. Then I dragged myself back [3] to my own place and tears went on flowing from my eyes. After a little time when the *vazīr* again sat down in his place and wanted to write something on the paper, he saw that a couplet was written on it. He looked round on all sides of the place. As he saw no one there, he turned to me and said, 'Did you write this?' I said, 'Yes.' Then he asked me about my circumstances. When I told him my father's name, he got up, and removed the chain from my feet, and put his own dress on me; and immediately mounting his horse, went to the audience hall of the Mīrzā, and placed me before the latter's eyes; and spoke to him about my father. The Mīrzā gave orders, and his men made a search for my father and brought him. It so happened that at the time when my father was brought into the Mīrzā's *majlis* in a wretched condition, they were talking there about the *Hidāya'-i-Fiqh* (a treatise on law). The Mīrzā ordered that a robe of honour should be bestowed on my father, and another on me. My father, in spite of the distress of his mind, began an address, and he stated the different heads of it in such a way that the people who were present became charmed and fascinated. The Mīrzā in that very *majlis* asked my father to undergo

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[1] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. has چیزی بنویسد followed by دران حال بخاطرش رسید که تجدید وضوع نموده بنوشتن پردازد. The other MS. and the lith. ed. have بخاطرش رسید که تجدید وضوع نموده چیزی بنویسد while the lith. ed. of Firishtah is slightly different from either of these. I have adopted the reading in the first MS.

[2] The couplet is from the *Qaṣīda* called *Al-Burda* by Būṣīrī.

[3] One MS. has بگوشه مقام خود while the other and the lith. ed. have بمقام خود.

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the trouble of accompanying him; and he ordered his officers that whatever the Maulānā should have lost should be restored to him; and if the whole of it could not be found the price of that portion should be paid to him. My father said to him in reply, 'The days of life have come to an end. It is now time for my undertaking the journey to the other world and not of accompanying you'; and [1] in the end what my father had said, came to pass; for after two months he was united with the proximity of the mercy of God."

In short, when the citadel of Multān was captured, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain made over Sulṭān Ḥusain to the guards; and treated Shaikh Shujā'-ul-mulk Bukhārī with much contumacy; and extorted large sums of money from him, [2] till he came to an end in this matter. When the ruin and desolation of Multān reached a point, that no one could even think that it would again become populous and flourishing, the Mīrzā, considering the further administration of the affairs of Multān an easy matter, left a man of the name of Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn to guard it, and making Langar Khān his assistant returned towards Thatha. Langar Khān having encouraged men from all places again restored Multān. He combined with the people of the place and removed Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn [3] bodily and took independent possession of the place.

When His Majesty Firdūs Makānī departed from the world, and the position of the Sulṭān of the great country of Hindūstān devolved on his Majesty Jinnat Āshīānī, the latter made over the country of the Punjāb to Mīrzā Kamrān as his *jāgīr*. The latter sent some of his men and summoned Langar Khān to wait upon him. When the latter arrived at Lāhōre, and was honoured by being allowed to wait on Mīrzā Kamrān, the latter bestowed the territory of Bābal [4]

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[1] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have و میگفت که انچنان شد. The other MS. has اخر انچنان شد که پدر گفته بود. I consider the latter the better reading and have adopted it; and this has been followed in the text-edition.

[2] The words are تا بر سر این کار رفت, the meaning of which is not very clear.

[3] Here again as in several previous passages the word is خواجه دار, the meaning of which I cannot find out.

[4] خطهٔ بایل in the text-edition.

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on him, in exchange for Multān. He also appointed a place at the extreme end of the inhabited part of Lāhōre for the residence of Langar Khān. This place is now known as the *Dāi'rah* of Langar Khān, and has become one of the residential areas of the city of Lāhōre. From this time Multān again came into the possession of the Sulṭāns at Dehlī. After the death of Mīrzā Kāmrān it descended to Shēr Khān and from him to Salīm Khān, and from them to the agents and servants of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, as each of these has been mentioned in its proper place.

A final statement.—In a description of the countries ruled over by the servants of His Majesty, let it not remain concealed, that the length of the country, which is to-day in the possession of this powerful State, from Hindū Kōh on the borders of Badakhshān to the country of Orīssa, which on the further side of Bengāl, from the west to the east is [1] one thousand and two hundred Akbar Shāhī *karōhs* by the *Ilāhī* yard measure, which is equal to one thousand six hundred and eighty *karōhs Shara'ī*; and its breadth from Kashmīr to the [2] hills of Bardah, which are at the extreme limit of the country of Sōrath and Gujrāt is eight hundred *karōhs Ilāhī*; another breadth from the Kumāyūn hills to the boundary of the country of Deccan is one thousand *karōhs Ilāhī*. The whole of this land is fit for cultivation. In each *karōh* there is a certain number of inhabited and cultivated villages. At present there are three thousand and two hundred towns; and one or two or [3] five hundred or a thousand villages appertain to each of these towns. The produce of this country is to-day [4] six hundred and forty *krōrs* of *murādi tankas*. Out of these there are one hundred and twenty great cities, which are now well populated and flourishing. As the particulars of the towns cannot be

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[1] One MS. omits the length by the Akbar Shāhī *karōh* and gives it only by the *Shara'ī karōh*.

[2] One MS. has کوہ بردہ, the other has کوہ بروچہ, while the lith. ed. has کوہ بربرہ. The text-edition has adopted the reading کوہ بررہ.

[3] The lith. ed. ends abruptly at پانصد five hundred, only.

[4] One MS. gives the produce at شصد هزار و چهار ادب و چهل کرور تنکه while the other has سصد و چهل کرور تنکه. I cannot make out what چهار ادب means.

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contained in this brief account the particulars of the city will be given and [1] will be written in alphabetical order, if the Great God so wills.

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[1] The sentence as given in the text is what it is in one MS. In the other MS. instead of خواهد شد it has شد ; and then تمت تمام شد تواريخ كتاب اكبر شاهى and after that بعون ملك الوهاب عز أسمه, which may be translated: Finish. Here is finished the history book Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, by the help of the Lord of all gifts, may His name be honoured!

(END)

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TO THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

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not crush him, p. 40; he was declared by Fīrūz Shāh to be the heir of his throne, p. 41 (and also note 3, p. 40); succeeded his brother; assumed the title of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī; entrusted the reins of the government to the hands of Shīr Malik, p. 42; being aware of the insult of Nāsir-ud-dīn awarded mortal punishment to Shīr Malik; returned the army of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī, p. 43; advanced towards Bījānagar, p. 44; commenced to ravage Bījānagar; Deo Rāy sent gifts and asked pardon for his offences; forgave Deo Rāy; sent a friendly *farmān* to Deo Rāy; came back to the capital; granted promotions to the *amīrs*; allowed the *amīrs* to retire to their *thānas*; sent a proposal to Nasīr Khān of Asīr for the marriage of his son 'Alā-ud-dīn; welcomed the guests of Asīr, p. 45; summoned the Qāzīs and the great men of the city; arranged the marriage assembly; sent back the sons and the adherents of Nasīr Khān; advanced towards Tilang, p. 46; certain forts were re-occupied; took tribute from the Kalāntars and returned to Gulbarga; advanced to punish the Rāy of Māhūr; defeated the Rāy and took possession of every thing belonging to him, p. 47; appointed Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn to be the heir apparent and made Muḥammad Khān over to him; conferred the country of Māhūr with its dependencies on Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Khān; gave the fort of Rāipūr with its surroundings to Dāūd Khān, p. 48; appointed Khalf Ḥasan 'Arab entitled Malik-ut-tujjār to conquer the island of Mahāim, p. 49; the Musalmān Rāys of Mahāim went to ask help from the Sulṭān of Gujrāt; sent Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn to reinforce Malik-ut-tujjār, p. 50; marched towards the territory of Narsingh Rāy which was invaded by Sulṭān Hūshang; besieged the fort of Kehrla; after defeating Sulṭān Hūshang arrived in the city of Bīdar, p. 52; selected the city of Bīdar for his capital, laid the foundation brick of the fort; planned a grand mansion for the palace, p. 53; marched to capture the fort of Tanbūl; Sulṭān of Gujrāt sent a message to leave the fort of Tanbūl in the possession of its owner; withdrew his forces from the fort, p. 54; went to Gulbarga; became ill; gave counsel and directions to Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn, p. 55; his death; period of reign, p. 56 (and *see* note 1, page 56); sent Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn and Khān Jahān to fight with Shāhzāda Muḥammad, p. 213; despatched forces to strengthen Malik-ut-tujjār, p. 216; marched against the country of Baglāna; hearing the arrival of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī went back to Gulbarga, p. 217; besieged the fort of Tambōl; encouraged his soldiers to fight the army of Gujrāt; fought the army of Gujrāt, p. 218; was defeated and fled from Tambōl, p. 219; rejected the request of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī; was defeated and destroyed by Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī, p. 220.

Aḥmad Ṣilāh, Malik, was sent to reconnoitre the roads, p. 505.

Aimana, p. 140.

'Ain-ud-dīn, Malik, one of the adherents of Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 239; was given a title of Niẓām-ul-mulk by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 242.

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'Ain-ul-mulk, Maḥmūd Shāh sent him to take charge of the fort of Panāla and its neighbourhood, p. 123; from Panāla he was sent to the island of Goa for its possession; came back, and presented Malik Sa'īd to the Sulṭān; properties and territories of Bahādur Gīlānī were conferred on him, p. 126.

'Ain-ul-mulk, joined Nāṣir Shāh, p. 567.

'Ain-ul-mulk, Ḥakīm, came to 'Alī 'Ādil Khān from Khalīfa'-i-Ilāhī, p. 163.

'Ain-ul-mulk, Malik, waited on Muẓaffar Shāh; attacked the town of Mahrāsa; fight against the Rāja of Idar; took the path of flight, p. 296; was given money by Muẓaffar Shāh, p. 297.

'Ajab Dēō, Rāja of Jammū, reinforced Malik Yārī Bhat, p. 680.

Ajhī, Malik, released Muḥammad Shāh; his rank in the court of Fatḥ Shāh; his ability, p. 690; was put to death by the sons of Ibrāhīm, p. 691.

'Ālām, Shāh, p. 327.

'Ālam, Sulṭān, ruler of Kālpī, complained to Sulṭān Bahādur against the cruelty of the army of Jinnat Āshiānī, p. 367; reinforced the army of Gujrāt, p. 373; was hamstrung by the order of Humāyūn Bādshāh, p. 375.

'Ālam Kālpīwāl, Sulṭān, was appointed to govern Rāisīn by Sulṭān Bahādur, p. 616.

'Ālam Khān, defeated Sankar Chak, p. 742.

'Ālam Khān, son of Jām Bāyazīd, an account of his insult in the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, p. 801; wounded Sulṭān Maḥmūd; his flight to his father; went to Shōr, p. 802.

'Ālam Khān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī Bādshāh of Dehlī, his representation to Muẓaffar Shāh about the cruelty of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, p. 319.

'Ālam Khān, Khānzāda, the father of Naṣīr Khān of Asīr, p. 57; was placed on the throne of Asīr and Burhānpūr by Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, p. 283; advanced towards Burhānpūr, p. 284.

'Ālam Khān Lūdī, struggle with Daryā Khān, p. 387; defeated Daryā Khān and took up the post of *vazārat*, p. 388; fled to Shēr Khān, p. 389; joined Sulṭān Aḥmad, p. 395.

'Ālam Shāh, Malik, surrendered his *thāna* to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 284; was given the title of Quṭb Khān; and was sent in attendance on A'ẓam Humāyūn, p. 285.

'Alam-ul-mulk, shut himself in Daulatābād; Ḥasan gave safe conduct to him, p. 8.

'Alā-ud-dīn, Shaikhzāda, was sent with presents to Mīrzā Abū Sa'īd by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 541.

'Alā'-ud-dīn, Sulṭān of Bangāla, met Mukhliṣ in battle and slew him; assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-dīn; attacked Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn and put him to death; succeeded Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn; left a *thāna* at Lakhnauti; advanced towards Bangāla, p. 420 (and notes 1-2, p. 420); was slain by Malik Ḥājī Iliyās 'Alaī; period of reign, p. 421.

'Alā-ud-dīn, Sulṭān of Bangāla, succeeded Muẓaffar Shāh Ḥabshī; showed favours to the *amīrs*, p. 442 (and note 2, p. 442); raised his special servants to high ranks; removed the *pāiks*; summoned learned men; made efforts for enriching the country; allotted many villages for defraying the expenses of the alms houses; came every year

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from Ekdāla to Pandūah; his reign; death; period of reign, p. 443.

'Alā-ud-dīn, Sulṭān, son of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī; Aḥmad Shāh appointed him as the heir apparent and made Muḥammad Khān over to him, p. 48; went to reinforce Malik-ut-tujjār; came back unsuccessful, p. 50; heard the counsels and directions of his father, p. 55; succeeded his father and gave himself the title of 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh; entrusted the reins of the government to Dīlāwar Khān, p. 56; sent Khalf Ḥasan Malik-ut-tujjār to oppose Nasīr Khān; sent Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, p. 58, to conquer Bījānagar; advanced to punish Muḥammad Khān on receiving the information of the death of Malik 'Imād-ud-dīn; defeated Muḥammad Khān, p. 59; sent a *farmān* and conferred Mouzah Rāijūr on Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, p. 60; returned to the capital, p. 61; nominated Dīlāwar Khān to conquer Kokan; sent *farmāns* to the *amīrs* on the frontier to join Dīlāwar Khān, p. 66; distinguished Dīlāwar Khān for conquering Kokan and the fort of Rāhal; turned against Dīlāwar Khān, p. 67; received the information of plundering by the Rāy of Bījānagar, p. 67; advanced towards Bījānagar; besieged the fort of Mudkal; excused the Rāy of Bījānagar, made an agreement and returned to the capital; arranged a great entertainment and conferred distinctions on the *amīrs*, p. 69; came to save Māhūr from the hands of Maḥmūd Khaljī and Sikandar Khān; became victorious; granted honour to the *thānadār* of Māhūr; gave him the title of Fakhr-ul-mulk; and confirmed him in the government of Māhūr; after making arrangements for the government of Māhūr returned to capital; forgave the offences of Sikandar Khān and exalted him, p. 71; his character and nature, p. 71; direction and precepts to his son, p. 73; his death, p. 75; period of reign, p. 76; was sent by his father to fight with Shāhzāda Muḥammad of Gujrāt, p. 213; arrived at Daulatābād; received reinforcements; fled after the battle, p. 214.

'Alā-ud-dīn, Sulṭān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, was made the *bādshāh* after the death of Aḥmad Shāh by Malik Barīd; planned to follow his great ancestors; in opposition of his plan Malik Barīd in concert with Niẓām-ul-mulk, 'Imād-ul-mulk, and 'Ādil Khān dethroned him; the period of reign which was passed in confinement was one year and eleven months, p. 133.

'Alā'-ud-dīn, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, Sulṭān of Kashmīr; accession; imprisoned the Rasturīs; laid the foundation of a city, p. 639; made a rule for unchaste women, period of reign, p. 640.

'Alā-ud-dīn Ḥasan Shāh, p. 2; his rise in Daulatābād, p. 3; his declaration as a descendent of Bahman, p. 4; came to Delhi, p. 7; went to the presence of Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Dehlavi who predicted his future; turned towards the Dakin; killed the superintendent of Gulbarga and possessed its neighbouring tract, went to Daulatābād; gave safe conduct to 'Ālam-ul-mulk; possessed all the property belonging to Muḥammad Shāh in Dārāgarh; placed Ismā'īl Fatḥ on the throne of Dārāgarh and gave him the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn, p. 8; on the arrival

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'Alā-ud-dīn Suhrāb, Malik, fled from Sulṭān Maḥmūd and waited on Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn; was given the title of 'Alā'-ul-mulk by Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, p. 228; joined Maḥmūd Khaljī and was given a high rank and title by him, p. 522; went to Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, p. 523.

'Alā-ul-mulk *bin* Suhrāb, Malik, was sent by the *amīrs* of Sulṭān Dāūd Shāh to Makhdūma-i-Jahān to bring Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān; brought Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān, p. 237.

Alf Khān, son of Ulugh Khān, fled from Mahrāsa, p. 279; gave the elephants in charge of Sharf-i-Jahān and went to Mandū; was not favoured by Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn; came towards Sulṭānpūr; fought with the men despatched by Sulṭān Maḥmūd; prayed for the pardon of his offences; waited on Sulṭān Maḥmūd; did homage and was favoured by the latter; murdered *nāib-i-'arḍ* for which he was imprisoned and died there, p. 280; sent a message to Laṭīf Khān to leave Chāmpānīr, p. 336.

'Alī, Ḥakīm, came to 'Alī 'Ādil Khān from Khalīfa'-i-Ilāhī, p. 163.

'Alī, Malik, was slain in the battlefield, p. 703.

'Alī 'Ādil Khān, succeeded his father, p. 162; he blinded Tahmāsp and Ismā'īl; his character and habits; he brought Amīr Fatḥ-ul-lah Shīrāzī and made him his *vakīl*; his possessions; his war with Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk; his relation to Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, p. 163; he included the name of Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī in the public prayers and the coins of his realm; his religious inclinations; demanded the eunuch of Malik Barīd; Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk attacked Barīd; he reinforced the army of Barīd; Malik Barīd sent his eunuch to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh; his welcome of the eunuch; was killed by the eunuch; the period of his reign, p. 164.

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'Alī Chak, was slain by Bībī Rābe'a, p. 723.

'Alī Chak, son of Naurōz Chak, his faith in Shāh 'Ārif; his protest to 'Alī Shāh, went to Ḥusain Qulī Khān and returned to Kashmīr, p. 749.

'Alī Hamadānī, Mīr Saiyid, his *Khānqāh* was burnt by the Kashmīrīs, p. 685.

'Alī Ḥāmid, p. 202; his request to Aḥmad Shāh not to fight with Sulṭān Hūshang, p. 203.

'Alī Khān, was sent with a letter and presents to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 455.

'Alī Khān, father of Yūsuf, his release from Mubārak Khān; his imprisonment by the Kashmīrīs, p. 755.

'Alī Khān, uncle of Naṣīr, was sent with a tribute to Maḥmūd Khaljī by Naṣīr Shāh, p. 512; went as a messenger of

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Maḥmūd Khaljī to Maḥmūd Sharqī, p. 516; fought against the troops of Kōnbhā, p. 529; his dismissal, p. 562.

'Alī Khān, Rāja, was ordered to help Burhān; advanced to support Burhān; fought a battle; sent Burhān to Aḥmadnagar, p. 158.

'Alī Khān, Saiyid, joined the army of Humāyūn, p. 372; slew Yūsuf Khān and Bājī Bhat; collected soldiers to fight his enemies, p. 683; was banished from Kashmīr, p. 686.

'Alī Kōkah, was appointed in the place of Malik Lūlī, p. 745.

'Alī Mākrī, took a message to Mīrzā Ḥaidar, p. 714.

'Alī Mubārak, Malik *see* 'Alā'-ud-dīn, Sulṭān of Bangāla.

'Alī Shāh, brother of Ḥusain, Sulṭān of Kashmīr, his reply to Ḥusain Khān, p. 747; advanced towards Srīnagar; came to Ḥusain Khan's house; assumed the title of 'Alī Shāh and the duties of royalty devolved upon him, p. 748; his faith in Shāh 'Ārif *Darvēsh*; obtained divorce for his daughter; representation of 'Alī Chak; seized 'Alī Chak, p. 749; sent troops against 'Alī Chak; ambassadors for Akbar; sent the daughter of his nephew for the service of Sulṭān Salīm; public prayers and the coins of Kashmīr were adorned with the name of Akbar; forgave Yūsuf Shāh; sent an army to invade Kishtwār; went with his family to see Jamalnagarī, p. 750; famine in Kashmīr, p. 751; repented of his sins; occupied himself in performing religious duties; his death, p. 752.

'Alī Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar, Sulṭān of Kashmīr, after the death of Siyāh Bhat selected Shāhī Khān for the post of *vazīr*; went to the Rāja of Jammū, p. 650; a belief of the Indians; his defeat; period of reign, p. 652.

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'Alī Shēr, Malik, sent to the fort of Rāisīn with Silhadī, p. 366.

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Āṣaf Khān Gujrātī, was left with a large force by Muẓaffar Shāh to reinforce Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, pp. 306, 605; his son was slain in a battle with Bhīm Karan Pūrabīa, p. 307; attained martyrdom, p. 607.

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Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān (Gujrātī) owing to the excessive cruelty of Niẓām Mufarraḥ, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh conferred the *jāgīr* of Gujrāt on him; he started for Gujrāt, encamped at the royal reservoir, and heard the advice of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, p. 173; titles which were written to him by Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, pp. 174-175; his delight on the birth of his grandson Aḥmad Khān; in the neighbourhood of Nāgōr men of Kanbāyat requested him to suppress the cruelty of Niẓām Mufarraḥ, he sent a letter to Niẓām Mufarraḥ, p. 175; the reply of Malik Niẓām Mufarraḥ to him; rebellion of Niẓām Mufarraḥ; a battle between Ẓafar Khān and Niẓām Mufarraḥ; death of Niẓām Mufarraḥ; victory of Ẓafar Khān, p. 176; he sent agents to all the *parganas*; he advanced towards Asāwal; came back to the neighbourhood of Pattan; the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh; the disobedience of the Rāja of Īdar; he advanced to punish the Rāja of Idar; crushed the Rāja of Īdar, p. 177; took tributes from the Rāja of Īdar; advanced towards Sōmnāth; advanced towards Nadarbār to punish Malik Naṣir Rāja 'Ādil Khān; returned to Pattan; invaded Jar and Tar; advanced for the destruction of Sōmnāth; his behaviour towards the Rājpūts and their temples; arrival at Sōmnāth and his activities; came back to Pattan; heard the tyranny of the Rājpūts of Mandalgarh, p. 178; he marched towards Mandalgarh to take revenge for the tyranny of the Rājpūts; he crushed the power of the Rājpūts, made them humble, and excused their offences, he performed a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn Ḥasan Sanjarī and plundered the towns of that country; his march towards Dandwāna, plundered Dīlwāra and Jalwāra; returned to Pattan, p. 179; issued an order for the rest of his troops, pp. 179-180; Tātār Khān came from Delhi to Gujrāt owing to the violence of Mallū Khān; Tātār Khān prayed his father to help him in taking revenge from Mallū Khān; Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad Khān possessed Multān and seized Sārang Khān; arrival of Taimūr in the neighbourhood of Delhi; he comforted Tātār Khān and postponed the march to Delhi; he and Tātār Khān advanced towards Īdar; plundered the country of Īdar and disgraced the Rāja, p. 180; returned to Pattan; after the attack of Amīr Taimūr people fled from Delhi to Pattan; flight of Sulṭān Maḥmūd from Delhi to Gujrāt; he disgraced Sulṭān Maḥmūd; his victorious advance to Īdar; his successful march to suppress the Hindūs of Sōmnāth, p. 181; he demolished their temples, laid the foundation of Jāmī' mosque, and appointed the religious servants; returned to Pattan; Tātār Khān asked favour of his father to take back the dominion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd from Mallū Khān; he instead of agreeing with the idea of Tātār Khān, made him his successor to the throne, p. 182; grieved at the

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reply to the governor of Āsīr; advanced to conquer the Deccan; encamped for the collection of troops in the town of Barōda; Jām Fīrūz joined the Sulṭān, p. 345; fixed a stipend for Jām Fīrūz; promised to restore his dominion to Jām Fīrūz after recovering it from the Maghūls; powers from the various directions came and joined; representation from 'Imād-ul-mulk; decided to invade the Deccan; allowed Ja'far Khān to visit Aḥmadābād, p. 346; returned to Muḥammadābād and passed the rainy season there; marched towards Bākar and Idar; sent Khudāwand Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk from Khānpūr to Bākar; proceeded towards Kanbāyet; embarked in a ship for the Dīp; showed kindness to *Rūmīs* (Turks), p. 347; arranged residences for *Rūmīs* and returned after recommending them to the favour of Malik Ayāz; on his arrival at Chāmpānīr 'Umr Khān, Qutb Khān, and *amīrs* of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm fled to Gujrāt and were exalted to high ranks; penetrated into Bākar by successive marches; arranged for the better government of Bākar, p. 348; acceded to the prayer of Ratan Sēn; laid the foundation of a mosque; gave Karchī to Prithī Rāj; divided the territory of Bākar between Prithī Rāj and Jagā, p. 349; bestowed favours on Sikandar Khān and Bhūpat; a message from Sulṭān Maḥmūd, p. 350; reply to the message of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; marched towards Bānswāla; arrived at Sambla; waited for ten days for Sulṭān Maḥmūd, p. 351; on arrival at Dībālpūr came to know that Sulṭān Maḥmūd wanted to confer the title of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn on his eldest son and had no disire to meet Sulṭān Bahādur; started and encamped at Sūdpūr; arrived at Na'lcha and made arrangements for the siege, p. 352; sent the *Pūrabīa* contingent to Pahalwānīa; took up quarters in the palaces at Muḥammadpūr; captured the fort of Mandū, p. 353; ascended to the top of *La'l Maḥal* and sent a man to wait on Sulṭān Maḥmūd; received Sulṭān Maḥmūd with respect and tried to please him; took up his residence, p. 354, at Mandū; gave permission to *amīrs* to go back to Gujrāt; went to see Burhānpūr and Āsīr; conferred on Niẓām-ul-mulk Dakinī the title of Muḥammad Shāh and returned to Mandū; ordered the release of Musalmān women from the disgrace of *Kufr* and condign punishment for Silhadī; sent Muqbal Khān to Chāmpānīr to guard the fort; sent Ikhtiyār Khān with troops and treasure; made proclamation of his departure to Gujrāt, p. 355; went to Mandū to make preparations for the march towards Gujrāt; left Ikhtiyār Khān in charge of the government of Mandū; gave permission to Bhūpat to bring Silhadī; advanced towards Ujjain; went away to Dībālpūr, Banharīa and Sa'dulpūr for hunting, p. 356; started from Sa'dulpūr for Dhār; talked with the *amīrs* about seizing Silhadī; took up his residence in the fort of Dhār; sent 'Imād-ul-mulk to attack Bhūpat; started towards Ujjain; conferred the government of Ujjain, p. 357, on Daryā Khān; bestowed Sārangpūr on Mallū Khān; gave permission to Ḥabīb Khān to go back to Āshta; marched towards Bhīlsa and Rāīsīn;

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on arrival at Bhīlsa came to know about the currency of heathenism there, p. 358; waited at Bhīlsa for three days for the erection of mosques and houses for pious purposes; advanced to conquer Rāīsīn; attacked *Pūrabīa* Rājpūts, p. 359; forbade continuance of the fight and postponed it to next day; marched from Rāīsīn and commenced the construction of covered passages; representation from Silhadī for submission and acceptance of Islām, p. 360; acceding to the request of his brother, Silhadī asked leave of the Sulṭān for evacuating the fort; granted leave to Silhadī and waited; Silhadī was permitted to go to the fort; Silhadī advised the Rājpūts of the fort, p. 361; fight between the son of Silhadī and the army of Gujrāt; ordered imprisonment of Silhadī in the fort of Mandū; became violent on hearing the news of the Rānā's approach; sent Muḥammad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk Sulṭānī for their chastisement, p. 362; Muḥammad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk submitted a report to the Sulṭān describing the advance of Rānā with a large force; on the report of 'Imād-ul-mulk hastened towards Kahrār; report of the spies of Rānā about the arrival of the Sulṭān, p. 363; flight of Rānā and Bhūpat; pursued the enemy, p. 364; leaving the punishment and castigation of the Rānā to the next year returned to Rāīsīn and after arrival there made the siege closer than before; terms and conditions of Lakhman for evacuating his fort for the Sulṭān; granted Lakhman's prayer and summoned Silhadī from the fort of Mandū; detailed a body of soldiers to guard the fort, p. 365; sent Malik 'Alī Shēr with Silhadī to the fort; enthusiastic speech of Rānī Durgāwatī made Silhadī ready for revolt, p. 366; fatal end of the rebels; granted the fort of Rāīsīn and Chanḍērī and the territories of Bhīlsa as a *jāgīr* to Sulṭān 'Ālam; appointed Muḥammad Khān to capture the fort of the Kākrūn; started on an expedition to hunt elephants; made Kānūr over to Ulugh Khān; took possession of Islāmābād and Hūshangābād and the whole of the country of Mālwa; granted these possessions as *jāgīrs* to the *amīrs* of Gujrāt, p. 367; arrived towards Kākrūn; occupied himself in Kākrūn in a festive assembly; sent 'Imād-ul-mulk and Ikhtiyār Khān to capture the fort of Mandisōr; forts of Mandisōr and Kākrūn came into the Sulṭān's possession; advanced from Mandū to Chāmpānīr, p. 368; advanced towards Dīp on being informed of the power of *firangīs*; advanced towards Chitōr; siege of the fort of Chitōr, sporadic fights of the Gujrātīs and their victories; submission of the Rānā to the Sulṭān; cause of hostility with Humāyūn Bādshāh; conferred favours on Tātār Khān, p. 369; spent money for collection of troops, p. 370; letters from Humāyūn Bādshāh which were not satisfactorily responded to; Humāyūn Bādshāh advanced to crush the Sulṭān; advanced to seize the fort of Chitōr, p. 371; took the fort of Chitōr; met Humāyūn Bādshāh in the vicinity of Mandisōr; opinion of the *amīrs* of the Sulṭān, p. 372; preparations for war with the Mughals; reinforcement by 'Ālām

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Kālpīwāl, p. 373; exhaustion of the Gujrātīs; fled towards Mandū; Humāyūn Bādshāh pursued him to the fort of Mandū, shut himself up in Mandū, p. 374; flight from Mandū to Chāmpānīr; sent the treasure and jewels which he had at Chāmpānīr to the port of Dīp and himself went to Kanbāyet; taking strong horses went on to the port of Dīp, p. 375; distribution of the treasures of the Sulṭān; deputed 'Imād-ul-mulk for collecting the revenue, p. 376; rebellion over the whole of Gujrāt, p. 377; advanced into Gujrāt; relinquishment of Gujrāt by the *amīrs* of Humāyūn Bādshāh, p. 378; advanced towards Chāmpānīr to crush Tardī Bēg Khān; halted at Chāmpānīr for arranging the affairs in that neighbourhood; advanced towards Sōrath and Junāgarh to enable the *firangīs*, who had been called for help, to return, p. 379; arrival of the *firangīs* at the port of Dīp; successful conspiracy of the *firangīs* caused the death of the Sulṭān, p. 380; port of Dīp in the possession of the *firangīs*; period of reign, p. 381.

Bahār Khān, the command of the fort of Ranthambhōr was transferred from him by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 520.

Bahā'-ud-dīn, was welcomed by Yūsuf Khān, p. 759.

Bahā-ud-dīn, Malik, one of the adherents of Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 239; he was made Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 242.

Bahā'-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-mulk, Malik, he was sent to the *thāna* of Sonkhir by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 263; by taking an oath on *Qurān* he gave assurance to Rāy Rāyān not to disclose the secrets of his treachery to Maḥmūd Shāh and promised to assist him in carrying out his intention; had a talk with Malik Miyān; wrote a letter to Malik Farḥat-ul-mulk to meet him; sent a letter to Malik Qīyām-ul-Mulk forbidding him to march from Rakhīāl; sent for Muḥāfiẓ Khān and gave him special directions, p. 265; advised Maḥmūd Shāh to go to Aḥmadābād; addressed the *amīrs* in regard to the reply to the question of Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 268; inquired the cause of silence of Maḥmūd Shāh; reported the whole story of conspiracy to Maḥmūd Shāh who sent him to conquer Jālōr and Sājōr; encamped near the tomb of Shaikh Hājī Rajab, p. 270; informed Maḥmūd Shāh what was done by Mujāhid Khān; his death, p. 271.

Bahā'-ud-dīn Quraishī, Shaikh, went as an ambassador to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, p. 805.

Bahā'-ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī, Shaikh, p. 788.

Bahā'ul-mulk, helped 'Imād-ul-mulk in placing Naṣīr Khān on the throne, p. 328; joined Sulṭān Bahādur, p. 332; was hanged by the order of Sulṭān Bahādur, p. 336.

Bahā'-ul-mulk (son of Alf Khān), killed Ādam Silāḥdār and fled to Idar, p. 247.

Bahlūl, Maulānā, went as an ambassador to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, p. 805.

Bahlūl Lūdī, Malik, was sent by Sulṭān Muḥammad to fight against Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 510.

Bahlūl Lūdī, Sulṭān, Bādshāh of Dehlī, asked help of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 460; asked favour of Sulṭān Ḥusain, defeated Sulṭān Ḥusain, sent *Malkah-i-Jahān* to Sulṭān Ḥusain, p. 461; requested Sulṭān Ḥusain to be pardoned;

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defeated Sulṭān Ḥusain on every occasion, took possession of Jaunpūr and established his son there; his death, p. 462.

Bahrām, Rāja, raided Indarkōt, p. 716.

Bahrām Chak, son of Rēgī Chak, reached Srīnagar, p. 709; went to Haibat Khān Niyāzī, p. 713; his share in the division of Kashmīr, p. 719; was seized by 'Īdī Zīnā, p. 721; defeated the Niyāzīs, p. 723; his imprisonment, p. 725; was granted favours by Ghāzī Khān, p. 732; joined the rebels, p. 733.

Bahrām Khān, p. 16; Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy rose in revolt; the Sulṭān started towards Deogarh; arrived in its neighbourhood; they became afraid and went to Daulatābād to Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, the great Sūfī of the time, p. 17; the Sulṭān on hearing of this arrived at Daulatābād and went to visit the Shaikh, and agreed to pardon them; they went away to Gujrāt, p. 18; was sent by Maḥmūd Shāh to meet Rāy Batāī, p. 272.

Bahrām Khān, son of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, welcomed Ḥājī Khān, p. 668; his treachery, p. 670; in the service of Ḥaidar Shāh; his jāgīr, p. 673; went towards Hindūstān, p. 676; arrived in the district of Karmā, p. 677; his defeat; his death, p. 678.

Bahrām Khān, Khān Khanān, respected Naṣrat Chak, p. 736.

Bahrūn, entered the service of Sulṭān Bahādur, p. 346.

Bājī Bhat, was slain, p. 683.

Balāl, son of 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak, his murder, p. 799.

Bandagān Kōkah, was nominated to crush the rebel, p. 709; was left by Mīrzā Ḥaidar at Srīnagar, p. 710; fought with the Kishtwārā army as the commander of Mīrzā Ḥaidar's troop, p. 711; was slain, p. 712.

Bāqī Bēg, Khwājah, the fort of Sihwān was made over to him, p. 779.

Bārbak Shāh, Sulṭān of Bangāla, the *amīrs* seated him on the throne; passed his time in pleasure, died, p. 435 (and *see* notes 2-3, p. 435); period of reign, p. 436.

Bārbak Shāh, Sulṭān of Bangāla, after murdering his master took the title of *bādshāh*, p. 438 (and *see* n. 1, p. 348); his pomp and strength; was slain; period of reign, p. 439.

Bārbak Shāh, son of Bahlūl Lūdī, the government of Jaunpūr was given to him by his father; after the death of his father he advanced to conquer Delhī; being defeated by Sulṭān Sikandar he fled to Jaunpūr, p. 462; went to conquer Multān, p. 793; possessed the fort of Khānwāl, p. 795.

Barīd, Malik, imprisoned Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah in the city of Bidar, p. 4; was appointed as the *kotwāl* of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn, p. 112; was informed about the intention of Dilāwar Khān; kept the Sulṭān in imprisonment, p. 113; became all powerful in administration; kept Maḥmūd Shāh as a puppet; met with the army of 'Imād-ul-mulk Kāwīlī, p. 131; placed Aḥmad Shāh on the throne of Maḥmūd Shāh and kept him in confinement, p. 132; placed 'Alā-ud-dīn in place of Aḥmad Shāh; dethroned 'Alā-ud-dīn, p. 133; placed Sulṭān Waliullah in place of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn; poisoned Waliullah on account of the latter's wife; after Waliullah gave the name of Sulṭān to Kalīm-ul-lah, p. 134; had a fight with 'Imād-ul-mulk

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Kāwilī; made submission to Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt, p. 135; his eunuch was demanded by 'Alī 'Ādil Khān; was attacked by Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk; asked 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh for help; presented the eunuch to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, p. 164.

Barkhūrdār, Malik, was sent by Ghaznīn Khān to seize Ẓafar Mīnjumla, p. 487; was given the title of Tāj Khān by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 497; sent a petition asking for aid to suppress the rebels; joined Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, p. 499; fought with Malik Ḥājī 'Alī; reassured Malik Isḥāq of his good luck, p. 504; was sent by Maḥmūd Khaljī with a message of peace to Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, p. 525; fought against the army of Kōnbhā, p. 529; captured the fort of Būndī, p. 532; defeated Rāyzāda of Kehrla, p. 540.

Barkhūrdār, Saiyid, was sent by Saiyid Mubārak Khān with a message to the latter's enemies, p. 754.

Basant Rāy, was entrusted with the administration by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 576; was slain by the *amīrs*, p. 577.

Batāī, Rāy, fought with Malik Sadhā and killed him with his followers; plundered the army of Malik Sadhā; on the arrival of Maḥmūd Shāh he repented of his shameful deed and asked for pardon of his offences; his ambassadors were turned back by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 272; sent tribute to Maḥmūd Shāh which was refused; asked Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Khaljī to help him, p. 273; fought with Qawām-ul-mulk and his troops and made martyrs of them; p. 275; was captured and brought to Maḥmūd Shāh; was made over to Muḥāfiẓ Khān to recover his health; was urged by Maḥmūd Shāh to accept Islām; refused and was executed, p. 276.

Bāyazīd, Jām, joined Sulṭān Ḥusain, p. 795; his love of learned men, p. 796; his engagement with Sulṭān Ḥusain, p. 799; seized 'Imād-ul-mulk Tawalak; his appointment as *vāzīr*; raised Maḥmūd to the throne of Multān, p. 800; disposition of Sulṭān Maḥmūd towards him; his order for the punishment of the turbulent men of Multān, p. 801; sent his son to Shōr; defeated the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; his petition to Sulṭān Sikandar, p. 802; peace with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, p. 803; granted favours to Mīr Jākar Zand; his invitation to Maulānā 'Azīz-ullah, p. 804.

Bāyazīd Saikhā, Malik, was sent with a message to Maḥmūd Khān, p. 494; his suggestion to the *amīrs* to deal with Maḥmūd Khān, p. 495.

Bāz Bahādur, son of Shujā' Khān, Sulṭān of Mālwa, took possession of his father's property, p. 628; sent his mother to Daulat Khān; distribution among the heirs of Shujā' Khān, treacherously slew Daulat Khān; took possession of Mālwa; declared himself as the Sulṭān with the title of Bāz Bahādur Shāh; advanced towards Rāīsīn; defeated Malik Muṣṭafā; advanced towards Kadrūlā, p. 629; took possession of Kadrūlā; invaded Katinkah but was defeated; occupied himself in pleasure and enjoyment, p. 630; was defeated by the servants of Akbar; his character; period of reign; went to Gujrāt, p. 631; went to the Rānā of the fort of Kōnbhalmīr; was enrolled in the band of Akbar's servants; his death, p. 632.

Bhāgmatī, she was loved by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb-ul-mulk, p. 171.

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Bhagwān Dās, Rāja, was sent to invade Kashmīr, p. 760; made peaceful settlement with the Kashmīrīs, p. 761.

Bhā'ī Khān, p. 153; his resolve; his proclamation; was put to death, p. 154.

Bhareu, p. 136 (and *see* also *n.* 2, p. 136).

Bhawānīdās, son of Shevdās, brought his daughter as a tribute to Nāṣir-ud-dīn, p. 570.

Bherōdās, took a letter to Bihjat Khān, p. 589; reported all the talk of Bihjat Khān to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 590.

Bhīkam Ādam Khān Afghān, p. 190; attended on Aḥmad Shāh and was received with favour, p. 191; revolted against Aḥmad Shāh, p. 194.

Bhīm, p. 481.

Bhīm, Rāy, fought with Laṭīf Khān, p. 341.

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Ḥājī 'Alī, Malik, Tāj Khān and Manṣūr Khān fought with him, p. 504.

Ḥājī Kamāl, Malik-ul-umarā, government of Chandērī was transferred from Naṣrat Khān to him, p. 501; rebellion in his country, p. 503.

Ḥājī Kashmīrī, Khwājah, was nominated to crush the rebel Bahrām Chak, p. 709; went to the spot where Mīrzā Ḥaidar was lying wounded, p. 718; one lakh donkey-loads of paddy allotted to him, p. 719; went to Islām Khān, p. 725.

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Ḥājī Khān, son of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, *see* Ḥaidar Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, Sulṭān of Kashmīr.

Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī, was appointed to Dhār, p. 621; informed Shujā' Khān about the advance of Mallū Khān, p. 623.

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Ḥasan, Malik, was given the title of Ṣafdar-ul-mulk by Aḥmad Shāh and was left in Aḥmadnagar, p. 212.

Ḥasan, Malik, was sent by Ghaznin Khān to seize Ẓafar Minjumla, p. 487.

Ḥasan, Saiyid, son of Saiyid Nāṣir, was sent for and entrusted with the reins of authority by Sulṭān Ḥasan;

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Ḥasan, Sulṭān, son of Ḥājī Khān Ḥaidar Shāh, Sulṭān of Kashmīr, his accession, p. 675; residence; entrusted the administration to Aḥmad Aswad; revived the rules of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn; act of mischievous persons, p. 676; sent Malik Tāj Bhat against Bahrām Khān, p. 677; imprisonment of Bahrām Khān and Zain Badr, p. 678; enmity between the *amīrs*; disturbances created by the *amīrs*, p. 680; imprisonment of Aḥmad Aswad; made over the reins of authority to Saiyid Ḥasan; attacked by disease; made will for his heir and successor, p. 681; period of reign, p. 682.

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Ḥasan Chak, went to Haibat Khān Niyāzī, p. 713.

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Ḥasan Khān, son of Kājī Chak, his marriage, p. 721.

Ḥasan Khān, son of Saiyid Mubārak Khān, was slain, p. 753.

Ḥasan Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, p. 38.

Ḥasan Khān Shāhzāda, youngest son of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, was supported by Saif Khān, Mallū Khān and other *amīrs* in taking the throne of Humāyūn Khān; at the time of sitting on the throne he saw Humāyūn Khān coming to the palace; became afraid, p. 75; came down from the throne, p. 76; was taken to the house of one of the conspirators, p. 239.

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Ḥasan Matū, family of Mīrzā Ḥaidar was placed in his house, p. 719.

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Hastī Khān, joined the enemy of Ghazī Khān, p. 731.

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Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, Malik placed Khānzāda 'Ālam Khān on the throne of Asīr and Burhānpūr, p. 283; joined the camp of Maḥmūd Shāh and was honoured by him, p. 284; was given the title of Shahryār and the *mouḍah* of Dhanūra, and was permitted to go back by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 285; left Burhānpūr and resided in Thālnīr; joined Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī in rebellion; came towards Burhānpūr with four thousand horsemen; came with pride to Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; was slain by Daryā Khān, p. 286.

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proposing some conditions made peace with Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī p. 457; was granted favours and title by Sulṭān Hūshang, p. 474; Ghaznīn Khān was placed in his charge by Sulṭān Hūshang; his guarantee for faithfulness to Ghaznīn Khān; his interview with other *sardārs*, p. 485; his reply to Malik 'Uthmān Jalāl, p. 486; informed Ghaznīn Khān about the intention of Ẓafar Minjumla, p. 487; attended on Sulṭān Hūshang during his last illness; sent a reply to Ghaznīn Khān, p. 488; became watchful for the death of Hūshang; his orders, p. 489; declared Ghaznīn Khān as the heir of Sulṭān Hūshang; after rendering homage confirmed the accession of Ghaznīn Khān, p. 490; result of his skill in administration, p. 491; his reply to the suspicions of Sulṭān Muḥammad, p. 493; caused the murder of Sulṭān Muḥammad; sent a reply to Malik Bāyazīd Shaikhā, p. 494; kept his men ready; fought with the *amīrs* and defeated them, p. 495; sent a message to Khān Jahān, p. 496; accession on the throne of Mālwa; description of his reforms and benevolence, p. 497; contributions to education; attempt of Hūshang Shāhī *amīrs* to injure him; wounded some of the conspirators, p. 498; punished the conspirators; excused Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān as well as the others who took part in the conspiracy on the request of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; sent Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Khān Jahān to suppress the rebels of Islāmābād, p. 499; sent out detachments to fight with Sulṭān Aḥmad, p. 501; his generosity towards the poor; summoned some *amīrs* who were hostile to Sulṭān Aḥmad, p. 502; made a night attack on the camp of Sulṭān Aḥmad; held a consultation and its decision, p. 503; sent Tāj Khān and Manṣūr Khān in advance of himself to Sārangpūr; a petition of Malik Isḥāq reached him; arrived at Sārangpūr and conferred favours on Malik Isḥāq and on others, p. 504; defeated and sentenced Shāhzāda 'Umr Khān to death, p. 505; a message from the leaders and commanders of the army of Chandērī; sent an army to crush Malik Sulaimān; arrived at Chandērī and fought with Malik Sulaimān p. 506; captured the citadel of Chandērī; allotted Chandērī as a *jāgīr* to Malik Muẓaffar Ibrāhim, p. 507; relieved the city of Narwar from the siege of Dūngar Sēn and returned to Shādīābād; erected the tomb of Hūshang Shāh and the *Jāma' Masjid* of Hūshang Shāh near the Rām Sarāī gate, p. 508; petitions from the *amīrs* of Mēwāt and the great men of Delhī; advanced towards Delhī; encamped in the village of Panna; Sulṭān Aḥmad took up a position with Tughlaqābād at his rear, p. 509; sent troops against the army of Sulṭān Muḥammad; his dream; agreed to a pacific settlement with Muḥammad Khān and returned to Mālwa, p. 510; his stay and benefactions in Shādīābād; advanced towards Kālpī for the destruction of Naṣīr Shāh, p. 511; accepted the petition of Naṣīr Shāh and turned towards Chitōr; devastated the temples; encamped at Kōnbhalmīr, p. 512; seized the fortifications of the Rājpūts; destruction of the temples and the idols of the Rājpūts, p. 513; seized a fort at the foot of the Chitōr hill; besieged Chitōr; defeated Kōnbhā; sent

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detachments for ravaging Chitōr; summoned Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Khān Jahān to capture the possessions of the Rājpūts; his grief on the death of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; appointed Tāj Khān in the place of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, p. 514; opposed the attack of Kōnbhā and defeated him; returned to Shādīābād; a message from Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī regarding the religious disobedience of Naṣīr, p. 515; gave permission to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī to chastise Naṣīr; request of Naṣīr; sent 'Alī Khan to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī and, p. 516, the latter's reply; advanced to protect Naṣīr, p. 517; after fighting with the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī returned to Fatḥābād; sent Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm to suppress Mubārak Khān, p. 518; peace with Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī; establishment of a hospital; advanced to capture the fort of Mandalgarh, p. 519; agreed to a peace with the Rājpūts and returned to his own dominions; conferred favours on Saiyid Muḥammad Khān; captured the town of Alhanpūr, p. 520; took tribute from the Rāja of Kōtah and returned to Shādīābād; request of Gangdās; advanced to help Gangdās, p. 521; besieged the town of Sulṭānpūr; granted rank and title to Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn; his grief on the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, p. 522; ravaged the town of Barōda; fight with Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn and its result, p. 523; appointed Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn to raid the town of Sūrat; made peace with Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, p. 525; punished the Rājpūts of Mahōlī; changed hostility between Yūsuf Khān Hindaunī and the governor of Biyāna into friendship; left the government of the fort of Rantambhōr and Hārautī in the charge of Qadam Khān; besieged Māhūr but fled, p. 526; turned Mubārak Khān out of Baklāna; sent Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn to put down Mubārak Khān; advaned towards Chitōr, p. 527; appointed Manṣūr-ul-mulk to destroy Mandisōr; took tribute from Kōnbhā and turned towards Shādīābād; his advance towards Mandisōr; his sudden advance towards Ajmīr, p. 528; gave up the idea of conquering the fort of Mandalgarh and returned to Shādīābād, p. 529; captured the fort of Mandalgarh, p. 530; sent Shāhzāda Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn to raid Kīlwārah and Dīlwārah; nominated Shāhzāda Qadam Khān and Tāj Khān to capture the fort of Būndī; appointed Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn and Qadam Khān to raid the countries of Kīlwārah and Dīlwārah; encamped in the vicinity of Kōnbhalmīr, p. 532; took tribute from the Rāja of Dūngarpūr; returned to Shādīābād; marched towards Asīr, p. 533; forgave 'Ādil Khān's offences; march against Niẓām Shāh, p. 534; after defeat by Niẓām Shāh retreated to his own territory, p. 535; sent Maqbūl Khān with an army to suppress the disturbances in the fort of Kehrla; advanced towards Daulatābād, p. 536; having raided some villages of Mālkōnda returned to Shādīābād; sent Maqbūl Khān to plunder Elichpūr, p. 537; treaty with the ruler of the Deccan, p. 538; received Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn with respect; welcomed the arrival of Maulānā 'Imād-ud-dīn, p. 539; sent Tāj Khān and Aḥmad Khān to put down Maqbūl Khān; started towards Maḥmūdābād; appointed Malik Dāūd to chastise the tribe

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which had given shelter to the Rāyzāda, p. 540; accepted the presents of Mīrzā Abū Sa'īd and sent various gifts in return; planned the erection of the fortress of Jalālpūr and placed Mīrzā Khān in charge of it, p. 541; agreement with Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī; his death and period of reign, pp. 251, 542.

Maḥmūd Khān, p. 198; was nominated to proceed to the country of Sōrath by Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī; recovered tribute from the *zamīndārs* of Sōrath, p. 199.

Maḥmūd Khān, commander of Abdāl Mākrī, p. 696; his representation to Mīrzā Kāmrān, p. 700.

Maḥmūd Khān, Shāhzāda, country of Māhūr was conferred on him by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī, p. 48.

Maḥmūd Khiḍr, Malik, went in pursuit of the conspirators, p. 498.

Maḥmūd *Kōtwāl*, Malik, p. 554; was killed by Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, p. 555.

Maḥmūd Na'mān, Shaikh, took a man to Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, pp. 548-49,

Maḥmūd Nāmī, Malik, 'Umdat-ul-mulk, was sent by Ghaznīn Khān to wait on Maḥmūd Khān, p. 484; was sent a second time to wait on Maḥmūd Khān, p. 485; told the news of Maḥmūd Khān to Ghaznīn Khān, p. 487; was sent to Maḥmūd Khān with the message of Ghaznīn Khān. p. 488; took the message of Maḥmūd Khān to Ghaznin Khān, p. 489.

Maḥmūd Shāh, Sulṭān of Bangāla, succeeded his father, p. 440 (and *see* note 1, p. 440); his martyrdom; period of reign, p. 441.

Maḥmūd Shāh Sulṭān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī, succeeded his father; proved unfit for the throne; dethronement; time of reign, p. 459.

Maḥmūd Shāh, Sulṭān, Gujrātī, son of Muḥammad Shāh; sent a letter to Maḥmūd Shah Bahmanī giving an account of the treachery of Bahādur Gīlānī, p. 118; his flight from Amīr Taimūr, p. 181; date of accession to the throne of Gujrāt, p. 237; attitude towards his people; plot to cause disturbance, p. 238; ordered that the creators of disturbance be arrested; end of the conspirators; suppression of disturbances, pp. 239–242; marched in the direction of Kaparbanj; regulated the administration of the *thānas* and of the *parganas*; started from Aḥmadābād; encamped on the bank of the river Khārī; letter from Niẓām Shāh for assistance; advanced to help Niẓām Shāh against Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, pp. 90, 92 and 243; directed attention towards the Deccan; advanced into the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr; encamped in the neighbourhood of Tālnīr; army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī suffered hardships, p. 244; returned to Aḥmadābād; Jāgīrs of the soldiers of Gujrāt; the march towards the Deccan made Mahmūd Khaljī fly after ravaging the neighbourhood of Daulatābād; turned back to Aḥmadābād accepting the presents of Niẓām Shāh; warning to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 245; report about the infliction of the Zamindārs of Bāwar and of the fort of Dūn; punished and defeated the rebellious chiefs, p. 246; returned with success to Aḥmadābād; Bahā'-ul-mulk killed Ādam Silāḥadār, p. 248; execution of 'Imād-ul-mulk and 'Aḍd-ul-mulk; Malik Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk was made 'Imād-ul-mulk; marched to conquer the fort of Karnāl, p. 248; on the way to

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Jūnāgarh ravaged the country of Sōrath; arrived near the hill of Karnāl, p. 249; defeated the Rājpūts; ravaged the surrounding country; besieged the fort of Karnāl; Rāy Mandalīk asked for pardon; went back to Aḥmadābād; appointed soldiers to punish Rāy Mandalīk, p. 250; Rāy Mandalīk was defeated by the soldiers of the Sulṭān and paid a tribute, p. 251; rejected the counsel of the *amīrs* in connection of the conquest of Mālwa on receiving the news of the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khalji; sent armies to plunder Sōrath; was wounded by an elephant, p. 252; advanced to conquer the fort of Jūnāgarh and the hill of Karnāl; distribution of five *krors* of gold among the soldiers; sent troops in every direction to plunder the country; determination for the upliftment of Islam in Jūnāgarh, p. 253; fight with Rājpūts for the fort of Jūnāgarh; surrendered the fort of Jūnāgarh; besieged the hill of Karnāl, p. 254; Rāy Mandalīk became humble and surrendered the hill of Karnāl to the Sulṭān; Rāy Mandalīk was converted to Islām and received the title of Khān Jahān; foundation of the city of Muṣṭafā-ābād, p. 255; gave up the idea of conquering Chāmpānīr marched against the country of Kach, p. 257; accepted the excuses of the people of Kach; marched towards Sind, p. 258; possession of Sind, p. 259; marched towards Jagat to release the Musalmāns from the oppressions of the *Kāfirs*; arrived at Jagat, p. 260; ravaged the temple of Jagat; started for the island of Beyt; captured the citadel of Beyt; Rāy Bhīm fled; entered the city of Beyt; released all the Musalmāns from prison; left Malik Tūghān as the *thānadār* of Beyt; returned to Muṣṭafā-ābād, p. 261; Rāy Bhīm was arrested and brought to the Sulṭān; sentenced Rāy Bhīm to death; started towards the fort of Chāmpānīr, p. 262; sailed to punish the Malābārīs; arrived at the port of Kanbāyat; attacked Chāmpānīr; returned to Aḥmadābād; despatched his *amīrs* to the *thānas* of various countries, p. 263; appointment of *vazīr* and engagement with the administration; conspiracy of Khudāwand Khān with Rāy Rāyān, p. 264; effort of Rāy Rāyān to include 'Imād-ul-mulk in the conspiracy; confidential activities of 'Imād-ul-mulk against the conspiracy, p. 265; failure of the conspiracy; a rumour in Muṣṭafā-ābād, p. 266; investigation about the rumour; made a plan to deceive his opponents and his activities according to the plan, pp. 267–269; 'Imād-ul-mulk disclosed the story of conspiracy; punishment of Khudāwand Khān; went to Nahrwāla; sent 'Imād-ul-mulk to conquer Jālōr and Sājōr; Mujāhid Khān murdered Qaiṣar Khān, p. 270; punishment of the murderer of Qaiṣar Khān; favours for the family of 'Imād-ul-mulk after the latter's death; famine in Gujrāt, p. 271; Rāy Batāī defeated and killed Malik Sadhā; marched towards Chāmpānīr; Rāja of Chāmpānīr submitted for the pardon of his offences which was not granted; encamped in the village of Karnārī, p. 272; conflicting attitude of the Rājpūts; siege of the fort of Chāmpānīr; petition of apology from Rāy Batāī to the Sulṭān; Rāy Batāī asked Sulṭān

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Ghiyāth-ud-dīn for help, p. 273; after consulting the learned men Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn gave up the idea of helping Rāy Batāī; measures and activities for the conquest of the fort of Chāmpānīr; conquest of the fort of Chāmpānīr, pp. 274–276; gave the name of Muḥammadābād to Chāmpānīr; execution of Rāy Batāī and Dūngarsī; order for the construction of citadel, palaces, and gardens in Chāmpānīr, p. 276; jāgīr for Khalīl Khān Shāhzāda, p. 277; a *farmān* to the Rāja of Ābū in regard to the merchants who were looted by him; news about the disobedience of Bahādūr Gīlānī, p. 278; sent Malik Qawām-ul-mulk to punish Bahādūr Gīlānī; Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī marched from Bīdar, defeated, and slew Bahādūr Gilānī; marched towards Mahrāṣa; flight of Alf Khān; sent Sharf-i-Jahān to reassure Alf Khān, p. 279; sent Qāḍī Pīr Isḥāq to reinforce Malik Shaikhā; Alf Khān fought with Qāḍī Pīr Isḥāq; on the request Alf Khān was excused; owing to the murder of *nāib-i-'arḍ* Alf Khān was imprisoned and he died, p. 280; on arrival of the Sulṭān 'Ādil Khān Fārūqī paid tribute and was pardoned, p. 281; postponed his march towards Mālwa; after hearing the victory of his slave Āyāz over the *Firangīs* returned from Dūn to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr, p. 282; agreed to bestow the dominions of Asīr and Burhānpūr on 'Ādil Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān; marched towards Asīr and Burhānpūr; heard of the activities of Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl, p. 283; advanced to Thālnīr; sent Āṣaf Khān, and Malik 'Azīz-ul-mulk to punish Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn and 'Ālam Khān; bestowed the government of Asīr and Burhānpūr on 'Ādil Khān, p. 284; marched towards Sulṭānpūr Nadarbār, p. 285; after hearing of the homicidal accounts of his subordinates he ordered destruction of those who did not observe the rights of salt; a petition from Ā'ẓam Humāyūn detailing the hostile account of Shēr Khān and Saif Khān and his siege of the fort of Asīr, p. 287; grant of money to Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; assurance of royal aid in case of necessity to Ā'ẓam Humāyūn; request of Niẓām-ul-mulk Bahrī for 'Ālam Khānzāda, p. 288; reply to Niẓām-ul-mulk; Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī of Delhī sent presents to the Sulṭān; travelled towards Nahrwāla, p. 289; paid a visit to the tombs of *sufis*; summoned Shāhzāda Muẓaffar Khān; became ill, p. 290; died; period of reign; titles after death, p. 291; came as a suppliant to Naṣīb Shāh, p. 444; bestowed the title of Sulṭān-ush-sharq on Malik Sarwar and conferred on him the government of Jaunpūr, p. 447; joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm but was not honoured by the latter; went to Kanauj; removed the *thānadār* of Kanauj; possessed Kanauj, p. 450; opposed Mallū Khān bravely; came and sat on the throne of Delhī; marched to engage Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, p. 451; made over the government of Sanbal to Asad Khān Lūdī and returned to Delhī, p. 452.

Maḥmūd Shāh, Sulṭān of Gujrāt, p. 383, son of Laṭīf Khān, son of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh sent Maḥmūd Khān to Gujrāt; was placed on the throne of Gujrāt with the title, p. 384, of Maḥmūd Shāh;

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Daryā Khān took the Sulṭān to Chāmpānīr, p. 385; 'Imād-ul-mulk advanced against the Sulṭān; advanced towards the country of Sōrath to crush 'Imād-ul-mulk; advanced towards Burhānpūr in pursuit of 'Imād-ul-mulk; Mīrān Mubārak was defeated; Daryā Khān's administration and his actions as the *bādshāh*, p. 386; came out of the fort of Aḥmadābād and went to 'Ālam Khān Lūdī; 'Ālam Khān Lūdī helped the Sulṭān; march of Daryā Khān towards Dūlqa; fight between 'Ālam Khān and Daryā Khān and the defeat of the latter, p. 387; departure of messengers to bring Sulṭān Maḥmūd; arrived at Aḥmadābād and flight of Daryā Khān to Shēr Khān Afghān, p. 388; set himself to manage the government; favourable treatment for his men; how Burhān murdered the Sulṭān and others, p. 389; proclamation that Burhān was the heir to the throne; murder of Burhān; period of reign, p. 391; character of the Sulṭān, p. 392; his constructive works and peculair tastes; abolished the improper customs of Gujrāt, p. 393.

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Malka-i-Jahān, mother of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn Maḥmūd, p. 112.

Malkah-i-Jahān, wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī, instigated Sulṭān Ḥusain for the conquest of Delhī, p. 460; was seized by the men of Sulṭān Bahlūl who sent her to Sulṭān Ḥusain; induced Sulṭān Ḥusain to fight with Sulṭān Bahlūl, p. 461.

Mallū Iqbāl Khān, advanced towards Jaunpūr, p. 448; on the way arrived at Kanauj; again advanced towards Kanauj; took Sulṭān Maḥmūd with him, p. 449; ran away from his own camp, and joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, p. 450; went to Jaunpūr and Delhī, leaving Kanauj to Sulṭān Maḥmūd; again came to besiege Kanauj; returned unsuccessful to Delhī; was slain by Khiḍr Khān, p. 451.

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Mallū Khān, brother of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, request to Asa'd Khān, p. 161; was made Sulṭān by Asa'd Khān; was arrested by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān and blinded, p. 162.

Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, *see* Mallū Khān, Qādir Shāh, Sulṭān of Mālwa.

Mallū Khān, Qādir Shāh, Sulṭān of Mālwa, was appointed as the defendant of the fort of Bīdar by Malkah-i-Jahān, pp. 89, 535; was given Sārangpūr by Sulṭān Bahādur, pp. 358, 616; gave protection to 'Imād-ul-mulk, p. 386; was appointed by Nāṣir-ud-dīn to defeat Shēr Khān, p. 567; gave himself the title of Qādir Shāh; took the town of Bhīlsā in the vicinity of the Narbada river into his possession; Bhūpat Rāy and Pūran Mal took possession of the fort of Rāīsīn; development of his power; a *farmān* from Shēr Khān of Bengal, p. 617; reply to Shēr Khān; representation of Saif Khān Dehlavī; his reply to Saif Khān, p. 618; period of his occupation of Mālwa; advice of Saif Khān; his submission to Shēr Khān; in favour with Shēr Khān, p. 619; brought his family to Ujjain; his flight from Shēr Khān; period of reign, p. 620.

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Manhī Khān, was sent with a message to Nāṣir-ud-dīn by Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, p. 556.

Mānik Dēv, Rāja of Jammū; was reinforced by Ādam Khān, p. 674.

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Manṣūr Khān, informed Sulṭān Aḥmad of the advance of Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 504; reply of Mēdinī Rāy; joined Bihjat Khān, p. 588; proclaimed Ṣāḥib Khān as the Sulṭān, p. 592; his agent plundered the army of Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 593.

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Marjān, Malik, was sent with presents to Sulṭān Baḥādur of Gujrāt by Naṣīb Shāh, p. 444; joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, p. 451.

Masa'ūd Khān, fled from Mālwa and came to Aḥmad Shāh for protection, p. 222.

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Mashīr-ul-mulk, Malik, placed Shāhzāda Mas'ūd Khān on the throne of Mālwa, p. 494; was given the title of Niẓām-ul-mulk and the post of *vazārat* by Muḥmūd Khaljī, p. 497; went in pursuit of the conspirators, p. 498; was sent to reconnoitre the roads, p. 505; his hostility, p. 525; was sent by Maḥmūd Khaljī to the Deccan for confirmation of peace, p. 538.

Mas'ūd, was killed by Shēr, p. 660.

Maṣ'ūd, son of Malik Kājī, attacked Iskandar Khān and was slain, p. 694.

Mas'ūd Khān, Shāhzāda, was placed on the throne of Mālwa by the efforts of *amīrs* and *sardārs*, p. 494; took sanctuary with Shaikh Jāildah, p. 495; was sent by Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī to conquer Mālwa, p. 501; Sulṭān Aḥmad promised to recover Mālwa for him next year, p. 506.

Mas'ūd Nāyak, Khwājah, defeated Sankar, p. 741; slew Bahādur Khān; seized Khān Zamān; bestowal of the title of Ḥusain Khān on him, p. 744; his imprisonment, p. 745.

Mawadab Khān, fort of Shādīābād under his control, p. 583.

Mēdinī Rāy, hearing of the advance of Muẓaffar Shāh proceeded to Dhār; went to Rānā Sānkā to beg for help; sent a letter to Rāy Pithōrā giving an account of his preparations, p. 303; brought Rānā Sānkā to aid Bhīm Karan Pūrabīa, p. 307; was sent to Silhadī with a message by Rānā Sānkā, p. 315; joined Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 583; wounded Ṣāḥib Khān, p. 585; his false representation to Maḥmūd Shāh against the Amīrs, p. 587; was made *vazīr*; his reply to Manṣūr Khān; was sent to put down Sikandar Khān, p. 588; his wicked instigation of Maḥmūd Shāh and its results, p. 596; his advice to the Rājpūts in connection with rebellion, p. 597; his submission to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 598; was wounded by a servant of Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 599; suppressed the tumult of the Rājpūts; sent a petition to Maḥmūd Shāh and was reappointed to his post, p. 600; went to Chitōr to bring Rānā Sānkā, p. 602; request to Rānā Sānkā, p. 606.

Mīrak Haravī, Khwājah, minister of Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh, p. 145; was given the title of Chengīz Khān; conquered Berār and annexed it to the territories of Murtāḍa Niẓām

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Shāh; his death, p. 146 (and *see* note 2, p. 146).

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Mīrān, Saiyid, placed the imperial crown on the head of Nanū, p. 397; possessed Dūlqa and Dandūka, p. 398.

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Mīrān Khān, bestowal of Sulṭān Sikandar on him, p. 649.

Mīrzā Khān, nephew of Kishwar Khān, in the administration of Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk; envy of the *amīrs* of the Deccan, p. 151; invitation to a feast; had an interview with Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk and requested him to keep the sick Saiyid in the fort; imprisoned Ḥusain Niẓām-ul-mulk, p. 152; imprisoned Ankas Khān; released Ismā'īl; his fight, p. 153; his decision; proclamation; tried for peace; flight; was sentenced to death by Jamāl Khān, p. 154.

Mīrzā Khān, Jalālpūr was placed under his charge by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 541.

Miyān, Malik, was asked by 'Imād-ul-mulk to have an interview with him, p. 265.

Miyān Bāyazīd, son of Shujā' Khān, was entrusted with the government of Hāndiyah and Rāīsīn by Shujā' Khan, p. 628.

Miyān Jīw, was nominated to crush Yakān Khān by Nāṣir-ud-dīn, p. 560.

Miyān Manjhla, was appointed as the heir of Nāṣir-ud-dīn with the title of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn; his residence, p. 564; his rebellion, p. 570; fought but was defeated and fled; his father's instructions, p. 571; attempted to enter Naṣratābād, p. 574; retired despondent towards Kandāsah, p. 575; his death, p. 580.

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Mubārak Ghāzī, Malik; went to wait on Maḥmūd Khān, p. 485; told 'Umdat-ul-mulk to inform Ghaznīn Khān about the idea of Maḥmūd Khān, p. 487.

Mubārak Khān, joined Nāṣir-ud-dīn, p. 559; was sent to conquer the fort of Mandū, p. 563; was sent to reassure Shēr Khān, p. 565; was made over to the men of Shēr Khān, p. 566; attacked and killed Sulṭān Muḥammad, p. 778.

Mubārak Khān, ruler of Asīr, invaded the country of Baklāna but was defeated by Muḥmūd Khaljī, p. 527.

Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān, was seized by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, p. 517; complained of his tyranny to Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 518.

Mubārak Khān, Saiyid, took a message to Abdāl Khān, p. 752; his report to Yūsuf Khān; his revolt, p. 753; after the defeat of Yūsuf Khān sat on the throne; fight with Yūsuf Khān; his letter to Yūsuf Khān, p. 754; went to the *Khānqāh* of Bābā Khalīl, p. 755.

Mubārak Khān Sarwānī, released Shujā, Khān, p. 622.

Mubārak Shāh, Mīrān, helped 'Imād-ul-mulk; fought with the Gujrāt army but was defeated; rendered homage to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, p. 386.

Mubārak Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Khiḍr Khān, intended to conquer Jaunpūr, p. 453; marched to aid the Rāy of

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Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, succeeded Sulṭān-ush-Sharq, p. 448; collected an army to oppose Mallū Iqbāl Khān; both retired without an engagement to their countries; on hearing of the advance of Mallū Iqbāl Khān he again began to collect an army; his death; period of reign, p. 449.

Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī, conferred the country of Mālwa on Shujā' Khān, p. 628.

Mubāriz-ul-mulk, Malik, was appointed to the government of Īdar by Muẓaffar Shāh; heard about the bravery of Rānā Sānkā from a bard; gave the name of Rānā Sānkā to a dog and kept it tied up at the gate of Īdar, p. 307; sent an account to Muẓaffar Shāh about the violence of Rānā Sānkā; was condemned by the *vazīrs* of Muẓaffar Shāh, p. 308; instead of fighting with Rānā Sānkā, he, according to the advice of the *sardārs* came to Aḥmadnagar; advice of a bard to him; his reply to the bard; his fight with Rānā Sānkā in which he was wounded, p. 309; retired to Aḥmadābād, p. 310; came with an army to Aḥmadnagar to bury the martyrs; was attacked by the *kōlīs* and the *qrāssias* but was victorious, p. 311; advanced to fight with Rānā Sānkā, p. 316.

Mufarraḥ Pidar Ḥabshī, was sentenced to death, p. 564.

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Muḥāfiẓ Khān, *Khwājah Sarā*, did not allow Shihāb-ud-dīn to enter the gates of Naṣratābād, p. 574; his report to Maḥmūd Shāh against the *amīrs*, p. 578; instigated Maḥmūd Shāh to seize Mukhtaṣ Khān and Iqbāl Khān, p. 579; was given a rank and title, p. 580; his victorious revolt; placed Shāhzāda Ṣāḥib Khān on the throne of Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 582; his flight from Shahrāī, p. 584; his defeat and flight, p. 586; his fatal defeat, p. 594.

Muḥāfiẓ Khān Jadīd, was sentenced to death, p. 564.

Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ḥasan, his education was entrusted to Malik Yārī Bhat, p. 680.

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Muḥammad, Malik, son of Aḥmad Ṣilāḥ, was summoned by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 502.

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Muḥammad Gīsū-darāz, Amīr Saiyyad, a great Sūfī of the time, and the disciple of Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Dāūdī, came from Delhī; Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh welcomed him; his holiness the Saiyyad settled down at Gulbarga, p. 37; the Saiyyad informed Fīrūz Shāh that Khān Khānān Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān was destined to succeed him instead of his son Ḥasan Khān, p. 38.

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Muḥammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Dakinī, was made over to Shāhzāda 'Alā-ud-dīn by Aḥmad Shāh, p. 48 (and *see* note 2 on p. 48); was sent by Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn to conquer Bījānagar, p. 58 (and *see* note 1 on p. 58); put the innocent Malik 'Imād-ul-mulk to death; was defeated by 'Alā-ud-dīn; fled in disgrace, p. 59; received *farmān* of 'Alā-ud-dīn; went to Rāijūr and retired there, p. 60.

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Muḥammad Khān Asīrī, waited upon Sulṭān Bahādur at Sambla, p. 351; was posted to the west of the battery of Shāhpūr, p. 353; was sent by Sulṭān Bahādur for the chastisement of Bhūpat and Rānā, p. 362; arrived in the vicinity of Kahrār and informed Sulṭān Bahādur about the enemy in that place, p. 363; was appointed to capture the fort of Kākrūn by Sulṭān Bahādur, p. 367.

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Muḥammad Khān Mākrī, son of Abdāl Mākrī, his marriage, p. 721; was granted a fief by Ḥusain Khān; his plans against Ḥusain Khān, p. 741; his imprisonment, p. 742; was blinded, p. 744.

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Muḥammad Mākrī, fought with Kishtwārā army as the commander of Mīrzā Ḥaidar's troop, p. 711; was slain with his son, p. 712.

Muḥammad Naẓr, Rājaurī was made over to him by Mīrzā Ḥaidar, p. 712; his imprisonment, p. 715; his release, p. 722.

Muḥammad Qāsim, 'Imād-ud-dīn, was sent to conquer Sind, p. 764; his victories, p. 765; defeated Bachhrā, p. 766; his fight with Rāy Dāhir, p. 767; conquest of Rāwar, p. 770; account of his death, p. 771.

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Muḥammad Ṣadūr, was killed by Ḥaidar Chak, p. 736.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil, went as an ambassador to Yūsuf Khān, p. 758.

Muḥammad Samarqandī, Maulānā, p. 259; narrated his story to Maḥmūd Shāh of having been looted; was treated kindly, sent to Aḥmadābād, and helped financially by Maḥmūd Shāh; was assured and consoled by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 260; was sent for by the order of Maḥmud Shāh from Aḥmadābād, p. 262.

Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, ascended the throne of Dakin;

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gave himself the title of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī, enlisted a thousand Turkī slaves among his servants; granted, p. 93, Kāwīl to 'Imād-ul-mulk, Junīr to Niẓām-ul-mulk, and Māhūr to Khudāwand Khān as *Jāgīrs*, p. 94; appointed Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk to conquer the fort of Kehrla, p. 95; sent Malik-ut-tujjār to conquer the territory of the Rāy of Sonkar and Kokan, p. 97; Rāy of Sonkar surrendered the fort of Kaikanīa to Malik-ut-tujjār, p. 98; conferred the title of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Khwājah Jahān on Malik-ut-tujjār, p. 99; sent 'Ādil Khān to capture the fort of Birākar; conferred that territory on 'Ādil Khān as *Jāgīr*, p. 100; Malik-ut-tujjār Khwājah Jahān reported about the rebellion of Birkāna Rāy; besieged the fort of Birkāna, p. 101; the Rāy offered allegiance, excused the Rāy; entrusted the country of the Rāy to Khwājah Jahān and returned to the capital; the Rāy of Orissa, p. 102, plundered and devastated part of the Deccan and retired to his country; sent Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk to punish the Rāy of Orissa; instead of going, p. 103, towards Orissa Niẓām-ul-mulk went towards Zīrbād; marched and arrived near Rājmundrī; left Khwājah Jahān in attendance on the Shāhzāda went to Rājmundrī; arrived on the bank of the river; nominated Daryā Khān to pursue the Rāy of Orissa; encamped around the fort of Rājmundrī; Rāy Mān asked for protection and surrendered the fort; confirmed Rāy Mān in the possession of the fort and its neighbourhood; returned to the capital, p. 104; started for Tilang; besieged the fort of Kandār; *thānadār* of Kandār became loyal and surrendered the fort; advanced to the ports of Narsingh Rāy; took tribute from the Rāy and retired to his capital; ordered erection of a fort for *thānadārs*; *vazīrs* reported about Kānjī, p. 105; arrived at Kānjī; the soldiers ravaged Kānjī; returned to the capital; heard a rumor against Khwājah Jahān, p. 106; the enemies of Khwājah Jahān proved the rumor by a forged letter; without asking explanation the Khwājah was put to death, p. 107; fel ill and died; period of reign, p. 109.

Muḥammad Shāh, son of Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī, Sulṭān of Mālwa, helped Naṣīr in besieging the fort of Tālnīr, p. 198; on the arrival of Aḥmad Shāh's army retired to his country, p. 199; killed the elephant of Aḥmad Shāh's army, p. 200; treatment of his brother, p. 481; was declared as the heir of Sulṭān Hūshang, p. 483; sent a message to Maḥmūd Khān, p. 484; having heard about the intention of the *amīrs*, sent another message to Maḥmūd Khān, p. 485; fled to Kākrūn; sent a message to Maḥmūd Khān; wrote a letter to Malik Mughīth, p. 488; enshrouded the corpse of Sulṭān Hūshang by the order of Maḥmūd Khān and was proclaimed as the successor of Sulṭān Hūshang; confirmation of his accession, p. 490; succeeded his father by the exertions of Malik Mughīth and Maḥmūd Khān and received the title of Muḥammad Shāh; conferred the title of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khān Jahān on, p. 491, Malik Mughīth and kept him in the rank of *vazīr*; shed much unrighteous blood which caused the downfall of his empire; the Rājpūts revolted against him; nominated Khān Jahān to punish the

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Rājpūts, p. 492; had a conversation with Maḥmūd Khān about the conspiracy of which he had heard, p. 493; he was killed by being poisoned, p. 494.

Muḥammad Shāh, Ghiyās-ud-dunyā-wad-dīn, Gujrātī, succeeded his father; description of the day of coronation; known as *Zar-bakhsh*; had a son born to him, p. 223; advanced to Idar to devastate it; Rāy Har offered his daughter in the shape of tribute; gave the fort of Idar to Har Rāy; advanced towards Bākur; Ganēsā, the Rāja of Dūngarpūr, did homage to the Sulṭān; returned to Aḥmadābād, p. 224; advanced to conquer the fort of Chāmpānīr; Rāy Kank Dās fought with the Sulṭān but fled and re-entered the fort, p. 225; retired towards Aḥmadābād; stopped in Kothrah; collected reinforcements; death; period of reign; title after death, p. 226.

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Muḥammad Shāh, Mīrān, son of Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, advanced to defeat Chengīz Khān, p. 402; pursued Chengīz Khān as far as Nadarbār, p. 403; advanced to conquer the kingdom of Gujrāt but was defeated by Chengīz Khān, p. 405.

Muḥammad Shāh, Sulṭān, son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ḥasan Shāh, succeeded his father; assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, p. 11; advanced towards Bilampatan; seized and annexed many villages and towns, p. 13; the Rāy of Bilampatan shut the gates of the fort; conquest of the fort of Bilampatan; returned to Gulbarga, p. 14; news of the rapid advance of and seizure of the Rāy of Bījānagar, p. 15; advanced to punish the Rāy of Bījānagar; the Rāy fled and took shelter in a fort; besieged the fort; fought with the Rāy; and he returned after success to Gulbarga; the rebellion of Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy, p. 16, brought him to Deogarh; Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy went to Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, p. 17; visited Rukn-ud-din at Daulatābād; excused Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy on the recommendation of Rukn-ud-dīn; Bahrām Khān and Govind Rāy went away to Gujrāt; made arrangements at Deogarh; returned to Gulbarga; pleased his subjects; account of death, p. 18; period of reign, p. 19; and *see* note 2, p. 18.

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Muḥammad Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh, Sulṭān of Kashmīr, attained to sovereignty; disputes between the Saiyids and the Kashmīrīs, p. 682; banished Saiyid 'Alī Khān and other Saiyids from Kashmīr; efforts of Fatḥ Khān to regain his ancestral dominions, p. 686; fight with Fatḥ Khān and the latter's defeat; invasions of Fatḥ Khān, p. 687; was imprisoned by Fatḥ Khān; period of reign; treatment of Fatḥ Khān, p. 689; was released and escaped,

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Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, Sulṭān, various kinds of disturbances in his kingdom and their causes, p. 1; rebellion of *amīrs Sadhā*; advanced towards Gujrāt in order to suppress the rebellion; sent Malik Lājin to summon the *amīrs* of hundreds of Daulatābād; *amīrs* of hundreds slew Malik Lājin and seized all the property of Dārāgarh, p. 2; could not suppress 'Alā-ud-dīn; died 796 A.H. in the neighbourhood of Thatha, pp. 3, 177; hearing the news of the sovereignty of Ismā'īl Fatḥ marched from Bahrōj to put him down; fought with the rebels and defeated them; halted at Dārāgarh; nominated 'Imād-ul-mulk for overthrowing Ḥasan; left some *amīrs* for protecting the fort of Dārāgarh; marched towards Gujrāt, p. 9; at first wanted to overthrow Taghī, p. 10; conferred the fief of Gujrāt on Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān, p. 173; the titles which were written for Ẓafar Khān, p. 174.

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Muḥib-ul-mulk, was sent by Sulṭān Bahādur to bring Laṭīf Khān, p. 341.

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Muḥsin, was appointed as the governor of great Tibet by Mīrzā Ḥaidar, p. 712.

Mu'īn Khān, son of Sikandar Khān of Satwās, was summoned by Maḥmūd Shāh and honours bestowed on him, p. 610; joined Sulṭān Bahādur, p. 611.

Mu'īn-ud-dīn Sanjarī, Khwājah, Ẓafar Khān performed a pilgrimage to his tomb, pp. 179, 321, 528.

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Mujāhid Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandānī, took possession of Nāgōr,

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p. 229; was unable to defeat Rānā Kūmbhā; asked help from Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khāljī, p. 230.

Mujāhid Khān, son of Khudāwand Khān, in concert with Ṣāḥib Khān he murdered Qaiṣar Khān, p. 270; fled with his family, p. 271.

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Mukhliṣ, was sent to the frontier district of Bangāla by Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn, p. 419.

Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk, Malik, was sent by Aḥmad Shāh to punish Naṣīr; captured Nādōt, p. 199; was granted Dīpālpūr Banharīa by Aḥmad Shāh as *jāgīr* p. 205; was ordered by Aḥmad Shāh to attend on Ẓafar Khān with ships collected from all ports; came and waited on Ẓafar Khān with ships from various ports in the neighbourhood of Mahāim, p. 215.

Mukhtaṣ Khān, sent a message to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 577; his flight from his residence, p. 579; sent the corpse of Shihāb-ud-dīn to Shādīābād, p. 580; sent a petition to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 581; joined Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 582; was sent with a large army to Chandērī, p. 590; fled towards Chandērī, p. 592.

Mūkul, Rāna, the Rāja of Dīlwāra, fought with Fīrūz Khān, p. 194; was destroyed by Aḥmad Shāh, p. 220.

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Murtaḍa Niẓām-ul-mulk became enamoured of a prostitute by the name of Fattū; Ismā'īl became the *vakīl* of Niẓām Shāh and put Ṣalābat Khān in prison, p. 149; Ismā'īl and Fattū assumed full power; Mīrzā Khān his *nāyib* made himself the *vakīl* of Murtaḍa; released his son Mīrān Ḥusain, p. 150; death of Murtaḍa and the period of his reign, p. 151.

Murtaḍa Sharwānī, Saiyid, a friend of Mīrzā Khān; his action in a feast; settlement with Mīrzā Khān, p. 152; his duties in the fort, p. 153; his decision; his proclamation; was put to death, p. 154.

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Muwāfiq Khān, joined Nāṣir-ud-dīn, p. 562; was sent to conquer the fort of Mandū, p. 563.

Muẓaffar, Sulṭān of Gujrāt, was raised to the throne, p. 297; distribution of *jāgīrs* among the *amīrs* of Gujrāt, p. 398; attitude of I'tmād Khān towards the Sulṭān and his activities in administration; mutiny of the *amīrs*, p. 399; went and took up his abode in his own palace, p. 410; went to Ulugh Khān at Ghiyāspūr; a letter from I'tmād Khān to Shēr Khān about the Sulṭān, p. 412; Saiyid Ḥāmid rendered homage to the Sulṭān, p. 413; period of reign, p. 414.

Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm, Malik, Malik-ush-sharq, Chandērī was allotted to him in fief by Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 507; defeated Malik Kālū; seized the inhabitants of Rātah; advanced towards Barhār, p. 518.

Muẓaffar Khān, his attack on the army of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn, p. 524.

Muẓaffar Khān, Shāhzāda, came from the town of Barōda and obtained seven *lakhs* of *tankas* towards the expenses of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn from his father, p. 288; was summoned by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 290.

Muẓaffar Shāh, Sulṭān, Gujrātī, succeeded his father; sent the body of his father to the tomb of Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū; distributed wealth among the deserving; conferred honours and titles upon the *amīrs*, p. 292; appointed Malik Rashīd-ul-mulk to the post of *vazīr*; sent the *amīrs* and *vazīr* to welcome Yādgār Bēg Qazlbāsh; favours shown to

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Qazlbāshes; changed the name of Muḥammadābād into Daulatābād; sent Muḥāfiẓ Khān to receive Ṣāḥib Khān, p. 293; entertained Ṣāḥib Khān at Barōda; ordered Qaiṣar Khān to submit an account of the ruler of Mālwa; expressed his wish to Ṣāḥib Khān to recover anyhow the kingdom of Mālwa from Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī and make it over to him, p. 294; intended to punish the Rājpūts who were creating disturbances; went to Aḥmadābād p. 295; advanced to Kōdhrah and collected his troops there; hearing of the defeat of 'Ain-ul-mulk advanced towards Īdar; sent an army to plunder Mahrāsa; devastated Idar, p. 296; granted the request of the Rāja of Īdar; returned to Kōdhrah; bestowed the presents of the Rāja of Idar on 'Ain-ul-mulk; sent Shāhzāda Sikandar Khān to Muḥammadābād as an acting governor; ordered Qaiṣar Khān to possess Dahūd as far as the village of Dēvla, p. 297; advanced towards Dhārāgarh; gave assurance of safety to Harkhūkhā; did not allow his *amīrs* to attack the kingdom of Sulṭān Maḥmūd when the latter had gone to put down the *amīrs* of Chandērī, p. 298; proceeded to Dhār; visited the tombs of Shaikhs; the destruction of Pūrabīas by Niẓām-ul-mulk greatly annoyed him; marched towards Gujrāt, p. 299; appointed Niẓām-ul-mulk to recover the country of Idar and make it over to Bihār Mal; proceeded towards Aḥmadnagar; went to Pattan leaving the title-holders to guard the camp; sent Bihār Mal with Niẓām-ul-mulk; ordered Niẓām-ul-mulk not to prolong the war after recovering Idar, p. 300; celebration of the marriages of Shāhzādas; advanced to visit Idar; after hearing of the murder of Ẓahīr-ul-mulk by Rāy Mal sent *farmān* to Malik Naṣrat-ul-mulk to invade and devastate the country as far as Bījānagar, p. 301; representation from *dārōgha* of Dahūd about the arrival of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī; sent precious gifts to and welcomed Sulṭān Maḥmūd as a *bādshāh*, p. 302; advanced into Mālwa; fought with the Rājpūts near Mandū; besieged Mandū; a message from Rāy Pithōrā to the Sulṭān, p. 303; agreed to the request of Rāy Pithōrā; victorious fight with the Rājpūts of Mandū; general massacre in the fort of Mandū, p. 304; bestowed the fort of Mandū on Sulṭān Maḥmūd; advanced to meet Rānā Sānkā; accepted the invitation of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and went to Mandū with the Shāhzādas, p. 305; visited the palaces and buildings of Mālwa; went back to Dhār; leaving Āṣaf Khān Gujrātī started for Gujrāt; advanced towards Idar to punish Rāy Māl and other disturbers; destroyed the territory of Rāy Māl; came back to Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr, p. 306; went to Īdar for enjoyment; entrusted the government of Īdar to Malik Mubāriz-ul-mulk, p. 307; went to Chāmpānīr leaving Qiwām-ul-mulk at Aḥmadābād for the control of *grāssias*, p. 308; after hearing of the ferocious activities of Rānā Sānkā appointed 'Imād-ul-mulk and Qaiṣar Khān to crush him, p. 311; instructions to 'Imād-ul-mulk and Qaiṣar Khān in connection with their march towards Chitōr; wanted to march to Chitōr but postponed it at the advice of Malik Ayāz Sulṭānī; arrived at Aḥmadnagar, p. 312; sent Malik

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Ayāz and Qawām-ul-mulk to chastise Rānā Sānkā; sent Tāj Khān and Niẓām-ul-mulk Sulṭānī to reinforce the Gujrātī army, p. 313; detailed accounts of the chastisement of Rānā Sānkā, pp. 313–316; advice of Malik Ayāz to Rānā Sānkā; came to Aḥmadābād to advance towards Chitōr, p. 317; forgave the offences of Rānā Sānkā; present of Rānā Sānkā to the Sulṭān; spent some days in Jhālāwār and went to Aḥmadābād; bidding farewell to the son of Rānā Sānkā went to Kaparbhanj; grieved at the death of Malik Ayāz and conferred a *Jāgīr* on his eldest son; rode out from Chāmpānīr to chastise some rebels, p. 318; halted between the towns of Mahrāsa and Harsōl; rebuilt the fort of Mahrāsa and returned towards Aḥmadābād; excessive sadness on the death of a member of his harem; went to Chāmpānīr to refresh himself; request of 'Ālam Khān to the Sulṭān and, p. 319, its fulfilment; went through Chāmpānīr to Idar; delay in fulfilling the expectations of Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān, p. 320; going round his dependencies Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān went towards Delhī; arrival of Bābar Bādshāh to conquer India; fight of Bahādur Khān with the Maghūls, p. 321; hearing of the arrival of Bābar Bādshāh and departure of Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān became sorrowful; ordered Khudāwand Khān to summon Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān; famine in Gujrāt; fell ill, p. 322; hearing of the division of the army enquired about the arrival of Shāhzāda Bahādur Khān; called Sikandar Khān to his presence and gave him some advice; died; period of reign, p. 323.

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Na'mat-ul-lah, Saiyid, Shāh Ḥabīb-ullah's great ancestor, p. 84.

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Naurūz Chak, his house was burnt, p. 716.

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Naẓr, Shāh, his statement about the death of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, p. 717.

Naẓr Be Uzbek, was ordered to support Burhān; joined Burhān, p. 158.

Nāzuk Chak, his escape from Ghazī Khān, p. 730; his rebellion, p. 731; his execution, p. 732.

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Nēkrūz, father of Karshāshab, p. 633.

Niẓām Khān, reinforced Dastūr Khān and attacked Hūshang, p. 581.

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Niẓām Shāh, nephew of Ghaznīn Khān; was blinded by Ghaznīn Khān, p. 492.

Niẓām-ud-dīn, Jām, son of Ṣalāh-ud-dīn, ruler of Sind; account of his government, p. 775.

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Niẓām-ul-mulk, Malik of Gujrāt, p. 192; was sent to Badr 'Alā in order to assure the latter's safety by Aḥmad Shāh; was seized by Badr 'Alā; was released by the people of Aḥmad Shāh, p. 193; was sent to punish Malik Shāh, p. 195; Aḥmad Shāh made him the regent of his kingdom during his absence and ordered him to punish the Rāja of Mandal, p. 199; was sent to hunt in the neighbourhood of Dilāwara; was defeated by the *Pūrabīa* Rājpūts, p. 299; was appointed to recover the country of Īdar; made over Īdar to Bihār Mal;

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Niẓām-ul-mulk, Malik, father of Malik Badeh, was sent to the *thāna* at Kīz by Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 263; requested Maḥmūd Shāh to confer the *thāna* which, belonged to him, on his son and to take him with him for the performance of the *Ḥaj*; was advised by 'Imād-ul-mulk to go alone for pilgrimage on behalf of all; was greatly liked by Maḥmūd Shāh; was sent to the *amīrs* to demand a reply to the Sulṭān's question, p. 269.

Niẓām-ul-mulk, father of Malik-ut-tujjār, governor of Junīr, pp. 74, 75.

Niẓām-ul-mulk, son of Malik Niẓām-ul-mulk, informed Malik Barīd about the ambition of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, p. 133.

Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, a slave of Brahman; was called Baḥrī; his son Aḥmad had the ambition to rule; *vazīrs* of Sulṭān Kalīm-ul-lah made Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī a prisoner and put him to death, p. 136.

Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, ruler of Aḥmadnagar, his death, p. 391.

Niẓām-ul-mulk Baḥrī, ruler of Kāwīl, helped Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Maghūl in placing Khānzāda 'Ālam Khān on the throne of Asīr and Burhānpūr, p. 283; leaving horsemen with 'Ālam Khān and Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn went to Kāwīl, p. 284; stationed near the border of Asīr with 'Ālam Khān with his army, p. 287; presented a petition to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 288.

Niẓām-ul-mulk Dakinī, joined Sulṭān Bahādur and was given the title of Muḥammad Shāh by him, p. 355.

Niẓām-ul-mulk Ghūrī; Humāyūn Shāh sent him to the country of Tilang; went away from the foot of the fort of Tilang, p. 79; fled and joined Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī, p. 80; instigated Maḥmūd Khaljī to invade the Deccan, pp. 87, 533.

Niẓām-ul-mulk Sulṭānī, was sent by Muẓaffar Shāh to join Malik Ayāz, p. 313; was sent with an army to Na'lcha, p. 590.

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Khwājahdār rescued Naṣrat Shāh from Dhār and sent him to Gujrāt; people of Mālwa made Mūsa Khān their leader; released Sulṭān Hūshang from imprisonment; sent Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān to take possession of Mālwa and to deliver it to Sulṭān Hūshang; Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān took possession of Mālwa and delivered it to Sulṭān Hūshang; gathered a force to punish the Rājpūts of Kuhnakōt; sent Khudāwand Khān to attend on Shaikh Muḥammad Qāsim Budhū, p. 187; date of his illness at Naharwāla Pattan; placed Shāhzāda Aḥmad Khān on his throne with the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh; ordered that the Khuṭba should be read in the prince's name; date of his death; period of his reign; place of his tomb; title after his death, p. 188.

Ẓafar Khān, Shāhzāda, received the *farmān* of Sulṭān Aḥmad of Gujrāt at Sulṭānpūr Nadarbār; defeated Shāhzādā 'Alā-ud-dīn and the Malik-ut-tujjār, p. 50; was sent by Aḥmad Shāh to destroy Malik-ut-tujjār; sent Iftikhār-ul-mulk and Malik Suhrāb Sulṭānī to surround Thāna; began to conquer the district of Thāna; fought with the governor of Thāna and made him leave Thāna; left a body of troops at Thāna; advanced on Mahāim, p. 215; defeated Malik-ut-tujjār and the Dakinī army, p. 216; despatched wealthy offerings to Aḥmad Shāh; took possession of the district of Mahāim and divided it among the amīrs, p. 217.

Ẓafar Minjumla, went to release 'Uthmān Khān, p. 487.

Ẓahīr-ul-mulk, fought with Rāy Mal and was slain, p. 301.

Ẓahīr-ul-mulk, *vazīr* of Maḥmud Khaljī, was slain by the army of Niẓām Shāh, p. 535.

Zain, *Qāḍī*, criticised the decision of the *Muftīs*, p. 746.

Zain Badr, pursued Ādam Khān, p. 672; his death, p. 679.

Zain Khān, cut off Bahādur Gīlānī's head, and sent it to Maḥmūd Shāh, p. 125; was granted the horses and weapons of Bahādur Gīlānī, p. 126.

Zain-ud-dīn Ḥasan, Qāḍī, pp. 124, 125.

Zain-ul-'ābidīn, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar, Sulṭān of Kashmīr, accession; extension of empire; qualifications, p. 652; measures to stop robbery; order for the benefit of public; granted the prayer of Srī Bhat, p. 653; social, religious and administrative reforms, p. 654; attitude towards his subjects, religious freedom; wealth and expenditure, p. 655; treatment of the learned men of Islām and *Yogīs*; example of his intelligence, p. 656; orders for the criminals; his abstinence; patronage of the men of skill and art; his literary work, p. 657; educational ability; gifts from various sovereigns, p. 659; his heir; his sons, p. 660; grant to the sons of Srī Bhat, p. 661; his recovery by the science of *Yogīs*, p. 662; defeated Ḥājī Khān, p. 663; famine in Kashmīr, p. 665; attack of Ādam Khān; sent for Ḥājī Khān, p. 666; destruction of Ādam Khān, p. 667; his heir, p. 668; arrival of Ādam Khān,; illness; rejected the suggestion of the *amīrs*; hostility among his sons; his last days, p. 670; period of reign, p. 672.

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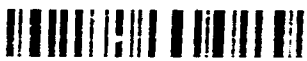
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